June 8, 1953

Mr. Walter E. Sachs
49 East 80 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Sir:

During the years 1911 and 1912 Mr. Walter E. Sachs was treasurer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I am wondering if you are that person, and if not if you can tell me whether this Mr. Sachs is still alive, and if so what is his address?

I am inquiring simply for historical purposes, since Mr. Sachs was one of the five incorporators of the NAACP.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-50-14

June 12, 1953

Mr. Walter E. Sachs
c/o Goldman Sachs & Co.
30 Pine Street
New York, N.Y.

June 12, 1953

My dear Mr. Sachs: PERSONAL

I have been trying to get in touch with you for several days but was not sure of your identity until I consulted "Who's Who in America."

You will remember that in 1911 and 1912 you were Treasurer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and were one of the incorporators of that organization.

I wish very much to secure for our files photographs of all the incorporators, which included yourself and myself, John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Mary White Ovington.

I am writing to ask if you will kindly send me your photograph. I should rather have an old one, that is, somewhere between 1912 and 1940. I would be very glad to return it to you carefully if you so wish.

I trust you will do me this service, and I hope this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-50-13

GOLDMAN, SACHS & CO.
30 PINE STREET
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

BOSTON
CHICAGO
PHILADELPHIA
ST. LOUIS

June 16, 1953

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
Thirty-One Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

In reply to your letter of June 12th, I am enclosing herewith a photograph taken some years ago, which I am sending you, however, on the condition that it is only for your files and not for publication.

I trust that you are well and beg to remain with kindest regards.

Yours very truly,

Walter E. Sachs

WES:mav
Enc.

25-50-12

[Sacred Cross Baptist Church]

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable ol above or pre- ng the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1253 JUN 8 AM

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15

.MA136 DEB028

DE LLB060 LONG NL PD=DETROIT MICH 8=

DOCTOR W E B DUBIOS=

10 :31 GRACE COURT BROOKLYN NY=

:ON THE 3RD OF JULY I AM LEAVING FOR EUROPE AND AFRICA AND I SHOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO SPEAK HERE ON THE 28TH OF JUNE 300 OCLOCK IN THE INTERESTS OF MY TRIP YOUR COMING WILL BE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WORLD PERSONALITIES FOUNDATION AT THE SACRED CROSS BAPTIST CHURCH 8210 12TH STREET OF WHICH I AM PASTOR THE AFRICA PROBLEM WILL RECEIVE A GREAT RESPONSE. THEREFORE PLEASE ARRANGE TO SPEAK ON AFRICA. ALSO DESIGNATE THE HONOIUM =

:REV M LARRY FRANKLIN PRESIDENT OF WORLD PERSONALITIES FONDATION::

25-62-5

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Sacred Cross Baptist Church]

June 9, 1953

Rev. M. Larry Franklin
Sacred Cross Baptist Church
8210 12th Street
Detroit, Mich.

My dear Mr. Franklin:

I have your telegram of June 9th. I have not heard of the World Personalities Foundation nor am I acquainted with you. I should, of course, have to have references concerning both before making any decision as to the speech.

I have long been a student of Africa, have written books on its problems, and lectured from time to time on the subject.

I could speak June 28th in Detroit, but I should have to charge a fee of $250 in addition to expenses which would include round trip airplane fare and hotel accommodations, and under the circumstances I should have to insist that these charges should be paid before I leave New York.

You will of course realize that I have to be careful under what auspices I speak, and I cannot undertake a long trip without assurance of pay.

I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-4

W.E.B. Du Bois
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
NY,3, NY

Dear Dr. BuBois:

After reading your recent book, "In Battle for Peace," I was inspired to write the enclosed verse.

Please accept it as my sincere tribute to a great man .

Sincerely,

Martha Sand
6054 Elenor St.
Riverside, Calif

25-3D '37

January 6, 1953

Miss Martha Sand
6054 Elenor St.
Riverside, California

Dear Miss Sand:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and poem, which I appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 29, 1953

Science & Society
30 East 20 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is the book review which I promised to send you.

I am afraid it is too,long, but if so you may cut.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B.Du Bois

46-11-101

575 Avenue of the Americans
New York 11, New York
January 23, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

With several Congressional committees poised for widespread "investigations" of so-called "subversives" on the campuses and in the trade unions, and with many university administrations beginning already to retreat before the mounting onslaught against academic freedom, it is no wonder that leaders in education, labor and other fields are expressing deep concern over the growing threat to our democratic liberties.

There is one aspect of this question, however, which is seldom raised, even by those who condemn these Congressional and related inquisitions; namely, the right of the American people to learn what Marxism teaches -- and to learn it from Marxists, at least in public forums, the press, and independent Marxists schools.

25-63-6

I believe you will agree with me that this issue is important for the whole question of academic freedom, and that it should be opened up for public debate.

I suggest, therefore, that we call a CONFERENCE ON THE RIGHT TO TEACH AND LEARN MARXISM -- here in New York City, on Saturday, March 7, at some private school or mid-town hotel. Leaders in various fields will be sought from all circles which are concerned over the attacks on academic freedom.

As a means of initiating this project, I am requesting that you and seven other persons join me in inviting about fifty leaders to act with us as sponsors of the conference. All plans for the conference program will be checked with the sponsors before implementation.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I propose that we send to prospective sponsors. I hope you will agree to join with three or more of the persons listed below in sending out this letter. Please let me know as soon as possible whether we are authorized to affix your signature to this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Selsam

tu/555

Howard Selsam

P.S. - This letter is being sent to the following: Dr. Philip Morrison, Miss Rose Russell, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dr. Corlis Lamont, Mr. Russell Nixon, Mr. I. F. Stone.

[Shepherd]

736 Madison Street
Brooklyn 21, N.Y.
February 23, 1953.

Mr. & Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Readers:

I have heard and read many articles regarding your work in the field of human and race relations. I have read about you collectively and individually.

I am enclosing something which may be of interest to you. I suggest that you emphasize pages 5, 7, and 11.

Hoping that you will give this letter your close attention, I remain.

Sincerely yours,
Martin Shepherd Jr.
(GL 5-4115)

P.S. I've had the pleasure Dr. DuBois of voting for you a few elections back.

25-54, 39

April 21, 1953

Mr. Martin Shepherd, Jr.
736 Madison St.
Brooklyn, 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Shepherd:

I appreciate the copy of the Prospectus of the Independent Builders Incorporated, which you kindly sent us.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Slobodkin]

310 Huntley Drive
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

February 14, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
c/o American Peace Crusade
326 West Third Street
Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

It is a great pleasure to join those welcoming you to Los Angeles during Negro History Week.

Your career has been in itself an epoch in the history of the Negro people and of the American nation. It continues to gain significance as you integrate in your work and life the issues of peace and war, the struggles of colonial peoples and minority groups, and interrelationship between cultural workers and those in other fields.

At a time when most established American scholars and professionals have vacated their responsibilities, you continue to fulfill most nobly the role of cultural leader. For this, we owe you honor and love.

Sincerely,

Richard Slobodin

Richard Slobodin, Ph.D.

Asst. Professor of Anthropology, University of Southern California, 1947-49.
Asst. Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Los Angeles State College, 1950-51.

25-51.M

March 23, 1953

A.M. Eligio de la Puente
Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais
Carlos III No. 710
Havana, Cuba

Gentlemen:

I am sending this article which I edited in 1947 for the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

It was issued as a pamphlet and presented to the United Nations.

If it could be republished in this memorial volume to Dr. Ortiz, I think it would be appropriate and secure the wider circulation which it ought to have.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

4-9-11-30

[ENC?]

March 9, 1953

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD

ADDRESSED TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1947. IT WAS RECEIVED BY THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS AFTER CONSIDERABLE HESITATION. WAS BROUGHT UP BY THE ~~SOVIET~~ DELEGATE OF THE SOVIET UNION AT THE GENEVA MEETING OF THE COMMISSION in 1948 AND REFUSED HEARING AT THE INSISTENCE OF THE UNITED STATES. SINCE THEN IT HAS BEEN BURIED IN THE UNITED NATIONS ARCHIVES.

WRITTEN BY W.E.BURGHARDT DU BOIS

FOR THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE OF WHICH HE WAS AT THE TIME DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH.

IT IS PUBLISHED HERE AS A TRIBUTE TO THE GREAT FERNANDO ORTIZ, LONG THE CHAMPION OF THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES, IN ORDER TO BRING especially IT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA.

(ENC.?) [1953?]

I remember with great pleasure my visit to Cuba in June, 1941, when I was welcomed by Dr. Fernando Ortis and entertained with every courtesy. Before that I had known him only vaguely by reputation, but I came thereafter to hold him as a sympathetic friend and fellow worker, and I have tried to keep in touch with him and his work since.

I met him again at the Platica called by the American National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in Havana, November, 1941, and had the opportunity to renew our friendship.

I am glad to join his other friends and admirers in celebrating this occasion and wishing for him good health and increased opportunity to serve the world in the future as he has so nobly served it in the past.

This is surely the time of all times when men of his courage and ability are needed to save modern civilization.

W.E.B. Du Bois

13-11-94

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WESTERN UNION

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1953 FEB 20 PM 1 32

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LA050

NC164 PD=NEW YORK NY 20 415P=

[SOLOFF] ✓

DR W E B DUBOIS, CARE PETER HUYN

326 WEST THIRD ST ROOM 610=LOSA=

YOUR BIRTHDAY PARTY IS A LITTLE TOO FAR WAY FOR US TO JOIN YOU THIS YEAR, BUT WE WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT OUR ADMIRATION AND AFFECTION GO WITH YOU WHEREVER YOU ARE=

SYLVIA ELIZABETH ABBOTT KYRLE=

62-115-56

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 10, 1953

Miss Sylvia Soloff
451 West 47 St.
New York, N.Y.

25-50.36

My dear Sylvia:

The reception for the Jefferson School students is Monday, June 22 and not June 15 as Shirley thought.

I do hope that the change will make no difference to you and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

With best love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

WESTERN UNION

LLH049 SSA039

March 18 AM 1 57

L.LLR056 NL PD BDA=LOSANGELES CALIF 17=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

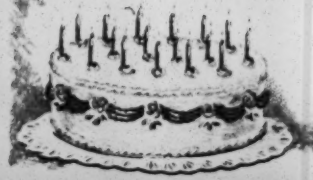
SW=ROOM 310 326 WEST 3RD ST LOSA=

:CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR 85TH BIRTHDAY MAY YOU SPEAK FOR FREEDOM A LONG TIME TO COME SINCERELY YOURS=

:SOLS MARKET=.

[SOL'S MARKET]

25-51-32



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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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OB014 SSF709

1953 FEB 20 PM 9 07

O SWA147 NL PD=SANTA ROSA CALIF 20=

DR W E B DUBOIS, AMBASSADOR BALL ROOM=

(DLVR BETWEEN 630 & 730PM) 1805 GEARY ST SFRAN=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS TO A TRULY GREAT AMERICAN DOCTOR W E B DUBOIS, ONE WHO HAS GIVEN SO TIRELESSLY IN THE TREMENDOUS STRUGGLE FOR A WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM=

SONOMA COUNTY PEACE COUNCIL=

Hyam

[Sonoma County Peace Council]

E2.15-56

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

1-7-53

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brook;yn 2, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are progressing fairly well with our preliminary plans for your visit. We have just received word from San Francisco that they have already made definite plans for two speaking engagements for you. The first is on Saturday the 21st in San Francisco and the other on Monday the 23d in Oakland. We shall forward you more information as we receive it.

We would like to have immediately the title of your talk to be delivered at the mass meeting in Los Angeles as well as in San Francisco and Oakland. We would need this for immediate releases and other printed material for distribution.

Thanks for Mrs. DuBois' kind reply and for the moment, I remain

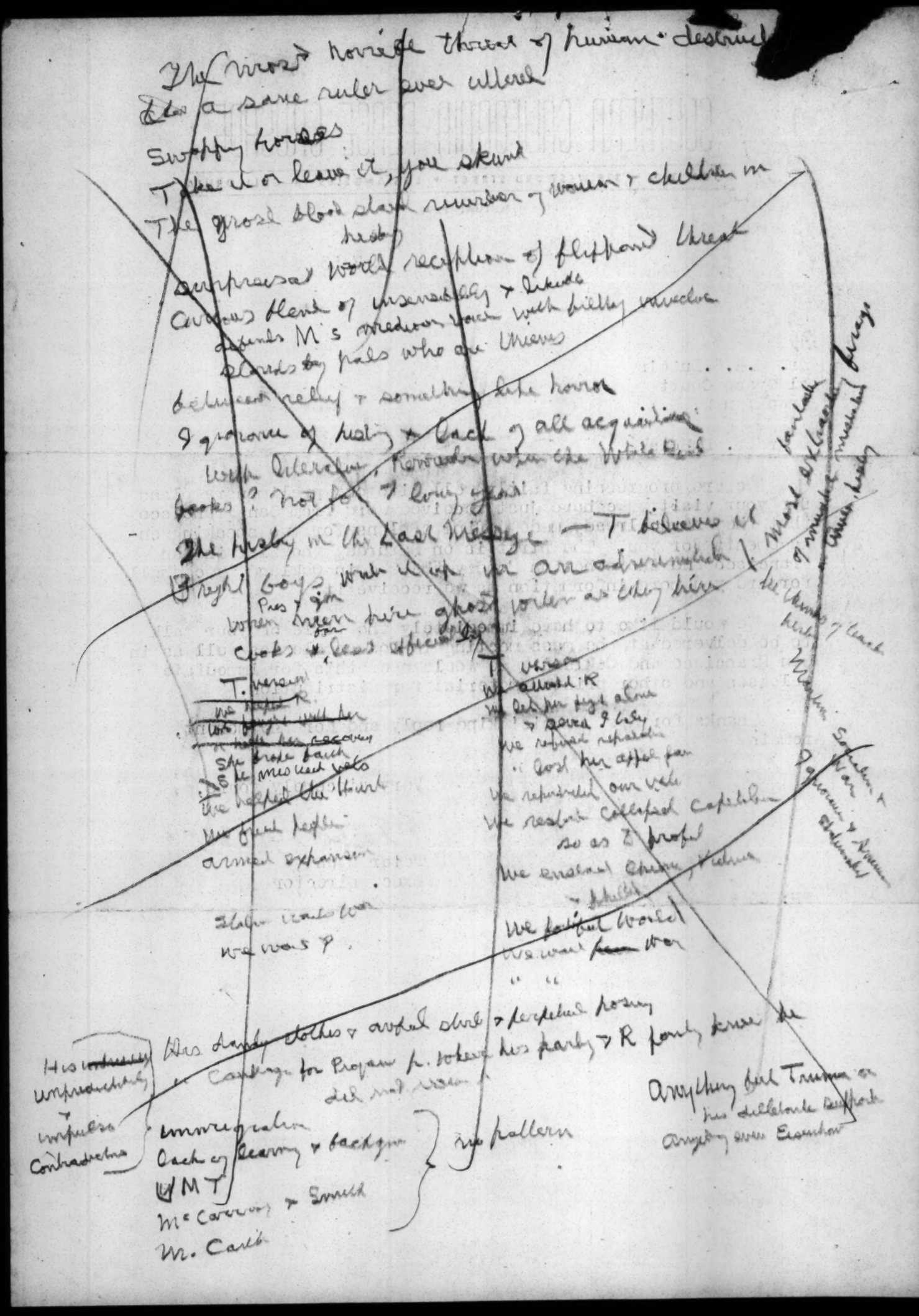
Very sincerely yours,

Peter Hyun

Peter Hyun
Exec. Director

PH:BSS

25-54-9


The worst horrible threat of human destruct
Like a same ruler ever utterd
Swaggering bombast
Take it or leave it, you skund
The grossest blood stain murder of women & children in
history
Surpassed words recollection of flippant threat
Curious blend of unsensibility & Likude
Legends M's predecessor back with filthy invective
Stands by pals who are thieves
between reality & something like horror
Ignorance of history & lack of all acquiring
With literature, Remember when the Wall Paper
books? not for a long years
The history in the Last Message — I believe it
Bright boys with it up we are adrumpled
Pres & Jim
when Ingen hire ghost writer as they hire
cooks & less effic
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We helped R
We helped the Hindu
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we want P.
We helped R
We let her fight alone
& saved & Lily
We refused retardation
lost her appeal for
We refunded our vote
We resisted collapsed Capitalism
so as to profit
We enslaved China, Vietnam
& Middle
We fought World
We want war
" "
Was dandy clothes & avoid dirt & perpetual hosing
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did not wear
He is unpredictably
& impulsive
Contradictory
Immigration
Lack of Learning & background
M T
McCarran & Smith
M. Carth
the Rollers
Anything but Truman or
his dullahoma Buffoons
Anything over Eisenhow
Worst Atrocity
Wisdom
Wisdom
Solution
Wisdom
Wisdom & Reason
Wisdom

January 13, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3 St.
Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hyun:

I have your letter of January 7. I am glad to know of your progress and you have all my sympathy with the hard work that you have to do.

The subjects of the talks which I shall deliver on the coast are as follows:

1. "The Present Prospects for Peace."
2. "War and Greed." (A history of the Cape to Cairo movement and the career of Cecil Rhodes.)
3. "Revolt in Africa."
4. "Kenya".

Shirley Graham will use two subjects when speaking with me, and these and perhaps others when speaking separately:

1. "The UN and the Colonial Peoples".
2. "America in the Eyes of the World."

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-10

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WESTERN UNION

1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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Int'l Letter Telegram

I=Int'l Victory Ltr.

(57)

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NA166 PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 20 1013A=:

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

=31 GRACE CT=

Studio Delivery

19 JAN 20 PM 1 58

35-54-95

=KINDLY AIR MAIL ONE COLUMN MATS OR PHOTOS DR DUBOIS MISS GRAHAM NEEDED URGENTLY FOR PUBLICITY=

:PETER HYUN:

Southern California Peace Crusade
326 West Third Street -

P.S. Tell Peter Hyun you sent picture to Carlton Mass.

:HYUN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 20, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun, Exec. Director
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310, 326 West 35d Street
Los Angeles, 13, California

My dear Mr. Hyun:

I have had reservations made for the California trip, leaving the return trip dependent upon the lectures that you are going to be able to arrange after San Francisco.

We shall leave Chicago by American Airlines Flight #15 on February 14th, arriving at 5:15 p.m. The total cost of the round trip, if we go from Los Angeles to San Francisco and from San Francisco to New York will be, with tax, $347.19 each. The agent adds that there is a family plan rate which would apply if we could travel on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday. This would be impossible, however, on the going trip.

I though you would like to have these facts.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

January 21, 1953

35-54-96

Mr. Peter Hyun, Exec. Director
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310 326 W. 3 St.
Los Angeles, 13, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hyun:

We sent a photograph of Dr. Du Bois to Mr. Moss, Box 1985, Hollywood, Calif.

In answer to your telegram we are enclosing photographs of Dr. Du Bois and Miss Graham. We have no mats.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman,
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

January 22, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 20th containing information on the scheduled flight, reservations and cost. We had planned to take care of all of these details for you but since you have already made reservations and since the flight schedule meets your own needs to have a good rest after your arrival here, we shall do nothing further on your reservations. We would like to know what is the latest date that the full amount for the fare will have to be forwarded to you.

Now I want to give you a little more information concerning the mass meeting in the Negro community scheduled for the afternoon of Sunday, February 15th. We have succeeded in setting up a working committee to organize this mass meeting. The committee has already succeeded in securing the largest church in the Negro community with a seating capacity of nearly 1800 people. We are very much gratified by this result since from the point of view of capacity, it is even better than the largest auditorium available to us. The committee is now working on the sponsors of the mass meeting which list, we are confident, will include many of the outstanding and broad leadership of the Negro community in Los Angeles.

In connection with this committee for the mass meeting, I want to inform you that Dr. Price Cobbs is providing the moving spirit and the leadership and for this reason I believe a direct communication from you to Dr. Cobbs without any mention of my name or organization will be greatly appreciated by Dr. Cobbs. Furthermore, such a personal letter from you to him will assist him greatly in approaching others for their support to the mass meeting. Working closely with Dr. Cobbs, as you probably already know, is our friend, Carlton Moss. I mention this to let you know that any direct communication you might have had from Carlton is with complete understanding of our coordinating body.

As to the list of the topics of your addresses to be delivered on your tour of the West Coast, I assume that we may choose any one of the list to fit in with any particular affairs planned here. If you should have any personal preferences as to the subject to be discussed for the different engagements, please let us know.

As to the subject for the mass meeting of the 15th, we have selected "Revolt in Africa". But for purposes of publicity which would have

the broadest possible appeal, we wish to formulate it in a more popular term without changing the content. As I have said, this consideration is strictly for the purpose of advertising, posters, leaflets and so on.

We want to consult you on this for your approval. The material on the mass meeting is scheduled to be released early part of next week and we would appreciate your immediate reply.

I hope you have sent us all available photo-mats of different sizes -- both of you and of Mrs. DuBois.

With regards from us all,

Yours for Peace,

Peter Hyun

Peter Hyun, Executive Director

PH/gk

23-54.16

[S. California Peace Crusade]

January 26, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun, Executive Director
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310, 326 West 3 St.
Los Angeles, 13, California

Dear Mr. Hyun:

I have your last letter. I would be glad to receive your remittance for the fare any time before the second week in February.

I have written to Dr. Cobbs.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

January 28, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Received your letter of January 26th. We shall remit the fare before the second week in February as you have suggested.

Please permit me to put in writing the details of our financial agreement so that we can avoid any possible misunderstanding.

1. We assume the responsibility for transportation by air from New York to all points on the West Coast and back to New York for two persons.

2. We are responsible for all living expenses during your entire stay on the West Coast. This is to consist of hotel accomodations and meals.

3. We are also responsible for a fee of $100 per each speaking engagement for which you are scheduled and $25.00 per each speaking engagement for which Miss Shirley Graham is scheduled.

It is also agreed that all transportation costs shall have been paid in advance, that all lecture fees will be paid directly to you and Miss Graham immediately upon conclusion of your speaking engagements in each area.

The above is to be the complete financial obligations on our part and it is understood that there is to be no other additional obligation either to you personally or to any organization. Please confirm the above agreement in writing so that I may persent it to our executive board for final approval.

There are two additional questions I would like to ask at this time. The first comes from Northern California. They would like to know if it would be possible for you to hold informal and intimate conferences in the hotel where you will be staying with small groups of individuals. They are anxious to be able to bring some religious and community leaders in personal contact with you and discuss the possibilities of their active contributions in the fight for peace. Such conferences even if they are acceptable to you must be confined only to those days when you do not have a scheduled lecture in the evening.

Second, I have just received a communication from Washington informing me that the meeting in Seattle will be jointly sponsored by the Provisional Committee for the Protection of Negro Leadership and the Northwest Citizens Defense Committee. Such sponsorship in their opinion can build a large meeting of both progressive and broader forces particularly in the Negro community. I hope this sponsorship will meet with your approval. The first committee mentioned, as I understand, evolved out of the attack on Mr. Paul Bowen, a Negro leader in the State of Washington, under the Smith Act. I have already informed them that each area should determine its own organizational form for the meetings around your visit. But should you find any objections, please inform us immediately.

With warmest regards to Mrs. DuBois, I remain

Yours for Peace,

Peter Hyun

Peter Hyun, Executive Director

PH/gk

25-54-10

January 30, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310, 326 West 3rd Street
Los Angeles, 13, California

Dear Mr. Hyun:

I have your letter of January 28th this morning. Your understanding of our financial arrangements correspond with mine, namely:

1. The Southern California Peace Crusade assumes the responsibility for transportation by air from New York to all points on the West Coast and back to New York for two persons.

2. They are responsible for all living expenses during our entire stay on the West Coast. This is to consist of hotel accomodations and meals.

3. They are also responsible for a fee of $100 per each speaking engagement for which I am scheduled, and $25 per each speaking engagement for which Miss Shirley Graham is scheduled.

It is also agreed that all transportation costs shall have been paid in advance, and that all lecture fees will be paid directly to me and Miss Graham immediately upon conclusion of our speaking engagements in each area.

With regard to Northern California, I would be glad to hold a few conferences in my hotel with small groups of individuals, but they would have to be limited in time to 1½ or 2 hours, and my time would have to be paid for. Otherwise, if I talked endlessly to individuals, I would certainly wear myself out.

Groups wishing to consult with me, therefore, should get in touch with the persons in general charge of my visit, pick a particular time, and I would be glad to arrange for the compensation to be paid in accordance with the size of the group. As you suggest, it should be on some day when I do not have a lecture.

I would be quite willing to have a meeting in Seattle sponsored by the Committee for the Protection of Negro Leadership and the Citizens Defense Committee.

Thank you for your careful arrangements.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-54-12

February 2, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun,
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3 St.
Los Angeles, 13, California

Dear Mr. Hyun:

Mrs. Du Bois says that my proposal concerning conversations in San Francisco and elsewhere were a bit too vague to implement.

I am therefore enclosing a set of more precise proposals. You are at liberty to do what you please concerning them.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

February 11, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

35-54.8

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We hope you will forgive us for this delay. In the midst of the myriad of activities in preparation for your visit here the time has actually slipped away from us. I have spoken to Mrs. DuBois this morning and I hope this letter together with the check for $700.00 will arrive there before your departure.

On the whole the response to various meetings arranged for you is very enthusiastic and we hope the results will justify such a long journey.

Anxiously awaiting your arrival.

Sincerely,

Peter Hyun

Peter Hyun, Executive Director

PH/gk
Enc.

CELEBRATE NATIONAL NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

WITH THE COMMITTEE TO WELCOME

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

We Southern Californians feel enormously fortunate in our Negro History Week celebration this year. A world renowned scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has accepted our invitation to appear for us as our chief speaker.

There is no need to tell you that the fame of Dr. DuBois precedes him wherever he appears. Historian, anthropologist, novelist, educator, scholar—there are few the world over whose background can pace his. Certainly, there is no other leading scholar who can equal him on the subject he has chosen:

"Africa and the Future of the World".

THE TIME: SUNDAY, FEB. 15th, 3:00 P.M.

THE PLACE: ELKS AUDITORIUM, 4016 S. Central Ave.

This man and his subject have an infinitely wide appeal. Men and women of all walks of life have joined hands to welcome and honor him.

You and your friends will want to join with the sponsors who will be on hand to greet him at the Elks Auditorium.

We look forward to having you with us on that occasion.

THE COMMITTEE TO WELCOME DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

(partial list of sponsors)

Dr. and Mrs. W. Atkinson
Lorenzo W. Bowden
Rev. Bradley
Attyn. Leo Branton
F. F. Brawley
Rev. and Mrs. G. W. Cofield
Rev. J. W. Coleman
Rev Mansfield Collins, Sr.
Rev. Charles H. Davis, Sr.
Dr. W. Z. Gordon
Dr. Edna Griffin
Rev. J. Hayes
Bishop C. F. Kyle
Attny. Rayfield Lundy
Attyn. Hugh MacBeth, Sr.
Rev. E. Mitchell
Mrs. Myrtle Pitts
Attny. James N. Reese
Rev. D. Shaw
Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence P. Spingarn
Rec. D. D. Turpeau
Rev. C. E. Watkins

Dr. P. Price Cobbs, Chairman

25-54-13

on Friday February 20th...

25-51-1

"... henceforth the majority of the inhabitants of the earth who happen for the most part to be colored, must be regarded as having the right and the capacity to share in human progress, and to become co-partners in that democracy which alone can insure peace among men." ... January, 1945.

There will be

a dinner to honor

at the Park Manor

607 S. Western Avenue

at 7:00 p.m.

ten dollars per person

Auspices: Southern California Peace Crusade

DU BOIS TESTIMONIAL DINNER

FEBRUARY 20 PARK MANOR

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

9:00 Peter Hyun introduces all guests sitting at head table.

No remarks are permitted from guests.

9:05 Peter Hyun makes remarks and introduces....

9:15 Al Al Thibodeaux who speaks

9:22 Peter Hyun introduces.....

9:25 Ben Margolis who speaks and then

932 collection begins

9:57 Peter Hyun introduces....

10:00 Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

after whose speech there will be a few remarks by Miss Graham

Presentation to peace builders of this community (brief) to be accepted by Bernice Henry

Presentation to Dr. Du Bois and Miss Shirley Graham

46-10-211

GREETINGS TO DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

Presented to him at a Testimonial Dinner, Friday, February 20th, Park Manor, Los Angeles, honoring his 85th Birthday and in observance of National Negro History Week. Over 850 people were in attendance.

Dear Dr. W.E.B. Dubois:
With a deep sense of gratitude we, as American citizens, acknowledge our debt to you as a mature scholar, an understanding teacher, a far-sighted organizer, but most of all, as an intelligent and courageous fighter for basic civil rights and for world peace.

Sincerely
Frank W. Weymouth, Professor
of Physiology, Emeritus,
Stanford Univ.

Mary Weymouth (Mrs. F.W.)

*****

Greetings to Dr. Du Bois, scholar, statesman and valiant fighter for freedom and peace. As one who has already reached 87 years, I welcome you, at a mere 85, into the fellowship of the ageless.

(Rev.) Edwin P. Ryland
Methodist minister(retired)
Co-founder, L.A. chapter, Am Civil
Liberties Union

*****

It is a great pleasure to join those welcoming you to Los Angeles during Negro History Week.
Your career has been in itself an epoch in the history of the Negro people and of the American nation. It continues to gain significance as you integrate in your work and life the issues of peace and war, the struggles of colonial peoples and minority groups, and interrelationship between cultural workers and those in other fields.
At a time when most established American scholars and professionals have vacated their responsibilities, you continue to fulfill most nobly the role of cultural leader. For this we owe you honor and love.

Sincerely,
Richard Slobodin, Ph.D.

Asst. Prof. of Anthro. U.S.C.'47-49
" " " " & Sociology
L.A. State College '50-'51

*****

(TELEGRAM)
As a fellow-believer in the rights of all people, regardless of race, creed or color, I salute you, Dr. Du Bois, as one of the greatest fighters of all those who have championed the liberation and full citizenship of the Negro people. Your 85 rich, useful years inspire me as a Negro, a trade union leader and a fellow-American. May many more fruitful years be yours in a world of Brotherhood, Justice and Peace for all mankind.

Arthur E. Morrison
Regional Director, Dist. 5
(8 Western States)
United Pack'g H'se Wrkrs of Am.

*****

(TELEGRAM)
I would like to be with you tonight to join you in paying honor and respect to that great American Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois on the occasion of his 85th birthday. Will you please convey these sentiments to him. My absence is occasioned by attendance at the National Lawyers Guild Convention in New York City.

Robert W. Kenny

*****

25-64.41

A Tribute to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

It is an honor and a privil ege to be asked to add my word of praise and tribute to this great Sociologist and Humanitarian.

For years I have been an admirer of Dr. Du Bois as a person and have had great respect for him as a scholar and I have used his book, entitled "Black Folk Then and Now", in connection with my clas es in Sociology at Occidental. This book, written in 1939, is a monumental contribution to the subject of Negro history a nd social relations.

May he have many, many years granted him for work and reflection in his chosen field of endeavor.

Dr. George M. Day
Professor of Sociology, Emeritus,
Occidental College

*** LA.

It is with deep humility that I acknowledge the honor of appearing and speaking at the banquet in honor of Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois.
Dr. Du Bois is a savant of the ages, an eminent scholar, and scientist of world renown. He is a living symbol to the people of the world who seek to attain the full stature and dignity th t is synonymous with peace and freedom. All those who fight for peace, freedom and a better way of life, in honoring him, honor themselves by better equipping themselves for the job ahead.

Al Thibodeux, Port Agent
Wilmington Branch
National Union of Marine
Cooks and Stewards

****

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I wish to join with millions of other Americans in sending you my heartiest felicitations on your birthday.

Your magnificent fight for Peace and Freedom has been a source of courage for many of us, and will bring great results in the end.

Stanley Moffatt, Attorney
Former Judge of San Antonio
Township, L. A. County

***

TELEGRAM:
ON YOUR BIRTHDAY EDITORS MASSES AND MAINSTREAM REJOICE TO JOIN ALL PROGRESSIVE HUMANITY IN CONVEYING OUR HIGHEST REGARD AND WARMEST GREETING.

Samuel Sillen, Lloyd L. Brown,
Herbert Aptheker, and A. B.
Magil

****

TELEGRAM:
MAY YOUR LONG AND SUCCESSFUL FIGHT FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM BE CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Dr. and Mrs. P.Price Cobbs

MESSAGES TO DR. DU BOIS (CONTINUED)

TELEGRAM:
WARMEST GREETINGS ON OCCASION 85TH BIRTHDAY TO WORLD RENOWNED PEACE LEADER AND CHAMPION FULL FREEDOM FOR EVERY PEOPLE. BELOVED BY MILLIONS FOR UNCOMPROMISING FIGHT TO END KOREAN WAR AND WIN PEACE BY GREAT POWER NEGOTIATIONS. YOUR LIFE AND YOUR WORK A CONSTANT SOURCE OF INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US IN AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE.

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director
American Peace Crusade

***

TELEGRAM:
NO MAN OF OUR TIME DESERVES GREATER HONOR THAN DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS. THE WORLD OF PEACE AND EQUALITY HE CONTINUES TO FIGHT FOR CAN AND WILL BE REALIZED IF EACH OF US WILL FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE OF STEADFASTNESS AND INTEGRITY. OUR BEST WISHES TO HIM AND HIS VALIANT WIFE SHIRLEY.

C. B. Baldwin, Secretary
Independent Progressive Party

***

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

As a resident of the greater Los Angeles area, I am thrilled to know that you will be visiting here on the occasion of your 85th birthday. I want to send you my warmest personal greetings and congratulations on this occasion. I have long admired your literary achievements and your role in bringing into being the NAACP; most recently I have come to admire your unrelenting efforts for the cause of international peace and good will.

Many happy returns of the day.

Dr. Arthur W. Galston
Associate Professor of Biology

***

TELEGRAM:
WARMEST GREETINGS ON YOUR BIRTHDAY. WE DO YOU MOST HONOR BY CONTINUED COMMON STRUGGLE WITH NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL PROGRESSIVES FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY.

Louis Harap for Editors
Jewish Life

***

TELEGRAM:
WE SUSPECTED THAT YOUR PLEAS TO PROGRESSIVES TO STOP GIVING YOU BIRTHDAY DINNERS WOULD BE IN VAIN. WE ALL LOVE YOU TOO MUCH TO GIVE UP THE HABIT AT LEAST DURING THE NEXT FEW DECADES WHILE YOU PERSIST IN HAVING BIRTHDAYS. WARMEST AFFECTION AND RESPECT TO OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTOR.

Staff of NATIONAL GUARDIAN

***

TELEGRAM:
AS OLD FRIENDS AND STAUNCH ADMIRERS AND AS NEW NEIGHBORS THE ENTIRE STAFF OF NEW WORLD REVIEW SENDS YOU BIRTHDAY GREETINGS AND WISHES YOU CONTINUED SUCCESS IN YOUR NOBLE WORK FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING PROGRESS AND WORLD PEACE.

Jessica Smith

***

MESSAGES FOR DR. DU BOIS (CONTINUED)

TELEGRAM:
HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO OUR GREAT AMERICAN LEADER. FROM THE ONE WHO IS PRIVILEGED TO BE HIS SECRETARY.

Lillian Hyman

***

TELEGRAM:
AGAIN WE EMBRACE HEARTILY THE OPPORTUNITY TO OFFER YOU AN ANNIVERSARY SALUTE. WE ACCLAIM YOU OUR LETTER IN THE STRUGGLE TOWARD THOSE INDIVISIBLE GOALS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. WE TAKE HEART IN YOUR CONTINUOUS AND BOLD INSISTENCE UPON AMERICAN-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AS INDISPENSABLE AND YOUR CONFIDENCE THAT OUR PEOPLES COULD LIVE TOGETHER PEACEABLY. YOU MUST SHARE OUR PRAISE WITH MRS. DU BOIS. AS A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL FAMILY SHE ALSO BEARS A FAITHFUL WITNESS TO THESE CONVICTIONS AND WORKS FOR THEIR REALIZATION. ALL HONOR TO YOU BOTH.

National Council of American-
Soviet Friendship
Richard Morford, Director

***

TELEGRAM:
CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR 85th BIRTHDAY. MAY YOU SPEAK FOR FREEDOM A LONG TIME TO COME.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Sol's Market

***

TELEGRAM:
WARMEST GREETINGS AND DEEP THANKS FOR THE BIRTHDAY GIFT OF ANOTHER YEAR ENRICHED BY YOUR PRESENCE AMONG US. MAY THERE BE MANY MORE.

Jessica and John Abt

***

TELEGRAM
HEARTY BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FROM OUR ENTIRE STAFF. WE HOPE YOU AND MRS. DUBOIS HAVE AN ENJOYABLE TRIP AS WELL AS ONE WHICH ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

Howard Selsam, Director
Jefferson School of Social
Science

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

Feb. 25, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
% No. Calif. Peace Council
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We all wish that you and Mrs. Du Bois are enjoying a pleasant visit in San Francisco. We have not yet begun to do the follow-up work here - you have presented us with so much to do for which all of us are so grateful.

Concerning the selection one of the lectures for immediate publication, I shall have to consult our Executive Board which meets next week. My personal choice without any doubt is your final lecture delivered at the dinner. However, there are some people here who feel that your lecture on "Prospects for Peace" would pinpoint our work more sharply. We shall also consult Northern California on this matter, since they wish to cooperate with us on the project of publication and distribution. We shall communicate with you just as soon as the final dicision is made.

Enclosed are letters and more greetings which arrived late. We are confident that the rest of your journey to Seattle and Portland will work out smoothly as we have planned. Many thanks from all the people of Los Angeles who appreciate so much all your food for thought and all the thoughts for action in the days to come.

Special regards from my wife, alice McGrath and the staff of our office, both to you and Mrs. Du Bois. It was a memorable experience for me personally to have known you both as friends.

Peter Hyun
Executive Director

for further information
See file: 85th birthday dinner
LA calif

25-54-7

March 6, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun, Exec. Director
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310; 326 West 3rd St.
Los Angeles, 13, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hyun:

I cannot tell you how pleased Shirley and I are with the results of our California trip. It was the best planned lecture trip that I have ever taken, and I have been lecturing for some 50 years!

The lectures in San Francisco, Portland and Seattle went well. We got to Chicago on the 2nd, and I made Shirley rest three days. Then, on the 5th, we flew home and found everything in good order.

We both want to thank you very much for the careful and thoughtful work which you did for us. Please greet Mrs. Hyun and the children, whom unfortunately we did not see, and also Alice McGrath and others.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

11-4-52

March 26, 1953

Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3 St.
Los Angeles, 13, Calif.

My dear Peter:

I hope you arrived home safely.

Shirley and I enjoyed your visit very much.

I have received the enclosed refund from the United Air Lines. I am sure that it belongs to your organization rather than to me, so that I am returning it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., is a South-wide, non-profit organization with headquarters in New Orleans. It is dedicated to the fight against racial segregation and discrimination in all fields of social endeavor. Through pamphlets and publications, conferences and opinion polls, the SCEF seeks to achieve a more equitable sharing of our democratic heritage. Its funds come from the voluntary contributions of some 3000 individuals in all parts of the country.

SUITE 404, 822 PERDIDO ST., NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

NEW ORLEANS LA.

SEC. 3465 P.L.&R. U.S. POSTAGE PAID NEW ORLEANS LA PERMIT NO 124

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois Ex
23 W. 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

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[1953]

What the White Southern Physician Thinks About Segregation

Definitive Study by The Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Under the editorship of Dr. James A. Dombrowski "The Southern Patriot," organ of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has just published an illuminating study of attitudes of white doctors practicing in the South toward the racial segregation policies of both Negro patients and doctors. The findings are of such importance to American medicine that this report is presented here in almost its entirety. Here again is dramatically illustrated the gap between the ideas of the average physician and those representing the "leadership" of organized medicine. We wish to call particular attention to the pamphlet on hospital discrimination "The Untouchables"** published by the same organization.*

"What are the attitudes of white doctors practicing in the South toward the racial segregation policies which largely govern the admission of hospital patients? How do they feel about the rules and traditions which exclude Negro physicians from membership in county and state medical societies —and from the staffs of hospitals?

In the attempt to gain a partial answer to these questions, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., sent questionnaires to the 42,500 white physicians listed by the American Medical Association Directory for 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia, asking the following information:

I. Which of the following plans do you think best serves the health needs of the entire community? (A) Admit patients to hospitals without segregation; (B) Admit Negro and white patients to the same hospital with segregation; (C) Maintain separate hospitals for Negro and white patients.

II. Would you favor the admission of Negro physicians to your county medical society?

III. Would you favor granting hospital privileges to Negro physicians in hospitals in which you practice?

The states were: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

5,750 replies were received, a 13.5 per cent return. The ballots

*The Southern Patriot, October 1952, published monthly except July and August by The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. 417 Commerce St., Nashville, Tenn. Twenty-five cents a copy, $2.00 a year.

**"The Untouchables" with illustrations by Ben Shahn, published by above. Price $.50 per copy.

32-19-9

were fairly well-distributed. New Mexico was high in representation with 18 per cent, Texas low with 9 per cent. Six states had a 16 per cent return, four 15 per cent and two 13 per cent.

As is indicated, the voting on the first question was heavily in favor of Plan B. Favoring the admission of white and Negro patients on a segregated basis in the same institution were 3,698 doctors—64 per cent of the total voting. Plan A, involving the integration of wards, received 978 ballots —17 per cent. 11 per cent—678 votes — approved Plan C, the establishment of separate hospitals for Negroes and whites, and the remaining 8 per cent either voted for combinations of the above plans or did not answer the question.

It should be stated that several doctors voting for Plan B expressed a personal preference for Plan A in comments appended to their questionnaires. Also, in several states where most of the hospital space available to Negroes is concentrated in a few all-Negro hospitals, the vote for Plan B could be considered a vote against Plan C. For example, in Mississippi and South Carolina, where "separate but equal" facilities predominate, the ballots for bringing together all patients under one roof totalled 82 and 69 per cent, respectively.

The response to this question has an interesting correlative. Prior to the poll of doctors the SCEF submitted the same question to 2,414 administrators of Southern hospitals. Of 711 replies, 62 per cent favored Plan B, 18 per cent Plan A and 11 per cent Plan C. It can be seen that the doctors and the administrators registered very close agreement.

As a contrasting expression of opinion, an SCEF poll of Southern college teachers conducted in 1950 revealed that 7 out of 10 of those participating favored the immediate admission of Negroes to graduate and professional schools, without segregation. Nearly 15,000 of this professional group were polled, with 3,422 replies being received.

Since in most cases the granting of hospital staff privileges depends on membership in the local medical society, questions II and III are related. And the voting was strongly affirmative on both questions. Society membership was favored by 4,090—71 per cent—, and another 196—three per cent—expressed qualified approval. The granting of hospital staff privileges won 63 per cent approval with 3,644 ballots, and 603 more—14 per cent—lent qualified backing.

These results run counter to the general practice of the medical societies of the states involved. Florida, alone, of the Deep South states has made full membership available to Negro doctors. Georgia has created a limited membership which gives only the privilege of attending scientific meetings. A sprinkling of counties in other

states have this same arrangement.

In Oklahoma only one Negro is a member of the state society. According to its secretary, the New Mexico State Medical Society does not accept Negroes. The North Carolina society has petitioned the AMA to recognize the Old North State Medical Society, a Negro group, as a separate unit, and Kentucky is working on a similar arrangement. County societies in Virginia are being polled on the admission of Negroes. The District of Columbia membership voted 735-296 in July to begin considering applications.

For the individual states, Arizona and New Mexico, as could be expected, were strongest in their approval of integration and of the admission of Negro doctors to society membership and staff privileges. The District of Columbia (43 per cent for integration of patients and 82 per cent affirmative on the questions concerning doctors) and Maryland (34, 89 and 75 per cent) were next.

Physicians practicing in cities generally tended to be more liberal in their racial views than their rural colleagues. Of Alabama's 11 votes for the admission of patients without segregation, six came from Birmingham. Of Florida's 48, 22 were from Miami and Miami Beach. Of Kentucky's 75, 37 were from Louisville. However, Maryland, North and South Carolina, Texas and Oklahoma presented fairly uniform climates of opinion.

The ballots stated that signatures were optional, but 3,928 of them—nearly 70 per cent—were signed. This, plus the nature of the comments on the ballots which are printed as an appendix to this article, indicates a sincere expression of opinion on the part of those participating in the poll."

Clip & Mail to

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

I am glad to share in the work of the Southern Conference Educational Fund to abolish segregation and secure for everyone the right to enjoy normal health, education and happiness, regardless of color.

I enclose $_____ { Of this amount $2.00 is for One Year's Subscription to The Southern Patriot

NAME (please print) _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ **ZONE** ____ **STATE** ____

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THE PHYSICIANS FORUM BULLETIN
VOL. XIV No. 1
FEBRUARY, 1953

The Dilemma of Southern Youth*

J. W. Marshall

President, Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas

32-35-17

The Barriers of Racial Segregation Which Are Crumbling Everywhere would crumble much more rapidly if American young people were consulted more frequently, and if they were given more opportunities, such as this conference affords, to exchange views. It is my prayer that the results of our efforts here will strengthen the encouraging trends.

Our own experiences in the Wayland Baptist College encourage us in our desire to see these walls of segregation fall.

Until six years ago there had never been anyone enrolled at Wayland College except white students of Anglo Saxon extraction. I accepted the presidency of the college at that time only after outlining to the Trustees a plan to educate many students of other nations as national missionaries. When the young people from the Orient, Latin America and from Europe came to our campus there was some resentment by the students, some by the constituents in general and a little even by a few of the pastors. One preached a dogmatic sermon on the "sin against God" in mixing up the races.

The opposition diminished, however, day by day until the whole area recognized and talked proudly about Wayland's international friendship project. The churches in the area and individual Christian friends gave over $30,000 each year for scholarships and in some instances they paid for overseas travel. Why so much cooperation for this educational venture? They were made to see that this could prove to be a very effective and economical mission program.

Already the project has succeeded. Our graduates on returning home start constructive Christian service at once. They face no language or social barrier for they are among their own people.

Students of several nations and our own American students got acquainted. The result? International goodwill has been increased. Racial hatred has been dissolved in a feeling of brotherhood.

Occasionally an Oriental or Latin American would ask an American roommate why there were no Negroes at Wayland. A few of these questions were passed on to me by white students. At last small groups of students would come with the same question. I countered with the question, "Would a Negro student be welcome here? Really Welcome?"

Such questions brought about several informal polls. The result of each poll was increasingly encouraging. And finally when the first Negro made application our faculty voted one hundred per cent for admission. Only eight students opposed and none of these were strong in their opposition.

But what about the Board of Trustees? Some would give vigorous opposition, I feared. At a called meeting of the Board, I presented the application from the Negro and said in effect, "I know what our customs and traditions dictate but surely to us there are stronger voices—the voice of democracy and the voice of Christianity." By an overwhelming majority the Negro was admitted, but not until nearly every member told of his prejudice and of his internal battle. Fortunately, nearly every member had had several of our

*Address delivered at the Southwide Conference on "Youth and Racial Unity Through Educational Opportunity", held at Allen University, D 29-31, 1952.

international students as house guests.

Now, the next question. How would the Negro be admitted? On a segregated basis? No, thanks be unto God. The door to the dining hall was thrown wide open and so were all other doors.

The greatest motivating force back of this bit of progress is the desire of Christians to be really Christians. When spiritual growth in America parallels our technical progress, walls of segregation will crumble to dust. I have seen a genuine religious faith quietly dissolve racial hatred. This faith must be more than a lukewarm belief—it must be a positive out-working of one's convictions.

These same Christians who professed also to believe in democracy were motivated by the desire to be genuinely democratic. They were trying to be honest citizens. Unless Americans rid democracy of hypocrisy there is a danger that hypocrisy will rid Americans of democracy. Ralph Johnson Bunche says that "to perfect our design for living we need only to demonstrate that democracy is color blind." Until we do, we will continue to provide communists with their best propaganda weapons—such as the newspaper release about the American Indian veteran of Korea whose body could not be buried in his home town cemetery because he was not Caucasian.

Here then is a phase of the dilemma of Southern youth. How can he be truly Christian and not be condemned by the masses of society who claim to be true Christians? And how can a Southern youth champion a democracy that denies democracy to multitudes of his friends?

In spite of our divisions we must not be divided. There is too much gained from each other. The white citizen needs the Negro as a good citizen. The white man's contribution to the black man's full citizenship with equal rights and privileges is a contribution to the value of the white man's citizenship.

"If a man say, I love God, and hateth his neighbor, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Here then is a phase of the dilemma: "how can we say that we belong to God if we do not belong to one another?" If we do not break down the barriers the barriers will break us down.

Laws on segregation, provincialism, traditions and customs weigh heavily on Southern youth.

Another phase of the dilemma of Southern youth is the influence and example of many parents, teachers, and preachers in the South. Some of the parents of our white students have opened their homes to the Negro classmates of their sons and daughters, but only two, to my knowledge, have said, "no". Their own white sons and daughters have been greatly humiliated. I am encouraged to believe that the majority of our parents are happy about non-segregation. A few, I believe, are recognizing that segregation in education is contrary to the spirit of democracy, and is an evil which nullifies democracy in America. But a segregated world cannot and will not produce an integrated world. The non-segregated classroom provides a much needed laboratory in which our potential leaders can practice democratic human relationships. Both white and colored citizens and democracy itself suffer from segregation.

What a tragedy to all mankind when a few of our leaders, especially our spiritual leaders have no vision.

Fortunately more and more ministers are making a thorough study of the race problem in the South and as a result there have come a few steps of progress, though in the total pattern, they are hardly noticeable.

Much, much time will be required before our race problem in the South is fully settled but there is enough evidence in our present victories to lead me to believe that rapid progress can be made.

If you say that my faith is over optimistic—I will tell you of the two largest Baptist churches in our college town of 18,000 people, where our Negro students were barred from every cafe, from every barber shop and from every hotel except those across the track. These two churches, one the largest and wealthiest in our town, opened their doors to our Negro students. A minimum dissension came from this.

Business people are not cognizant of the dilemma they have created. If they were, their attitude toward race would be changed in a hurry for segregation and discrimination, in this tense world, are enemies of the free enterprise system. Government enroachment in private business in some instances has been forced upon government. The Constitution of the U. S. Government guarantees equal rights and privileges to all citizens regardless of race, color or creed; every American business has a direct obligation to support the Constitution to the limit of its ability. Business and all American institutions must *practice* democracy if we hope to maintain it.

Two young men of Mexico from homes of culture and refinement enrolled at Wayland College. They were immaculately clean and better dressed than most of our students. They dropped into a drug store in one of our nearby cities, sat at the counter and ordered malted milks.

The waitress, who recognized an accent, said, "Are you Mexicans?" "Yes", one boy answered very proudly. "We are citizens of Mexico."

"Sorry", said the girl, "We do not serve Mexicans here."

This was their first direct contact with prejudice. One young man who could hardly trust his own ears said, "There must be some mistake. We are students at Wayland and we have never been treated this way before. May I speak to the manager?"

The manager's answer was cold and hard: "Now boys get it straight. You are Mexicans. I don't care if you are students at Wayland—you are still Mexicans and we just don't serve Mexicans here!"

To put it mildly it was a rude awakening. When they returned to the campus, it was obvious to all that something serious had happened. You can well imagine my dilemma when these young Mexican friends whom I had come to love very much started asking, "why?"

How would you have answered? What would you have said? Such treatment was out of harmony with Christianity and not compatible with democracy. I explained to them that this action was not from real democratic Americans. I talked and talked and talked, but race hatred, discrimination, prejudice, segregation—all talked so much louder that I doubt that they heard a word I said. At times I couldn't even hear myself.

It is not hard to understand why racial groups all over the world turn deaf ears to our speeches on brotherhood and democracy. It is not hard to understand why we are having so much difficulty in winning the "cold war" when we realize that the truth about our treatment of minority groups in America is being published and broadcast to the ends of the earth.

The communists do not have to lie about us to have all the material they need to disrupt our friendly efforts throughout the world, and to frustrate our plans for peace.

God help us to be awakened to the fact that democratic principles will never triumph over the reactionary forces as long as racial antagonism remains a barrier between men and as long as democratic people fail to practice democratic principles.

The day may come when we will need as an ally in our struggle every freedom loving person on earth. We need even now the friendship of Europe, of the Middle East, of Africa,

Latin America and of the Orient. In a life and death conflict the enmity or friendship of a small nearby republic like Mexico, could make the difference in defeat and victory.

I pray God that the camel's back of friendship in Mexico, in the Orient, in the Near and Middle East, in Africa and in my own community has not yet been broken.

God speed the day when the Sermon on the Mount and the Declaration of Independence will be the blueprints by which we live. Young people are the architects of the New South. God grant them the wisdom and the courage to build according to His plan.

Reprinted from THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
Spring, 1953. For additional copies write to
THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND INC.
822 Perdido Street New Orleans 12 Louisiana

REGISTER TODAY

A Voteless People Is a Hopeless People

The Louisiana Weekly

OLDEST AND FOREMOST IN SOUTH LOUISIANA

Member of Audit Bureau of Circulation

Vol. XXIX, No. 5 NEW ORLEANS 13, LA. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1953 PRICE 12c

VETERANS' HOSPITAL HERE IS MOVING TOWARD INTEGRATION

32-35-19

Citizens Group Makes Personal Tour Of Facility

There is no over-all pattern which could accurately describe the 493-bed New Orleans Veterans hospital's racial policy, according to statements made Monday by a group of four prominent local citizens who visited the hospital last week.

The group visited the hospital at the request of the manager, Dr. A. Mogabgab, for the purpose of observing the policy of the hospital concerning the treatment of minorities.

In a conference with Dr. Mogabgab, B. W. Porter, assistant manager; and Dr. Henry Schmidt, director of professional service, the group sought information as to the policy of the hospital (1) in the use of Negroes on the professional staff; (2) treatment of patients and (3) physical arrangements.

The group found that there are no Negro consultants or residents on the professional staff. However, there is one Negro lecturer, Dr. Harold W. Lucien, associate professor of chemistry at Dillard university. According to Dr. Mogabgab, no Negroes had even applied as resident doctor, but all such applications, he said, would be received without prejudice and would be given the same consideration as others.

It was further revealed that there are six graduate nurses who are assigned to general duty and their services are not restricted to any particular group of patients.

Two Negro technicians on the staff; one in the laboratory and one in electro-cardiography.

In the treatment of patients, one floor—the fifth—has been set aside for routine Negro patients, but there is no segregation, said the manager in the mental and T. B. departments or in the division where specialized individual care is required. There is no segregation in the clinic and all patients are treated in the order in which they arrived.

Movies and other recreational programs on a hospital-wide basis are not segregated, nor is there any discrimination in the library.

There are three dining rooms, one which (specialized diets) is not segregated.

The rest rooms are used by all patients without discrimination.

Before leaving the hospital, preliminary plans were discussed which would enable the Negro physician to benefit from the scientific work at the hospital by participating in autopsies, clinical-pathological conferences, and observation work in the operating room.

Commenting on the visit of the group, a spokesman for the group said, "We were disappointed to find New Orleans is not one of the five VA hospitals in the South, which are said to operate without segregation; however, we were gratified to find so much evidence that the hospital was moving in this direction and has concrete plans for achieving this goal."

"We saw a young Negro veteran," he continued, "in this hospital who had lost his hand in Korea. We imagine this young man had some difficulty in understanding why a man who is considered good enough to give his hand and perhaps his life in the service of his country in a foreign land, is not considered good enough when he returns home to associate with his fellow Americans on a basis of complete equality."

Members of the group were Dr. Rivers Frederick, consultant at Flint-Goodridge hospital; Dr. W. R. Adams, president of the Louisiana State Medical society; Dr. Elaine Allen, Medical director, premature unit of Charity hospital and connected with the department of pediatrics of Tulane university and L.S.U.; and Dr. James A. Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

For Additional Copies Write to
Southern Conference
Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12,
Louisiana

(REPRINTED FROM)

The Orange and White

OFFICIAL STUDENT NEWSPAPER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1953

32-35-5

Bob Ewing, the writer of the adjoining letter, is a junior in the Law School of the University of Tenn.

He was a delegate to a South-wide conference on Youth and Racial Unity through Educational Opportunity held last December at Allen University and Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina.

The conference was attended by 141 delegates from 48 states and universities in 18 southern and border states.

For additional Copies of this letter and for a full report of the conference, write to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

What Can We Do About Segregation?

(Ed. Note—The opinions expressed in this article are not necessarily those held by the O&W. However, we feel that the question of segregation should be given a great deal of thought by U-T students. We will welcome any comments, pro or con, on this article.)

Following a report given to the ASC Governing Council concerning a Southern interracial conference held in Columbia, S. C., I was asked to offer suggestions as to how intergration could be brought about on our campus. My remarks will be confined to those areas where students have at least some say-so as to what the policies will be.

These ideas relate to what can be done by us (the students) in co-operation with the Administration to pave the way for the realization of an intergrated university open to all qualified citizens of the state.

One of the first steps toward the elimination of segregation could be the admittance of Negroes on an intergrated basis to all University functions of a public nature such as U-T Concerts, athletic events, and religious services (Convocation and the Community Thanksgiving Service). The Knoxville Symphony has already set the pace at the auditorium by admitting Negroes on an intergrated basis.

Outstanding Negro leaders in their respective fields could be brought to our compus to speak and to entertain. The ice has been broken here also; there was a Negro singer with the Horace Heidt show.

With Knoxville College in our vicinity, similar organizations of the two schools could meet together perhaps every fourth meeting to share their programs, activities, and fellowship. We could have their choir sing at the "Y" and send our choir to KC for a program. There are at least two U-T groups (Channing Club and Philosophy Society) in which KC students already participate.

It will be asked, "What groups are to take the lead if any such program of intergration is to be brought about?" A logical reply might be that the "Y" groups, the student centers of the various churches and International Club would take the lead. All of these are representative groups which exert influence on our campus.

These suggestions (one man's opinion) are presented with the sincere hope that they will arouse different, more adequate, and better ideas that might help solve one of the most important problems that we of the U, S. face today. As long as segregation and discrimination exist within our country, we shall never be an effective leader in a world three-fifths of whose people do not have white skins.

We, the students on this campus, can, if we desire, do our share in bringing about a more just social system—a democracy with equal opportunity for all.

—Bob Ewing

[Spingarn High S.]

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL
TWENTY-FOURTH AND BENNING ROAD NE.
WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL

December 3, 1953

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Sir:

The Spingarn High School will be dedicated with appropriate exercises on Wednesday, December 9; Thursday, December 10; and Friday, December 11. On Wednesday, December 9, the Dedication Committee will present a program honoring Joel Elias Spingarn and the Spingarn Medalists. This assembly is being planned primarily as a service of inspiration for our students and it would mean much to them to see you in the audience.

We would consider it a great pleasure then, to have you as an honored guest at this program. Our school cordially invites you to a luncheon at 12:00 noon and to the assembly beginning at 1:30 p.m. and to any of the other exercises of dedication that you might care to attend.

In order that we may continue our preparations, we would appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience. If you find it impossible to be present on this occasion, please consider sending a greeting which we may announce to the audience and file with the historical records of this dedication.

Very truly yours,

Purvis J. Williams

Purvis J. Williams
Principal

S

[ENC]

35-50,31

The Dedication
of
The Joel Elias Spingarn Senior High School
Twenty-sixth and Benning Road, Northeast
Friday, the Eleventh of December
at eight o'clock p. m.

Admit One

Spingarn High School

[ENC]

35-50,34

The Calendar of Dedication Events

Student Program - Wednesday, December 9, 1:30 p. m.

Open House - - - Thursday, December 10
Guided Tours at 9:30 a. m., 11:30 a. m., 1:30 p. m.

Formal Ceremonies - Friday, December 11, 8:00 p. m.

[ENC]

35-50,33

The Board of Education of the District of Columbia
requests the honor of your presence at
The Dedication
of
The Joel Elias Spingarn Senior High School
Twenty-sixth Street and Benning Road, Northeast
Friday evening, the eleventh of December
nineteen hundred fifty-three
at eight o'clock

MCBD attended

[1953]

[Spingarn H.S.]

Dedication

JOEL ELIAS SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL

Washington, D. C.

32-19-37

Student Day

The Auditorium

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

DECEMBER NINTH

One-thirty O'clock

32-18-2

Program

Edythe Smith and William Chappelle
Narrators

The Lord's Prayer . . . . . *Malotte*
WILHELMINA OWENS

Biographical Sketch -- Joel Elias Spingarn

Tribute to the Spingarn Medalists

Significance of the Medal . .
DR. MARGARET JUST BUTCHER
Daughter of Ernest E. Just, First Spingarn Medalist

Precision Drill . . .
SPINGARN DRILL TEAM

My Lord, What a Mornin' *Harry T. Burleigh*
SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL CHOIR
Directed by Mr. Alston W. Burleigh, Son of Harry T. Burleigh

The Creation . . *James Weldon Johnson*
STUDENT VERSE CHOIR

Go Down, Moses . . *Harry T. Burleigh*
ALEXANDER PERKINS

32-19-38

Program

Interpretation: Ave Maria *Schubert*

Recorded Voice of Marian Anderson

STUDENT CHOREOGRAPHY GROUP

Responsive Service of Dedication . . .

DR. PURVIS J. WILLIAMS AND AUDIENCE

Presentation of Guests . .

DR. WILLIAMS

The Script was prepared by Mrs. B. A. Ivy and Mrs. I. W. Miles

Responsive Service of Dedication

Leader: Let us now with earnest hearts and with exalted faith and hope solemnly consecrate this building to its high and holy purpose. To the glory of God in whom we trust; for the upbuilding of righteousness among the people.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To the ideals for which this country was established, by which our nation has been upheld, and through which it will go on to future greatness.

Audienee: We dedicate this building

To the community of which we are a part, and under whose laws we live, to the United States of America our country.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To democracy, that order in the state which permits each individual to weave a portion of its web by putting forth his utmost effort.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To love of freedom, our national inheritance, the essential energy for democratic institutions.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To the beauty by which art, music, and literature minister to our souls.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To the skill which we learn from the useful arts as they train us to be good workmen.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To the knowledge of the past which fits us to help solve the problems of the present.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To the appreciation of the thoughts and feelings of the nation as expressed through language.

Audience: We dedicate this building

To faith in humanity, the faith that all men must face each other squarely with the knowledge that the give and take between them is to be equal.

Audience: We dedicate this building

All: We dedicate this building to those who go forth from this institution into the life of the Nation, that they may go forth imbued with the knowledge that they have become a vital part of their community, and with the feeling that their work here has beena vital step in their preparation for the life before them. To this end, may the blessing of God be upon parent and student and teacher and upon everyone whose influence will in any degree affect the work of education as it shall be conducted within these walls.

Members of the Dedication Committee

Virginia P. Sears, Chairman

Fred J. Aranha, Jr.	Marguerite R. Aveille
Lawrence L. Baylor	Herbert A. Boyd
Avonia A. Brown	Cynthia D'A. Brown
Edgar S. Burke	David R. Byrd
Callie S. Daniel	Annie E. Duncan
Helen L. Farmer	Elinor A. Felton
Marjorie N. Felton	Maxwell Honemond
Henrietta W. Houston	Theodore R. Hudson
Bertha A. Ivy	Jessie H. Jackson
Erma B. Johnson	Louise J. Lovett
Isadore W. Miles	Cereta E. Perry
Mary E. Price	Lucille D. Roberts
William H. Smith	Bernard L. Walton

Purvis J. Williams, *Principal*
Annie E. Duncan, *Assistant Principal*
W. Tilford Davis, *Assistant Principal*

SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL PRINTING

JOEL ELIAS SPINGARN HIGH SCHOOL
ADVANCEMENT - JUSTICE - ACHIEVEMENT
1952
WASHINGTON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[Stamler]

5414 Ingleside
Chicago 15, Ill.
Nov. 6, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois—

Permit me to give you an accounting of the books you brought here for us and entrusted to me: Since you departed, I have sold a few, and — with your agreement — would like to hold them here for a while to attempt further sales, returning the unsold volumes plus payment for the others later this month. Please advise me as to your pleasure in this matter.

May I take this opportunity to express my personal estimate of your splendid contribution to our Chicago weekend's work for peace. What with the TV program, the University of Chicago meeting, the Friday

27-5-11

night mass meeting, the Sat. panel and the Sun. evening reception, it can conservatively be stated that your contribution was a continuing, sustained and decisive one. Nor, need I add, does the foregoing refer primarily to the quantitative scope of the calendar. All of us here, as always, were profoundly enlightened by each one of your scholarly presentations.

In this regard, I personally - and not I alone - would like very much to have copies of the two papers you presented on Africa, on Sat. afternoon and Sun. evening respectively. Off the record, and without being too sanguine, I would like to explore the possibility of getting them into print as a brochure - with full approval at each step from yourself. In any case, others of us and myself want to study them, for our own enlightenment. They are fine supplements to The World and Africa.

Perhaps Mrs. Milton has already written

you about the above. (We have been out of touch for a few days, each "recovering" from the hectic Conference pace!)

Finally, my impression is that your final text Friday nite was somewhat different from the one you sent pre-Conference. Would it be possible to have that available, as well? (It was tape recorded, but the where-with-all for transcription on paper is not readily available.)

Again, permit me to express our appreciation to you for your fine work here. Please accept my best wishes and kindest personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

Jeremiah Stamler, M.D.

27-5-12

Nov. 9, 1953

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler
5414 Ingleside
Chicago 15, Ill.

My dear Dr. Stamler:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 6th and its kind words.

I shall be very glad to have you keep the books entrusted to you as long as there is a chance of selling them. Once in a while I shall write simply to remind you that they are in your care.

I very much enjoyed the opportunity I had to meet and talk with the various audiences. I will see if later I can send you texts of one or two speeches in accordance with your suggestion.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 19, 1953

Mr. Alfred K. Stern
Ridgefield
Conn.

My dear Mr. Stern:

As Shirley and I return from the Bahamas, we find here a box of excellent cigarettes from the "King of the Sea". I was at first puzzled to know who had sent them until I found your name.

Let me thank you very much indeed, and Shirley and I send our love to you and Martha. We hope to see you sometime this spring.

Very sincerely,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-50-11

Nov. 18, 1953

Mr. Charles Stewart
American Labor Party
17 Murray St.
New York 7 NY

My dear Mr. Stewart:

Shirley and I were deeply distressed on learning of the terrible accident which befell your wife. I trust she is making progress.

When she is able to receive visitors Shirley will be very glad to call.

Meantime she suggests that if you get hungry we would be too glad to have you drop in and have dinner.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-50-10

SWIAT

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[Swiat]

S.d. 955/A/53

Warszawa, dn. 7.XII. 1953

25-64-23

Dear Sir,

Nineteen fifty-four marks ten years since the re-birth of Poland and the establishment of a free and independent state. With tremendous efforts the Polish people succeeded during these ten years not only to raise their country from the ruins and destruction of the last war, but also to make tremendous progress on the road towards industralisation of the country.

On this occasion, the editors of the illustrated weekly "Swiat" /World/ have the honour to invite your views on the role and importance of the re-born Polish state as regards its economic and political international relations.

Enclosed please find the latest copy of our weekly.

Thanking you for your cooperation, we remain,

Very Truly yours,

Prof. W.E. Burghardt Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2
N.Y.

TYGODNIK ILUSTROWANY

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 12, 1953

Editor
Washington Post
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I should be grateful if you would accord the hospitality of your correspondence columns to the following comments, or, alternatively, comment on the subject editorially:

JIM-CROW GALA

In the Journal-American of March 8, Cholly Knickerbocker reports that on March 12 the Social Event of the Palm Beach season will take place -- a Hospital Ball, to raise $1,800,000 for a Negro hospital at Pine Ridge. The present one, "little more than a shack" has only 40 beds to serve a community of 5,500 Negroes. Multimillionaire Charles Wrightsman is behind the project. "He became aware of this need when one of his Negro help could not be admitted to St. Mary's hospital for white people, of which Mr. Wrightsman is president. According to Mr. Knickerbocker "great names are honorary chairmen and are serving on the various committees."

Mr. Knickerbocker writes: "It is indeed appalling that American Negroes should be condemned to die for lack of hospitalization in the paradise of the rich. But at the same time it is wonderfully encouraging that a group of these wealthy people should have put their heads together to build a new Pine Ridge."

Will Negroes be present? Of course! Platoons of them! Else who would chauffeur the Cadillacs, announce the arrival of guests, decant the champagne and perform other services expected of faithful retainers.

Every decent progressive American will share with their Negro brethren a deep, rising anger at the brazenness of this admission that the REALITIES of segregation shall remain, but be endowed with such amenities that no right-thinking Negro could be so ungrateful as to object. What an ironic, pitiless light this casts on our pretensions to a democracy we trumpet to all the world!

Knickerbocker states that the publicity will focus the attention of Americans on this problem. (And perhaps inspire other "hearts of gold" to finance a chain of such super-modern jim-crow institutions across the country?) No thank you! We would prefer to fight against this degrading, dehumanizing expression of racism. One of them is more than enough!

Our answer is: "Speed the day when the reason for the existence of such a hospital becomes un thinkable. Speed the day when this and every hospital, church or other institutions of public service be rededicated to the service of EVERY citizen needing their ministrations.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel I. Symington

If you use the foregoing, in whole or in part, or comment on the subject editorially I would be grateful for a tear sheet, for which I enclose 6¢ in stamps. Thank you.

CHOLLY KNICKERBOCKER
Journal American
Sunday, March 8, 1953

THE BIGGEST SOCIAL EVENT in social Palm Beach will take place March 12 when la creme de la creme of American society assembles in the gardens of the Everglades for the Hospital Ball. The hospital in question is Pine Ridge, a hospital for Negroes. At present, Pine Ridge is little more than a shack with 40 beds. And there are 5,500 Negroes in the community!

It is indeed appalling that American Negroes should be condemned to die for lack of hospitalization in the paradise of the rich. But at the same time it is wonderfully encouraging that a group of these wealthy people should have put their heads together to build a new Pine Ridge, which will cost $1,800,000.

The man behind this project is Charles B. Wrightsman, who made millions in the oil business and has one of the finest homes in Palm Beach. Wrightsman is president of St. Mary's Hospital, the white people's hospital, and it was he who first recognized that there were no facilities for the Negro, when one of his help could not be hospitalized. The new Pine Ridge will be one of the most modern hospitals in the country, and will be built on the grounds of St. Mary's.

The Hospital Ball, besides raising money will, by attracting nation-wide publicity, focus the attention of Americans to this problem. Great names like the Henry Fords 2d, the Michael Phippses, Mrs. George F. Baker, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, the Robert Youngs, the Winston Guests, the Claude Boettchers, the Joseph P.Kennedys and the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, who are the honorary chairmen, are serving on the various committees for the ball.

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 13, 1953

Editor
Arkansas State Press
806 West 9th
Little Rock
Arkansas

Dear Sir:

I should be grateful if you would accord the hospitality of your correspondence columns to the following comments, or, alternatively, comment on the subject editorially:

JIM-CROW GALA

In the Journal-American of March 8, Cholly Knickerbocker reports that on March 12 the Social Event of the Palm Beach season will take place -- a Hospital Ball, to raise $1,800,000 for a Negro hospital at Pine Ridge. The present one, "little more than a shack" has only 40 beds to serve a community of 5,500 Negroes. Multimillionaire Charles Wrightsman is behind the project. "He became aware of this need when one of his Negro help could not be admitted to St. Mary's Hospital for white people, of which Mr. Wrightsman is president. According to Mr. Knickerbocker "great names are honorary chairmen and are serving on the various committees."

This columnist writes: "It is indeed appalling that American Negroes should be condemned to die for lack of hospitalization in the paradise of the rich. But at the same time it is wonderfully encouraging that a group of these wealthy people should have put their heads together to build a new Pine Ridge."

If all the words and deeds of every Pharisee since recorded time were laid end to end, they would fail to match the consummate hypocrisy implicit in this gala event. Certainly, never has the clock of human history been turned back with such eclat, expense and insolent disregard of such progress as we have achieved in just and decent racial relations -- pitifully little as that progress has been.

The perfumed parasites and their tycoon mates must harbor a nostalgic longing for the good old days when their forebears swigged champagne, gorged on caviar and tripped the "light fantastic toe" until dawn for the simple, uncomplicated reason that they wanted and could afford so expensive a gala. Now, however, these gargantuan blow-outs must be staged for sweet "charity" -- a foul, degrading word when used in this context. Is it conscience or caution which has applied the goad? Or only the uncomfortably clear handwriting which has been appearing on the wall of history?

Will Negroes be present? Of course! Platoons of them! Else who would chauffeur the Cadillacs, announce the arrival of guests, decant the champagne and perform other services expected of faithful retainers.

Every decent progressive American will share with their Negro brethren a deep, rising anger at the brazenness of this admission that the REALITIES of segregation shall remain, but be endowed with such amenities that no right-thinking Negro could be so ungrateful as to object. What an ironic, pitiless light this casts on our pretensions to a democracy we trumpet to all the world!

This event should be beamed over the Voice of America, with three prominent, carefully selected Negroes (whose names I could name) broadcasting a message of bubbling gratitude that the Benighted States of America is really on the march and that its Negro population "never had it so good."

I should rejoice if, when this hospital "for colored only" is completed, it would stand, empty and scorned by the people for whom it was built. But such a compelling immediacy accompanies illness when its anxieties and tensions are aggravated by poverty and discrimination that it would be unrealistic to expect ANY human being not to swallow his pride and accept the bitter pill -- for the time being!

Knickerbocker states that the publicity will focus the attention of Americans on this problem. (And perhaps inspire other "hearts of gold" to finance a chain of such super-modern jim-crow institutions across the country?). No thank you! We would prefer to fight against this degrading, dehumanizing expression of racism. One of them is more than enough!

Our answer is: "Speed the day when the reason for the existence of such a hospital becomes unthinkable -- the day when this and every hospital, church or other institutions for the public weal be rededicated to the service of EVERY citizen needing their ministrations.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel I. Symington

P.S. This is unconscionably lengthy, and, if acceptable, may call for the expertise of the editorial blue pencil. But when the heart is full of anger the words flow without regard to the exigencies of newspaper space or the patience of readers!

If you use this material or make editorial comment on the subject I would be grateful for a tear sheet -- 6¢ in stamps enclosed. Thank you.

M.S.

35-30.21

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 14, 1953

Mr. William Patterson
Civil Rights Congress
6 East 17th St.
New York City

Re Pine Ridge Hospital for Negroes

Dear Pat:

The short letter has been sent to St. Louis Post Dispatch, Chicago Sun-Times, Washington, D.C. Post, Baltimore Morning Sun, and Freedom.

The long letter has gone to Baltimore Afro-American, The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Arkansas State Press, and Freedom.

You have a copy of both these versions — I typed an original for each publication so it was quite a job.

I wrote a special letter to the editor of the Jounal-American. You will note that the tone of this is "more in sorrow than in anger" — I think you will understand why. You will smile at the naivete of the hopes I express in the final paragraph — that the leopard can or will change its spots. For all my diplomacy I doubt that any part of the letter will be published.

In writing to Carey McWilliams of The Nation it was in the hope that my remarks might stimulate him to an editorial on this subject.

Copies of the four letters will go to Cedric Belfrage and Abner Berry.

I hope you will find this job satisfactory.

Best to you, as always

Muriel I. Symington

Copy of short letter & one to Jl Am.
went to Walter White N.A.A.C.P.

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 14, 1953

Mr. Carey McWilliams
The Nation
20 Vesey St.
New York City

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

The enclosed copy of a paragraph from "Cholly Knickerbocker's" column in the March 8 Journal American will speak for itself!

Every decent, progressive American will feel a deep resentment at the unblushing implications of this gala event -- that the REALITIES of segregation shall remain, but in this instance at least, be endowed with such amenities that no right-thinking Negro could be so graceless as to object.

You and your colleagues will agree with me that this project which might euphemistically be described as "charity" is nothing but the expression of a determination to arrest the advance of the slight progress we have made against the degrading, dehumanizing expression of the racism which stains our reputation before the world -- and above all -- before the peoples of Asia for whose favor we are suing.

Many people of innate decency and good-will have been lured into a complacent acceptance of segregation because the vast majority of our Negro fellow-citizens rarely give expression to the bitterness they must feel. Advantage has been taken of the magnanimity which so often resides in the human heart in the face of affronts and humiliations which one might think would destroy every vestige of good-will.

The obligation is explicit and pressing for every one of us who have lived with this problem in our hearts and on our minds. We must work harder, through every channel open to us, in the task of social education. Only working, not wishing, will speed the day when the existence of any institution "for colored only" will become unthinkable. Only then will our Negro brethren become fully and completely part of our American family.

This "second emancipation" will immeasurably enrich our society. It will bring to full flower all the potentialities inherent in 15,000,000 Afro-Americans. It will go far towards making the United States of America a democracy in spirit and in truth.

Cordially yours,

Muriel I. Symington

25-30, 24

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 16, 1953

Editor
Journal-American
220 South St.
New York City

Dear Sir:

In his column of March 8, Mr. Knickerbocker writes of a Hospital Ball taking place in Palm Beach for the financing of a new Negro Hospital at Pine Ridge to cost $1,800,000, replacing the present accomodation of 40 beds (for colored only) now serving a Negro community 5,500 strong.

I echo your columnist's sentiments: "It is indeed appalling that American Negroes should be condemned to die for lack of hospitalization in the paradise of the rich."

At this point he and I must part company when he writes: "But at the same time it is wonderfully encouraging that a group of these wealthy people should have put their heads together to build a new Pine Ridge.....the Hospital Ball, besides raising money will, by attracting nation-wide publicity, focus the attention of Americans to this problem....."

In my opinion the implications of this project are appalling! It is a candid admission that the REALITIES of segregation shall remain and be perpetuated, albeit endowed with such amenities that no right-thinking Negro could be so ungrateful as to resent it.

Surely clear-thinking Americans of any sensibility can see what an ironic pitiless light this throws on the sincereity of the democratic principles we proclaim to the world, and above all, at a time when we sue for the favor and support of countless millions who, if resident in this country, would be subject themselves to segregation.

Mr. Editor, thousands of us do not need their attention focussed on this "problem" -- it has lived in our heart and understanding for a long time. Let's put ourselves in a Negro¢'s place. We know that every adult among our 15,000,000 Negro fellow-citizens was once a little child, facing life with love and trust in its heart. But for Negro children, the love and trust engendered in so many good homes is soon dissipated by the realization that they are "not as others." The shadow deepens as the child matures. Let us not imagine that this taint only affects Negro children. For white children, the growing knowledge that the once acceptable Negro playmate or schoolmate is "different" is morally warping.

All of us are variously endowed. But for the Negro whose endowments are above the average, or exceptional, the procurement of education is a matter of "blood, sweat and tears". And on graduation, society rubs salt in the wound by limiting or completely denying him his opportunity to use his capacity and training for the common good.

25-30.22

Our America must develop to its full flower every nascent endowment of heart and intellect with which her citizens are gifted. This will make us immeasurably richer in spirit as a nation and infinitely more potent as a moral force before the world if we afford 15,000,000 Americans the opportunity to become, without any reservations, a part of this "good company."

I would hope that the rich and influential people whose money will build this hospital will come to realize that it is a degrading, dehumanizing and retrogressive surrender to racism, and having come to that understanding, work for and whole-heartedly support an educational program which would make a Pine Ridge Hospital "for colored only" unthinkable and rededicate this and all other institutions for the public weal to the common service of EVERY American needing their ministrations.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel I. Symington

25-50123

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
March 16, 1953

Dear Shirley:

The enclosed abomination will speak for itself! Pat ok'd the job -- sending you copy of each letter as each is angled, in part, a little differently.

One thing -- I would be most grateful to you and Dr. DuBois for a candid criticism of any errors of omission or commission.

Respectful and affectionate regards to Dr. DuBois and for you, as always,

My love,

Yours

Muriel Symington

25-50-16

April 21, 1953

25-50-25

Miss Muriel Symington
310 Windsor Pl.
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

My dear Miss Symington:

At this late date Shirley and I want to thank you for copies of your letters sent to the press on the hospital ball at Palm Beach, Florida.

I hope you had some repercussions from them. They were excellent.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
August 26, 1953

Correspondence Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York City

EXPENDABLE — BUT NOT DEPORTABLE

Speed the day when that unfriendly, chilling term "Alien", even in its most technically legal application, has disappeared and been replaced by "Foreign-Born."

However, I applaud its use when applied in a sense never envisaged by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization! We have in our midst native-born Americans who are indeed aliens -- but undeportable.

I would nominate for membership in this inglorious roster: Those judges sitting on political cases whose conduct reflects the current hysteria; lawyers, fearful of defending proponents of unpopular views; juries whose verdicts in such cases are foregone conclusions; faculties of schools and colleges maintaining prudent, unprotesting silence while colleagues, gifted and dedicated teachers, are dismissed; Daughters of the American Revolution who react -- as steel to magnet -- in the support of reaction, capping this achievement by their consummate gall in naming their headquarters "Constitution Hall!"

But leading all the rest, like abou ben Adam, I would nominate as Dean of Undeportable Aliens, Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, with his associate investigatorial mountebanks, has fed the flames of hysteria at home and shamed us abroad.

With respect to the foreign-born, I hope fellow-readers will wholeheartedly support Senator Lehman and Representative Celler in their omnibus bill introduced on August 3 and which will come up before the Congress in January. Its purpose is recodification of all immigration and naturalization laws, broadening their democratic base and eliminating their shamefully onerous provisions.

In the interim, the sponsors will unquestionably be the targets of harsh criticism and abuse. We must make our support known to Messrs Lehman and Celler and to our respective Senators and Congressmen. If we do not, this bill will die aborning.

Muriel I. Symington

[Symington]

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
September 20, 1953

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit
President of the UN General Assembly
New York City

Dear Madame President:

Enclosed you will please find copy of a letter I recently addressed to Mr. Dag Hammerskjold, your Secretary-General.

At the same time, may I take this opportunity to wish you every success in the arduous and difficult tasks your office will impose upon you. In your person, the eyes of the world are upon you as an acknowledged and distinguished symbol of the awakened and awakening power of the East and recognition by the West of this fact.

The predatory forces which in the 19th century preyed, unchallenged, upon the great land of your birth, upon China, its neighbors and on Africa, are now being pryed loose from their hold. Everywhere, men and women of good will and vision are hoping, with all their hearts, that the forthcoming decades will see the rich potentialities of all these peoples completely released to contribute to the benefit of us all.

But above all, those Americans who work for their country's best good, hope that confusion and defeat may be visited upon those forces in our country who now nourish the assuredly vain hope that the United States is the legitimate heir of those powers which once completely dominated and exploited millions of their fellowman. The mask of the once persuasive claim that their motive was an unselfish desire to introduce the blessings of Western civilization has been torn away, exposing the ugly face of a shameless greed.

All the noble (sic) cliches and pious maunderings uttered by official America are powerless to conceal certain current objectives in our country's present policies. We can only remind those who render lip service to virtue of an aphorism which, ironically enough, came out of the East! Quoted by Mr. Justice Douglas in his book "Strange Lands and Friendly People" is a sentence he found carved over an ancient doorway: "ONE HOUR OF JUSTICE IS WORTH A THOUSAND HOURS OF PRAYER!"

Thus does the East -- thus does Africa challenge us. And may America be inspired to accept and act upon this challenge.

Respectfully and cordially yours,

Muriel I. Symington

Draft of letter
as sent to
Hammerskjold
M.

Mr. Dag Hammerskjold,
Secretary General
United Nations

Dear Mr. Hammerskjold:

In the UN Charter, Capter 15, The Secretariat, Article 100, paragraphs 1 and 2 read as follows:

> "In the performance of their duties the secretary general and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any other authority external to the organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the organization
>
> "Each member of the UN undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the secretary general and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities."

35-50.28

The foregoing directive is plain and explicit. The verdict rendered by the UN administrative Tribunal re the dismissed employees was equally so -- four of the eleven reinstated; the other seven who did not want their jobs back were awarded indemnities totaling $135,000.

The most charitably minded person cannot fail to reach the conclusion that you breached the obligation you assumed according to the foregoing quotation from the UN Charter. On the heels of the verdict that Senatorial mountebank, McCarthy bellowed his rejection of the verdict; the American Legion in convention at St. Louis breathed threats against the UN; Senator Jenner, not to be outdone, threatens to reopen the case, a gross insult to the distinguished members of the tribunal.

It would be sheer naivete not to imagine that in your post-verdict discussion with James Wadsworth of the American UN delegation you were not bullied into an abject surrender of your prerogatives as Secretary-General.

As Virgil said: "Facilis descensus Averno".....Each surrender makes easier and more inevitable the next abdication of UN dignity and authority when a member nation shakes a minatory finger or does some psychological arm-twisting. True, you inherited a post made more difficult by similar actions on the part of your predecessor. But in electing you to your high office it must have been the hope of your backers that you possessed the qualities which would enable you to resist precisely the pressures such as the one to which you recently succumbed.

If this deterioration in the spirit and purpose of the UN is not arrested forthwith the day will come when the only viable reminder of the United Nations will be the melancholy spectacle of a group of magnificent buildings being converted into business offices, while over their main entrance might appropriately be carved the adage of Horace: "Alas, Alas, the flying years!"

Sincerely Yours,

Muriel I. Symington

September 24, 1953

Miss Muriel I. Symington
310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

My dear Miss Symington:

Thank you for letting me read your correspondence concerning our present civil rights.

I hope you will keep it up.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

25-50.26

C O P Y

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
November 24, 1953

Professor Henry Steele Commager,
Department of History,
Columbia University,
New York City

Dear Professor Commager:

I read and re-read with absorbed attention the splendid analysis you made of a burning issue, entitled "Guilt -- and Innocence -- By Association", printed in the N.Y. Times of November 6.

But in writing to congratulate you, may I take the liberty to suggest that the warning note you sound, implicit throughout the text, suggests to me that in boldly grasping the nettle and pursuing the matter further, you would perform a further signal service.

There are two words in current usage today which are used deliberately and wantonly to influence the mind of the public and to inflame its passions against any opinions or viewpoints it may please moulders of public opinion to deem heretical. Those words are "subversive and "conspiracy." The definitions in Webster anent these two words run quite a gamut -- but they are currently used to convey only their direst meaning.

As an historian, unlike the layman who reads his history from secondary sources, written after "all passion is spent", you have gone to original sources for each period of which you dealt -- contemporary public prints, speeches and documents -- material beaten out, white-hot, on the anvil of history when it is being made. Armed with the advantage with which your expertise endows you, I believe that you would perform a genuine service by writing a series of articles dealing with the various seminal periods of American history, pointing out that both subversion and conspiracy were the charges levelled against Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and their followers in the American Revolution the fight against the Alien and Sedition Laws, and in the struggle which resulted in the Emancipation of the slaves.

That you have accepted and share the commonly prevailing opinion of Communism and Communists is, I think, not an unfair conclusion to be drawn from several passages and phrases in your article -- and I quote:

1...."it assumes that a good cause becomes bad if supported by bad men."

2.... "The doctrine that a good cause can be damaged by disreputable support means that all that is necessary to ruin a good cause is bad support."

3.... "It rests on what may be called the rotten apple theory of society -- the theory that one wicked man corrupts all virtuous men, and that one mistaken idea subverts all sound ideas."

4...."it does not cease to merit support because men we disapprove support it."

5...."And guilt attaches itself to illegal acts not to dangerous thoughts or illegal association."

6...."Why is it that our present-day witch-hunters pay this matchless tribute to the power of communism or radicalism, that they think its doctrines and its proponents irresistible?"

Since the fons et origo of the associative guilt charge arises, not from association with the innumerable groups and causes deemed to be impeccably orthodox, it is obvious that in your use of the terms "bad men" -- "disreputable support" -- "one wicked man" -- can only have reference to "communism or radicalism".

Your reference to "the power of communism or radicalism (my emphasis) I found arresting. If I interpret you correctly, you apparently find "radicalism" distasteful, since you bracket it with communism for which it is apparent you have "a lodged hate and certain loathing". Does your position vis-a-vis radicalism mean that you view with jaundiced eye the historical processes through which our present society has evolved? There was the slave society of the distant past, when creative leisure enjoyed by the few made possible brilliant intellectual achievements -- but purchased at a price -- the virtual enslavement of the many. Then was evolved the feudal system, the shackles of which were eventually thrown off by the rising mercantile and trading classes. Lastly, capitalism, representing the rise of an economy better adapted to serve the complex requirements of industrial development and the technological advancement which lent it impetus. And, to boot, there was the dynamic force inje cted into secular society by the Reformation. This was probably the most convulsive "ideological" upheaval sustained by the world since the rise of Christianity and the tumult it created in its efforts to survive.

Surely all these changes were the work of the radicals of their time! Certainly they must have been so termed by those whose power and tenure were being challenged. Wherefore, since human society from the most ancient times has not been changeless but ever in a state of flux, ha e we any reason to believe or insist that these are sporadic phenomena, things of the past, and that our society henceforward is to be forever frozen in its present form? And if we believe that such an arrested development in inherently impossible, who then will be the midwi es of new social births but "radicals" -- as they always have been. And if history teaches us anything, it demonstrates that the contemporary dominant forces NEVER consents to be superannuated without a struggle, but on the contrary, gives vigorous battle to maintain itself in perpetual power.

In your apparent acceptance of radicalism as the twin of communism are you not delivering an ex-post-facto verdict of disapproval on the aims and purposes of Washin ton, Jefferson, Lincoln and other creative forces in our history whose opponents fought them and their objectives as "radical" -- and had the term been then in current usage -- would certainly have stigmatized them as "communists."

We all of us have an incontestable ri ht to "disapprove" and to implement our convictions by fighting for that in which we believe, and, pari passu, to repudia te "illegal acts." But with respect to "illegal acts" we have an equally compelling obligation to refuse supinely to accept our law-gi ers' designation of an act as "illegal when, in effect, they mean "dangerous thoughts" and not felonies. "Tha t is to say, ideas which are inimical to them and therefore in their bright lexicon "dangerous."

In the li ht of the foregoing opinions, I feel it would be disingenuous of me not to stand up and be counted as one who deeply resents, not the antagonism towards the objectives pursued by communists and radicals, (of which it is the right of us all to approve or disapprove) but slanderous implications that communist or radical leaders and their supporters are sui generis -- an alien, unholy aggregation of subhumans without honor and without principle -- robots dedicated to an "ideology" and in their lives bearing no resemblance to normal human beings.

To my repudia tion of these aspersions I can only bear personal witness, for which attestation may I claim your further indulgence?

A year ago la st summer, angered and disturbed by the fact that persons accused of a felony, in the classic legal definition of that term, secured reasonable bail with ease, while evey effort was made to deny bail to the second group of men and women indicted under the Smith Act, I searched my conscience, weighed the possibly uncomfortable consequences, and volunteered bail. As a would-be bailor for a political defendant, the grilling to which I was subjected was a horrifying revelation of the debacle which American justice has suffered in this context. At that time I was not acquainted with Mr. Begun, on whose behalf I appeared. I was

25-65-17

fighting for a princ iple, not exercising a good office of friendship This defendant was subsequently acquitted and my bail bond restored to me.

But, alarmed and alerted by this experie nce, I made it my business to be present at Foley Square as frequently as possible, and in the concluding days of the trial attended every session.

Thus, instead of these 13 defendants being known to me solely as proponents of social and economic theories of which I might or might not happen to approve, (and indicted for exercising the right openly to advocate their adoption), as the weeks passed I came to know them as fellow human-beings -- men and women whom I now have the honor -- and temerity -- to call my friends.

On February 2 and 3 of this year I listened to the statements made by each of the 13, before sentence was imposed by Judge Edward J. Dimock, the impact of which made me conscious of the fact that h... history was being made. These 13 statements were NOT mechanically parrotted or repetitive. Each was a subtle reflection and expression of the individual experience and personality of the speaker. But one thing they all had in common -- unswerving integrity and such complete candour as to make one smile at the accusation of conspiracy. They were about as conspiratorial as a clear pane of glass! And my impressions are reinforced in reading in "13 Communists speak to the Court" the complete text of these statements. It is possible that you already own this -- but assumin that you do not, I am sending you a copy with my compliments.

Deeply moved as I was by this experience, my emotions were compounded when I saw the marshall lead the defendants from the Court room en route to jail. Wives, older children, near relatives and good friends were present and I was deeply impressed by their fortitude as they saw their people disappear through the door. Since that time, as I have visited in their homes or foregathered with them elsewhere (and with the defendants themselves after bail was procured) I am increasingly struck by their hi h qualities as human beings and with the unwavering unselfconscious courage with which defendants and their families face (temporarily I am sure) a bleak future. Parenthetically, may I add that I had the privilege of helping to bail out two of these 13.

With respect to the various in eniously inventive ways in which defendants and their families have been harassed, there is such a shameful embarrassment of rich examples tha t to catalogue them would require a volume! But, as Virgil has it, "facilis descensus Averno" -- one edict of the Attorney General achieved the nadir of contemptable and malicious harassment -- when he named the Families Committee of the Smith Act victims as a subversive organization, in effect declaring it subversive to be loyal to deep human ties of blood or friendship, a virtue which I always assumed to be an attribute of every civilized human being.

In the light of my experie nce, can you wonder that when the difference between these defendants and those who procured their indictment were those of ideas, I am consumed with bitter indignation at the many instances I could cite which manifest such a grossly callous lack ofrespect for human rights and dignity displayed by those who are enforcing the outrageous Smith Act. It is a matter of record that Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas have termed the Smith Act unconstitutional, Justice Black denouncing it as "a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press."

As for those Americans of fundamentally decent instincts, sensitive to what is happening today, who remain fearful and silent, I can only reproachfully commend to their consciences the words of Dante:

"Languishingly.
Thy soul is by vile fear assail'd, which oft
So overcasts a man, that he recoils
From noblest resolution, like a beast,
At some false semblance in the twilight gloom."

As for the judicial processes prevailing at the trial of political defendants the same Italian poet, with sombre prescience, has created the motto which for the moment replaces that which should be the proud motto of our Courts, "Fiat Justitia", with his macabre introduction to the nether regions -- "Lasciate ogni speranza voi chèentrate!"

I have abused your indulgence by writing at such length. But I cherish the hope that you will feel impelled, first of all, to administer an intellectual febrifuge to reduce the high temperature of the many good American folk now seduced by the unscrupulously inflammatory charges of conspiracy and subversion now being hurled in increasingly rapid tempo at an ever widening group of citizens by birth, by adoption and the foreign born in our midst.

I further hope that these parlous times will elicit from you more than brilliantly cogent analyses of the situation, for this is "Crisis of Democracy", as Professor H.H. Wilson entitled a superb analysis of the crisis, published in The Nation of November 21.

Can you not find it possible to unite -- FOR ACTION -- on some common ground -- with fellow Americans, be they Democrats, Liberals Republicans , Socialists -- or Communists.

For this cloud, once no bigger than a man's hand, initially shadowed Communists only. But the shadow has spread. And if not arrested by the united action of citizens of goodwill, it will effect a total eclipse of every cherished American tradition.

There exists no more outspokenly bitter foe of Communism than Edouard Daladier. But in The Nation of November 14, Alvarez del Vayo reports from Paris that he sent a message to a Communist rally embodying the approach of "the outstretched hand" -- a willingness to join forces with the Communists for peace.

Del Vayo writes: "Daladier is the first non-Communist, even anti-Communist politician and the first of the few men who have made history on a world scale -- though by no means always in an admirable fashion -- to break through the ring of political blackmail which has been paralyzing the left. This blackmail consists in abusing, denouncing, and ruining the career of any man with standing in the country who dare express the same opinions as the Communists or -- an even more serious matter -- speaks at a meeting also addressed by Communists."

May you, in company with fellowAmericans of distinction and unimpeachable loyalty, (in the true meaning of that deeply abused word) be inspired likewise to tender the outstretched hand in the cause of peace and in defense of what you may deem wanton violation of the rights, not alone of Communists, but any of our brethren under attack for entertaining unorthodox opinions.

This action need not compromise, in the smallest degree, your unyielding opposition either to Communism or to any other views you do not share with fellow fighters. In the development of this relationship if you become aware, by reason of tangible evidence or overt acts that their gesture of the outstretched hand sprang from motives which, in your opinion, are suspect, your integrity will expose them, whereas violation of due process will only strengthen the argument of the victims and eventually open the eyes of the many Americans whose intellectual perspective has not become infected with the contemporary miasma of fear.

Action for peace is the commanding task. In the nature of modern war, a third world conflict will have no non-combatants and few survivors. There was a fearfully prophetic note in the words of an English poet of the last century:

"Horses and riders, friend and foe
In one red burial blent."

The world SHALL be spared this unselective, universal holocaust if we can forget those things which divide us and work together to forge an enduring peace.

Respectfully yours,

Muriel I. Symington

[Teachers UNION]

January 12, 1938

25-23.39

Mr. Bernard R. Kesselman
Teachers Union
206 West 16 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Kesselman:

I wish I could help by contributing to the Teacher News, but I regret to say that I have too much work promised to try to contribute anything.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Teachers' Union of N.Y.]

WHY Is This Teacher Threatened with Dismissal?

...TWO YEARS AGO Norman London refused to participate in a parade honoring Gen. MacArthur.

This is what the press said:

...NOW the New York City Board of Education is trying to fire Norman London under the pretext of inquiring into his political beliefs.

SHOULD A TEACHER WHO HAD THE COURAGE TO SPEAK FOR PEACE—WHICH EVERYBODY LONGS FOR—BE FIRED?

SHOULD A TEACHER WHO HAS FOUGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION BE FIRED?

WE URGE YOU TO PROTEST TODAY TO:

Andrew G. Clauson, Pres.
Board of Education
110 Livingston St.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Issued by:

Teachers Union of New York—206 W 15 St., NY 11

April 1953

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,

Teacher on Carpet for Balking At Duty at MacArthur Parade

In a statement to Superintendent of Schools William Jansen, the teacher, a veteran of World War II, said he refused to attend the parade because it was "a political demonstration for an individual whose policies would lead to precipitation of a general war." The teacher also said, according to a report by Thurgood Marshall, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that racial segregation was condoned in the MacArthur command, and "a teacher should not be coerced into taking part in an activity which violated his conscience and convictions." He noted also that he had served in the Pacific during the war and

WILL DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION BE A WAR CASUALTY?

The Reconstructionist

the occasion of the ...cArthur parade in New York City, the superintendent of Public Schools ordered that children be excused from classes to witness the parade if permitted by their parents, and that their ... accompany them. Norman ...acher who disapproved, as ...roved, of the glorification ...r having flouted United ... policy and the orders of his

The Saturday Evening POST

How Totalitarian Can You Get?

IN New York a public schoolteacher, who is also a veteran of the Pacific war, refused to join the celebration of welcome to General MacArthur. He gave as his reasons that he thought that the general's program was certain to land us in World War III and, as a veteran under General MacArthur's command, he didn't care much for the general anyway. Solemn hearings before the educational authorities were promised.

This seems pretty silly, if not downright menacing. After all, the views of the teacher as to the consequences of the MacArthur program seem pretty much in line with those of President Truman, Secretary of Defense Marshall and a lot of other people. Even if this schoolteacher were the only man in the country to disagree with General MacArthur and to refuse to holler in his honor, why is that a disqualification of him as a teacher or why should it be anybody's business but his?

People are getting pretty hysterical these days, but we have an idea that certain officious officials are a lot more hysterical than they have to be.

New York Post

NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 14, 1951

The Compulsion Was Voluntary

Superintendent of Schools Jansen may be a man of infinite wisdom in many fields but he obviously skipped the logic courses. Aroused by criticism of his threat to discipline a school teacher who refused to escort pupils to the MacArthur Day parade, Jansen wrote a letter to the Times insisting his critics misunderstood his directive. "There was no directive to pupils ... to participate in any parade," said Jansen. And if there was no directive, what was there? It seems ... Naughty Teacher ... school teacher faces disciplinary action ... escort a group of pupils to the recent ... be asked to be relieved because ... of reprisal? ... him to get into the spirit ... Having ... supervising students ... voluntary, ... to see that he is ... wished to ... not let elementary ... should have ... Jansen ... tter that ... rade (b) ... e. Class

Teacher's Refusal to Join Welcome To MacArthur Poses a School Issue

Continued From Page 1

ceived an assignment from Mr. Wiener. In a written memorandum to the principal, the teacher asked whether the assignment was mandatory but assertedly received no answer. On the day of the parade, ... French ... to re- ... pupils ... oming ... ormed ... 's re- ... ssign ... ter ... ng ... ccc ... om ... al ... n ... n ... t ... a ... s ... d a

sent letters to the board protesting attempts to "coerce" teachers to take part in the parade. The union also asked that no "reprisals" be taken against teachers who refused to attend the April 20 celebration.

The New York Times

Dr. Lieberman said he had ... who "gave answers purely as to the facts." Dr. Lieberman explained that he was awaiting a written statement from Mr. London as to the teacher's "motives" in turning down the parade assignment. The associate superintendent ... the matter.

Mr. London has appeared frequently at meetings of the Board of Education in its headquarters at 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, as a spokesman for the Teachers Union. Last March 22, he told the board that certain textbooks approved for use in the schools contained statements that were "insulting" to minority racial and religious groups. Challenged by several board members, he said he would submit a list of textbooks considered to be objectionable.

[Terrell]

October 2, 1953

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois send congratulations and all good wishes to Mrs. Mary Church Terrell on her ninetieth birthday.

They join with other Americans in appreciation of her long and valuable services to the nation and to the Negro race.

25-57-7

[Thompson]

Nov. 9, 1953

Mrs. Dorothy Thompson
c/o Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Dorothy and Noah:

I am so sorry we had to rush so on our visit but we had to make that 4:29 train in order to meet our appointments here in New York today and we simply could not stop and visit longer.

Please pardon us, and we both want to thank you for your kindness and your goodwill all the time.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-59-14

Stanton, Minn.
Nov. 3 - 1953

Mr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter I mailed to Jennie Lee - wife of Aneurin Bevan - House of Commons, England.

As soon as election is over I intend to write the Bevans again reminding them of the danger that envelops Britain in the light of the statements of Senator Wayne Morse that American forces in our bases in Europe take no thought to prevent war but only plans on how they will fight a war when war comes.

I have high hopes that Aneurin Bevan will take up my proposal. It is after all a question of survival or destruction for Britain.

25-59-19

I hope that you will take my plan seriously enough to do two things. (1) accumulate whatever scientific material possibly to show that the Sahara region can be reclaimed from its desert. (2) Inform a small group of Negro & white leaders of this proposal and have them ready to come forward with immediate and enthusiastic support for the plan - if and when Aneurin Bevan brings it forward.

If you would care to have mimeograph copies of my letter to Jennie Lee made; ready ~~for~~ to give out when the time comes that ~~you~~ would be fine. In that case please send me some copies too.

Sincerely yours.

Mrs. J. M. Thompson

The following is a copy - with some slight changes + additions - of a letter I mailed to Jennie Lee. M.P. House of Commons. Oct?

Some two months ago I sent a letter and a typed manuscript to Aneurin Bevan, outlining a new plan for the development of desert and semi-desert areas in North africa. I trust that this has not gone into the waste basket! Because of the extreme urgency of the situation, I take the liberty of writing again and this time I address myself to you - as possibly more receptive to a woman's idea.

Our radio reports stated that at the recent Labour Party Conference, you - or perhaps it was Richard Crossman - stated that the present American-led armaments race could only end in inevitable war. Truer word was never spoken and that is what makes my proposal for ending the arms race of prime importance.

25-59-20

First of all of course, we must make certain that the Soviet-dominated bloc of Nations will disarm, if we do. Every thoughtful person must realize that the Soviets can not possibly believe that we are sincere in any of our talk about disarmament, so long as we are depending on war production to maintain high employment and keep our economy going. I have seen estimates that as many as 17 million in this country are - directly or indirectly - employed in war production. Very likely that estimate is too high but there is no doubt whatever that many millions are so employed. The same is true to a lesser extent in several Nations of Western Europe that are - with American cash for military aid - using war production to keep up employment. Not one of our leaders has suggested any alternative plans for maintaining employment. In fact both of our major parties denounce as "socialistic" any reclamation plans that might provide employment on a large scale.

[Thompson, J.M.]

. . . This sort of thing is not true of any of the nations in the Soviet bloc. Without exception, they all have in being extensive projects of socialist construction: digging canals and constructing dikes, developing thermo-electric and hydro-electric power, building new factories, reclamation and reforestation or afforestation projects, constructing schools and hospitals and homes. The Soviet Union includes in its latest five year plans, a plan to double the amount of housing space in the U.S.S.R. However much or little these countries are now spending on armaments, they could — if they wished — cease all war production and smoothly and easily shift to production for civilian use, without causing unemployment or any serious cracks in their economies.

25-59-21

To ignore this basic fact is not merely silly, — it is downright dishonest. I do not believe that the "Bevanites" mean to be dishonest or insincere in spite of their dislike of the U.S.S.R. Our propaganda calls Aneurin Bevan "Anti-American". I do not so regard him — as anyone who opposes our militaristic policies. The great mass of plain Americans who long for peace will honor Bevan if he will lead the way out of this impasse.

In my previous letter I proposed the flooding of the two great below-sea-level areas in N. Africa — an area as large as that of our own Great Lakes. Now of course the idea of flooding these areas in North Africa has been known & discussed in France for many years. Nothing has ever come of it for 3 reasons. (1) Only recently, since modern medical science has sharply cut the death rate and world population is rapidly increasing, has it become clear that more production could is sorely needed. [In the U.S.A. whose population is increasing at the rate of more than 2½ millions a year]

(2) Only recently since the development of modern machines and since a modern scientific technology of land reclamation and development has been devised, has it been possible to reclaim the Sahara region. (3) In any case the job is too huge for any one country to attempt alone. My plan would have the United States, Britain and at least some of the nations of Western Europe – notably France and Germany – co-operate in developing North Africa.

The canals to let ocean water into the two inland seas could be dug by some sort of peaceful Atlantic Pact and then different countries could be assigned areas to develop – not only ~~according~~ according to their population pressure but according to the labor and capital they would be willing and able to put into the project. No one should be given a chance to exploit native labor or to boss the natives around. That sort of thing must end if real peace is to arrive!

The natives should be assigned adequate independent areas which they could develop for themselves – with loans and technical guidance and assistance from the United Nations F.A.O. or a similar organization. Each new national area should abut either on the ocean shore or on one of the new inland seas, so that every nation would have free access to the ocean and to peaceful world trade. Of course no military bases would be allowed anywhere in the area. No nation should be allowed to keep a territory unless they did in fact begin to reclaim and develop the land as rapidly as feasible, because any area left untouched would be an area where dirt storms and sand storms could originate, with detrimental effects on neighboring land. Even now considerable rain falls in this area during the winter months, but it runs off the surface of the hard-packed ground, down the ancient dry water-courses and spreads out on the salty desert floor – wasted.

25-59-22

Dams built in strategic spots could hold water back in ponds and lakes for use in summer irrigation.

In case you doubt that such land could be reclaimed, get a copy of the report of the Delegate from Peru to the Sixth International Grasslands Congress, held recently in State College Pennsylvania U.S. His report showed how he made desert sand productive in Peru in a similar climate. American farmer Louis Bromfield claims he can build 10 inches of top soil in ten years time! (See Successful Farming - August 1952). The Sat. Eve. Post for October 18 has an interesting article telling how American-financed research has developed new wheats for Mexico and a new corn, especially rich in vitamin A, in Guatamala. These crops would probably be well adapted to areas in North Africa.

25-59-23

If the human race is to survive, more attention must be paid to conserving soil fertility. The city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin has for years been making fertilizer, a dry grey powder, from city sewage and selling it at a net profit. The city of Oakland, California is making a valuable organic fertilizer from the city garbage. (See article in Collers magazine for May 31) I do not know how many cities in the world are doing similar things, but certainly more of them could do so. Such organic fertilizer would certainly be of great value in bringing barren sandy land into production. Also in California they are spraying cover crops with special select strains of soil bacteria and then plowing them under. Such methods, used in addition to deep disc plowing with a trash mulch to open up the soil so rain could soak in and the soil be kept from blowing away, plus the use of chemical fertilizers and all the techniques that modern soil specialists know, would certainly be effective in making great areas fertile. Do not forget that there are mountainous areas in the center of the Sahara to precipitate the moisture in the air that will come from the new water areas,

Also consider the fact that science has recently discovered that ocean water can be de-salted for irrigation purposes by the use of electricity. Why are we not doing research and building experimental plants on that project instead of research on the super-destructive hydrogen bomb? It is estimated that the new hydrogen bomb plant to be constructed in Southern Ohio will cost one billion dollars. That much money would build 1000 fine new high school buildings in cities & towns that need them! It sometimes seems to me that the whole western world must be insane, to squander our resources, waste our precious and irreplaceable minerals and kill a lot of people just to keep the arms race going and - not so incidentally - keep profits rolling in for the producers of war material.

To go back for a moment to the matter of America's participation in the development of the Sahara. I suggested that the American Negro be given plentiful aid and support in developing a homeland in Africa - as the Jews have done in Israel.

I do not know how much you know about America's Negro problem, but surely enough to know that it is serious and could be much more serious in case of a depression and unemployment here. It is amusing - and at the same time heart wrenching - to see both of our big political parties attempting to ensnare the vote of the Northern negro, while at the same time they appease the white-supremacy people in the South. This issue distorts all of our political campaigns and prevents much forward-looking legislation. Negro writers sometimes refer to themselves as a "Nation within a Nation" and to them the future does not appear bright in spite of undoubted gains. My plans would erase bitterness over this issue, as those who like and respect the negro and those who hate the Negro could work hand in hand in securing for him a real homeland on another continent. Also it would be very good for the negro. Nothing could so regenerate a people who have been scorned and made to feel helpless and inferior as this new opportunity to be independent and to accomplish something truly worthwhile. Pride of accomplishment would bring them a new self-respect and win respect from all the world.

85-59-24

I have been in correspondence with one of America's great Negro leaders and he has come to support my idea, although he still fears that the native blacks and browns in north africa might not get a fair deal. I do not believe that the American Negro would consent to go to Africa unless he did feel that the black + brown natives of the area were getting a fair deal.

Now let us consider for a moment the question of Germany. Western Germany has considerable unemployment now and would have a great deal more if it were not for American aid + support. Some people in the West German government are following the old Nazi line and saying openly that they must recover the lands lost to Poland and Czechoslovakia. This - like talk here of "liberating" Eastern Europe - means certain war, for surely Russia would not allow us to nibble away at her security any more than we would allow her to nibble away at ours. Although the West German government follows the same line that our government does + the mass of German people - particularly the workers and trade unionists - do not. They desire no more armaments and particularly they fear that most terrible of all possibilies, a civil war with East Germany that would cause German to fight German. Yet they must have some way of finding employment and some way of securing food for their people and raw material for their industries. To have an area in North Africa to develop would be just the outlet they need and - with general disarmament - East and West Germany could be united again and the fear of civil war forever banished. The German people are skilled and a patient and hardworking people. They could reclaim and develop an area in North Africa as rapidly as anyone. Our preventive war maniacs would be compelled to stop and think again when they found they could not get the German divisions they so greatly desire.

France could retain a large area to develop for herself. If she would decide to quit wasting money on Indo-China and on heavy military expenditures at home, she could really accomplish something in reclamation in Algeria or Morocco.

25-59-24

my longer paper suggested other things - particularly in regard to the great potential value of the inland seas.

Britain too might much better be spending money on the reclamation of some area in north africa, rather than on the economic waste of war production.

There is a situation in Asia quite analagous to the one in Europe. There Japan, an over crowded country, well developed industrially and with many skilled workers, is in need of food for her people and raw materials for her industries, and the only bright idea we have to help her is to urge her to rebuild her armies and go into war production! The same remedy the ruling Zaibatsu advocated before our coming.

A short distance away lies the great island of Sumatra, the larger part of it unused and uninhabited. This is because a great plateau, very high and inaccessable except by plane, runs nearly the whole length of the island. Several years ago I read, in one of our magazines, an article by a man who advocated that white Europeans should clear and settle this plateau since it was a potentially rich country and - although it is situated right on the equator - because of its high altitude it has a very pleasant climate. But this island belongs to Indonesia and is needed by the people of Asia.

If we really want to help Japan, which we now call a friendly nation, and promote human welfare, why do we not suggest that the governments of Japan and Indonesia should come to a friendly agreement - with the advice and aid of other Asian countries we hope - regarding the development of Sumatra? Japan is in a position to furnish the tractors, tools and varied equipment needed there, in return for a share in the food, timber and raw materials to be obtained from the island. If they need to see a

demonstration of how the jungle can be cleared, they have only to visit the island of Ceylon, where "cats" are pulling down jungle trees and clearing land with amazing speed. (See article in Sat. Eve. Post of April 26, 52) What Japan could not supply, probably India or some other Asian country could. What is needed is an Asian accord for peaceful development. It is a shame that resources should be wasted on war preparation in this poverty stricken portion of the globe!

Einstein <u>is</u> right when he says we must disarm or perish, and disarmament must be so thoroughgoing that there can be no basis left for mutual suspicion and distrust. I, along with every other American, feel that we must be certain - and I mean <u>certain</u> that the Soviet bloc disarms as soon as we do. I proposed before that we offer to allow officers - or a commission - from a neutral nation such as Sweden to erect barriers on the runways of all our bomber bases and all our aircraft carriers to return to home waters, <u>provided</u> the Soviets at the same time would allow Swedish commissions to go into the Soviet Union and all the so called satellite countries and see that all armies - except border guards & small military police & militia units - are demobilized and sent home. Tanks and arms could be left under guard if need be, ready to be smashed for junk as soon as we do the same with those on our side. The Soviets would need to agree to <u>complete</u> and <u>unrestricted</u> inspection by neutrals to see that disarmament really takes place. Then both sides must agree to ban the atomic bomb and end all war production. All air bases maintained by one nation on the territory of other nations should be turned over to purely civilian use, under the jurisdiction of some United Nations body.

Perhaps you will say this is all just a utopian dream. Give it a chance! What is there to lose?

25-59-27

It seems to me that it is up to American Bevan and the "Bevanites" to put this issue clearly before the world. I know of no one else who could do it. Let the people of the world have a chance to choose. On the one side is the course we have been following; the building up of armed might until the inevitable war comes with its world-wide desolation and destruction; on the other side is the opportunity to secure a stable and lasting peace, where the resources that have for years been poured into war preparations and war making can be used for human welfare. With God's blessing, give humanity this chance!

Before the House of Commons – or in whatever way he feels will secure the widest hearing – I trust that Mr. Bevan will bring forward this proposal. I hope it will be done soon, since every day we stand in danger that some rash action or untoward accident may start the great conflagration. I have tried to write very calmly and with restraint but nothing I or anyone could say could overplay the importance of this proposal.

Sincerely yours

Mrs. J. M. Thompson M. A.

Stanton, Minnesota

25-59-28

JOHN B. THOMPSON
Dean of Rockefeller Memorial Chapel
Chicago 37, Illinois

December 22, 1953

Dear Friend:

The battle against McCarthyism will reach a new stage on January 4th when the Supreme Court, for the first time in history, will hear arguments on a test of the First Amendment issue.

You doubtless know that four men have appealed to the First Amendment in challenging the authority of Congressional Committees to inquire into their personal beliefs and political associations. They are Harvey O'Connor, Julius Emspak, Corliss LaMont, and Leo Huberman. They have all risked imprisonment for contempt in taking this brave stand. The Emspak case will be argued first and will affect all the others.

35-59-29

Because wide discussion of such issues is essential in a healthy democracy, and because all of us who believe in an open society need to communicate and to make our voices heard, I am writing to you and a number of other leading Americans about this issue. This is not an inappropriate subject to consider during a season when both Jews and Christians celebrate their profound historic faith in the victory of light and truth over darkness.

The crucial question in the pending case is "whether the House resolution setting up the un-American Activities Committee abridges freedom of speech, press, and assembly in violation of the First Amendment" and whether the First Amendment protects a witness from compulsory disclosure of his political and personal views by a Congressional Committee. The press has largely missed the great significance of this coming decision--or else has chosen to ignore it. "McCarthyism" says The Nation, "may well stand or fall upon the Supreme Court's decision in this case."

Many eloquent statements regarding the importance to democracy of the First Amendment rights have been made by Justices Hugo Black and Robert Jackson, by Professors Zachariah Chafee, Alexander Meiklejohn, Albert Einstein, and others. The Episcopal League for Social Action recently affirmed the democratic right of dissent and the basic importance of the rights embodied in the First Amendment: "We, as Christians who are jealous of these freedoms, assert our belief that these rights must be preserved."

Many of us work through such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union to defend our basic civil rights. Whatever your other activities I am writing respectfully to request your help in two further steps. First, let us speak out and write on this issue and make sure that the people in our various communities are well informed of the importance of the great decisions about to be made. Second, I think it is our right as citizens to write the Attorney General, Mr. Herbert Brownell, Washington, D.C., urging that his office join in the appeal to preserve the First Amendment and to safeguard our traditional guarantees of freedom. The Emspak case (which goes back to 1949) will have an important bearing on the other cases and upon the future of the Bill of Rights. I believe that most Americans are not afraid of freedom but, as always, its preservation is a battle.

Thanking you for whatever insight and help you can give, I am

Cordially yours

John B. Thompson

Trade Union Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock

80 EAST 11th ST. • Room 545 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 5-6555

ALEX SIROTA
Chairman

MORRIS SCHWARTZ
Co-Chairman

FRANK WEIDL
Treasurer

PEARL LAWS
Secretary

April 14, 1953

Dear Friend:

Our committee mailed you an invitation to the LOUIS WEINSTOCK BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, which will take place on Saturday May 2nd at 7:30 P.M. at the St. Nicholas Arena, Gold Room, 53 W. 66th St.

35-60-30

To complete the seating arrangements and other plans for the dinner, it is essential that we know whether you will attend and how many will be in your party. We would greatly appreciate, therefore, if by return mail you would indicate the information requested by our committee.

You may mail the check with your reply, or if you so wish, you can pay at the door, but it is important that you indicate your presence.

As we have outlined in our previous letter, the committee is making all necessary arrangement to provide a fine musical program in addition to a very good dinner.

We hope to hear from you soon.

Fraternally yours,

Morris Schwartz

MORRIS SCHWARTZ, Chairman
of the Arrangements Committee

S

April 20, 1953

Mr. Louis Weinstock
c/o Trade Union Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock
80 East 11 St. Room 545
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Weinstock:

I am so sorry that Shirley and I cannot be at your meeting May 2nd at the St. Nicholas Arena. We are planning to leave April 25th for three weeks' rest in the Bahamas.

We hope that the dinner will be a success and that you will eventually win the case which you so well deserve to win.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

TRIBUNE

TELEPHONE:
MANAGEMENT BX 5887
EDITORIAL BX 6213

40 MARKET STREET,
SYDNEY

May 17th. 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
C/- Howard Fast,
43 West 94th Street,
NEW YORK 25. N.Y. U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Tribune, weekly newspaper of the Australian common people, carrying the message of peace, democracy, socialism and international brotherhood to ever increasing numbers, is now making preparations for its second annual festival, to be held at the end of October.

Preliminary plans already worked out give emphasis to the interests of the working people, with particular attention to the struggle for peace and the cause of friendship between the peoples. This vital message will appear in numerous forms during the festival itself.

Our Tribune Editorial Board belives that letters of fraternal greetings and good wishes from leading world figures in the struggles of the peoples will heighten the significance of this message of the Festival and will assist in its success. It is hoped to publish them in Tribune as we receive them.

Because your activities in these struggles are well-known throughout the world and because, as a consequence, your name is loved and venerated by millions, we would deeply appreciate such a letter from yourself. If possible, we would also be glad to receive a press photograph.

May we express our grateful thanks in anticipation of your valued response.

Yours fraternally,

25-31-82

[Tribune]

July 13, 1953

The Editor of the "Tribune"
40 Market Street
Sydney, Australia

Dear Sir:

In answer to your kind letter of May 17, 1953, I thank you for your information concerning your second annual festival to be held at the end of October. I should like to greet this meeting with these words:

The day is coming, and it is not far distant, when ordinary intelligent people are going to look upon the world as it revealed itself in the middle of the 20th century, and to ask what possibly could have driven civilised people into the hysteria and near-insanity which characterises us now. It will be then impossible to explain how people who call themselves Christians or Jews or Mohammedans or followers of the great Buddha, could have persuaded themselves that civilisation was going to be preserved and increased and broadened by world war. And yet today an extraordinary number of human beings are depending upon force, and force to the utmost, in order to accomplish what they seem to think will be a new and better world.

In that coming day we shall all know that such an idea was crazy; that neither armies nor navies, atom bombs or unlimited funds are going to remake the human soul; that what we have got to have in this world is a change of heart and of object. We have got to respect our fellow beings no matter what their color or race is, or their history or their present situation.

We have got to see that the poverty of the mass of men disappears, that ignorance is eliminated and that disease yields to scientific knowledge. Then, starting upon that foundation, we have got to do justice to human beings without regard to the lines of separation that appear, and we have got, so far as is humanly possible, to give thought and desire the widest freedom compatible with the freedom and progress of all.

I hope that this thought will be emphasized and spread in your coming meeting.

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-31-84

[Unitarian Public Forum]

HEAR THIS MAN OF COURAGE!

Barrows Dunham

Professor of Philosophy, 1937-1953
Temple University, Philadelphia

Author of "Man Against Myth" and "Giant in Chains"

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 8 P.M.

Speaking on

"WHAT TO THINK AND HOW TO THINK IT"

When "Man Against Myth" in 1947 brought Barrows Dunham to wide reader acclaim, he had taught English eleven years at Franklin and Marshall College and philosophy a following equal period at Temple University. Albert Einstein called the new myth-deflating book "instructive, amusing and courageous . . . most desirable in the public interest". To Donald Ogden Stewart is was "a philosopher's stone — to throw at all liars".

In 1953, the year of "Giant in Chains", public interest as interpreted by the education-probing Velde Committee required the thrower of philosopher's stones to appear for questioning. For limiting his answers to name, address, and birth date and place, he was given a citation for contempt. Without waiting the outcome of a federal trial, Temple University hastened to suspend its distinguished philosophy departmental head and soon to dismiss him. After sixteen years of service, the student-voted "most popular professor in the Philadelphia area" became in effect a "professor-in-exile".

On October 19, 1955 Barrows Dunham was finally summoned to Washington for trial. When the opposing arguments had been heard, Judge Joseph McGarraghy promptly pronounced acquittal. However, with Temple authorities unmoving, Dr. Dunham finds himself "out of" contempt but still in exile. Philosophically abiding, he continues to find new friends among liberal audiences who welcome his address — on "Thinkers and Treasurers", "How To Behave Like a Human Being", or "WHAT TO THINK AND HOW TO THINK IT".

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Other Speakers To Follow:

Jan. 6 — **JEROME DAVIS**
Secretary, "Promoting Enduring Peace"
Jaapn Observer, Returning January 4

Feb. 3 — **HARVEY O'CONNOR**
Champion of First Amendment
Author, 1955, "The Empire of Oil"

Mar. 2 — **DANIEL S. GILLMOR**
Former Editor, FRIDAY Magazine
Author, 1954, "Fear, the Accuser"

Apr. 6 — **TO BE ANNOUNCED**

May 4 — **ROBERT M. HUTCHINS**
President, Fund for the Republic

Single Admissions $1 . . .December-May Season Pass $4

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM

2936 West 8th Street **Block East of Vermont** **DUnkirk 9-1356**

April 1, 1953

United Africa Company
67 Wall St.
New York 5, NY

Gentlemen:

I have a Seminar of twenty students who are studying colonial conditions in Africa.

Knowing how widely your organization operates in Africa I am wondering if you have anywhere in the city exhibits illustrating your operations and colonial conditions; or if you have any literature that you could distribute.

I would like, if possible, to have my students visit any center in the city where they could get information and talk to persons who had experience and facts.

I have been referred to you by H.R. McNabb, Public Relations Division of the Lever Brothers Company.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-4

[United Asia]

UNITED ASIA magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

29 April: 1953

Dear Dr Du Bois

Thank you very much for your letter of 21 April.

Yes, of course, your article is the major feature of this special number. The privilege of carrying it is entirely ours. I am grateful to you for the cooperation you have lent us in making this symposium really representative of the American Negro.

Mr Cedric Dover, who has been entirely responsible for organizing this symposium, has lately sent me your signature specimen which I should probably be using along with your article.

As soon as the issue is published I shall be sending you your copies. Normally I send five copies to each contributor. If you need more, you have only to tell me in advance and I shall have them sent. None of these of course will be billed, not even if you insist!

But probably you might be able to get the COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS and other similar bodies to buy up a few score copies of the issue for distribution among their members, in view of its importance as a gesture from the Asians.

Greetings.

Warmest personal regards.
Yours sincerely

T K Mahadevan
Editor

25-64-13

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
U S A

Conn - 66

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Sender's name and address :-

UNITED ASIA
120 Wodehouse Road
BOMBAY 5 (India)

To open cut here

[United Asia]

UNITED ASIA magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

4 July: 1953

Dear Dr Du Bois

I have just put twenty copies of the AMERICAN NEGRO issue of United Asia into the mails for you, with my gratitude and thanks, and hope to be able to send you in a few days several offprints of your valuable contribution to the symposium.

I shall be grateful if you will write and tell me, as soon as you have had time to look through the issue, how you have on the whole reacted to this little Asian effort.

The extra copies are being sent to you in the hope that you will find them useful to send round to your friends and associates, to whom you will no doubt want to speak about us. If there are any others to whom you feel the magazine ought to be introduced, I shall be glad to have a list of them from you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely
TMahadevan
T K Mahadevan
Editor

Dr W E B Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York,
USA

25-59-2

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr W E B Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York
USA

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Sender's name and address

UNITED ASIA
120 Wodehouse Road
BOMBAY 1

To open cut here

[United Asia]

September 22, 1953

Mr. T. K. Mahadevan
United Asia Magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

My dear Sir:

May I tell you at this late date that I have received the copies of the AMERICAN NEGRO issue of United Asia.

I thank you very much for them and have enjoyed reading them.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois

25-54-3

[United Asia]

UNITED ASIA magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

3 October 1953

Dr W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

25-64-11

Dear Dr Du Bois

Thank you so much for your letter of 22 September. I am overjoyed to know that you liked the American Negro Issue.

Lately Mr George Padmore, who will probably be collaborating with us im bringing out a similar issue on the coloured peoples of Africa, wrote to me suggesting that I should ask you to do us an article on the contemporary American scene. I do not know how far such a subject will be relevant in any ordinary issue of United Asia. But if you think the subject could be treated from a broad Asian-Negro bias, the question of relevance may not arise. In which case (and providing you will not be greatly inconvenienced) I shall greatly welcome such a contribution from you.

With profound regards:

Sincerely yours
TMahadevan

T K Mahadevan
Editor

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

Conv - 88

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Second fold here

Sender's name and address:

UNITED ASIA
130 Wodehouse Road
BOMBAY 5 (India)

To open cut here

["United Asia"]

November 24, 1953

Mr. T. K. Mahadevan, Editor
United Asia Magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5, India

My dear Mr. Mahadevan:

I thank you for your letter of October 3. I shall be very glad to collaborate on your proposed African issue and am venturing to send you an article.

I am not sure whether it will suit your purposes or not. Use your judgment.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-64-12

[United Asia]

UNITED ASIA magazine
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

23 December 1953

25-64/15

Dear Dr Du Bois

I am grateful to you for your letter of 24 November and ask you to pardon me for not answering it earlier.

The article you have mentioned in the letter has not yet come, but ought to be here any moment now. I shall be writing to you again after I see the article.

I shall also keep you posted on whatever progress I shall be making on the projected special issue on Africa.

With all good wishes for a happy new year:

Yours sincerely
TKMahadevan

T K Mahadevan
Editor

Dr W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

Conn - 66

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Third fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address :-

UNITED ASIA
120 Wodehouse Road
BOMBAY 5 (India)

To open cut here

THE AMERICAN
NEGRO

a UNITED ASIA symposium

CHARLES S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, welcoming this symposium on the American Negro as "the first of its kind to be published in India" writes in the foreword: "It is a further token of Asian fraternity, and another proof that the Negro minority is finding a place in the larger brotherhood of man."

IT cannot be claimed that what we have attempted here is even a small payment of our debt. Indeed, our distinguished contributors have increased our obligations by providing, for the first time in the East, an outline of the story of their people. We can now, more easily, enlarge the picture for ourselves. We can appreciate more fully the quality of the Negro voices that have spoken on our behalf. We can find inspiration, and some useful techniques, in the patterns of another great struggle. And if we do these things we shall learn and cultivate the importance of the American Negro in the future of Asia. That is the shared hope which has moulded this anthology.

SUBSCRIPTIONS United Asia Subscriptions may be entered from any number of any volume. A limited supply of back volumes is still available. Prices are: VOLUME I (1949) Rs. 20 $6 £2; VOLUME II (1950), VOLUME III (1951) each Rs. 15 $4.50 £1.10; VOLUME IV (1952) and VOLUME V (current) Rs. 10 $3 £1 each. All remittances are to be made in advance. Subscriptions may be entered direct or through an agency.

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(1953)

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32-19-39

UNITED ASIA INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE OF ASIAN AFFAIRS
120 WODEHOUSE ROAD COLABA BOMBAY 5 INDIA

[United Auto Workers - Ford Local 600]

January 20, 1953

Mr. James Watts
FEPC Director
Ford Local #600 UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Mr. Watts:

Mrs. Du Bois and I plan to leave here on the American Airlines Flight #713 at 11:35 a.m. February 12th, arriving in Detroit at 7:22 p.m.

We shall leave Detroit on Flight #703, American Airlines at 9:30 p.m. for Chicago. The round trip from New York to Detroit, which we are charging to you, will amount to $67.97. If it is convenient we will be glad to have you make that remittance in advance.

We trust that all the arrangements are going well, and that we will hear from you in the near future.

Very sincerely yours,

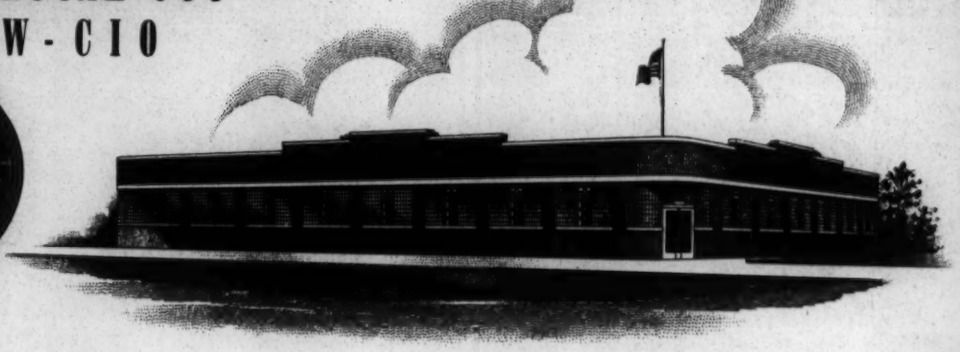
DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

35-62:10

[United Auto Workers Ford Local 600]

LOCAL 600
UAW-CIO



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GUIDE

10550 DIX AVENUE — DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

January 22, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

25-6-2.8

I am in receipt of your letter dated January 20, 1953 in which you outline your schedule into Detroit. You state you are leaving for Detroit via American Airline, flight #713, 11:25 AM, February 12th, arriving in Detroit at 7:22 PM.

I am quite certain there must be some mistake in the time as outlined here. You further state that you are leaving Detroit on flight #703 at 9:30 PM for Chicago, and you fail to mention what date you're leaving Detroit.

I would like to again inform you that the banquet is to be held Friday, February 13, 1953 at 7:30 PM. There is a flight leaving Detroit for Chicago at 11:05 PM. This would give you plenty of time to leave the banquet and catch your plane.

The remittance for you and Mrs. DuBois will be made in advance. The arrangements are going well, and I would appreciate hearing from you in the very near future to clarify this obvious mixup in schedules.

Very truly yours,

James Watts

James Watts, FEPC Director
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO

P. S. Please send us your picture.

JW/md
liu72cio

[United Auto Workers
Ford Local 600]

January 28, 1953

Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

25-68-9

Dear Mr. Watts:

I have your letter of January 22nd. I will check with the airlines, but I am quite certain that the time I have given you for our flight to Detroit is correct, that is, the banquet is to be held February 13th but we are arriving February 12th in order to be rested and ready for it.

I will also check concerning the flight at 11:05 p.m., and possibly we will take that instead of leaving the next morning. I will let you know.

I am glad to know that the arrangements are going well. Enclosed is a photograph.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[United Auto Workers - Ford Local 600]

January 30, 1953

Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

25-68.6

Dear Mr. Watts:

As I said in my letter yesterday, my trip to Detroit is as scheduled: Flight #713 American Airlines, arriving in Detroit 7:22 p.m. February 12th.

I am sure you will understand that with an engagement on the night of the 13th, I could not take chances on a flight which arrived that night. I would have to get there a day before so that if that flight failed or was cancelled I could still arrive on time.

In addition to that, there is the possibility of my speaking at Flint, provided this does not interfere in any way with your plans. If I am asked, I may arrive in Detroit on the 11th instead of the 12th. In that case my hotel accomodations would then of course be no responsibility of yours, and I would arrive from Flint early the 13th. This is simply a possibility, but I am mentioning it.

I think it would be better for us to take the flight to Chicago Saturday morning, February 14th, instead of taking the night flight on the 13th.

I trust this makes everything clear.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

1953 FEB 9 PM 4 59

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=W E B DUBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST=

[United Auto Workers
Ford Local 600]

25-62-33

DEAR DOCTOR DUBOIS IM SORRY TO INFORM YOU THAT DUE TO CONDITIONS BEYOND OUR CONTROL ~~ADVANCEMENT~~ engagement HAS BEEN CANCELLED IT WILL BE RESCHEDULED FOR SOMETIME AFTER THE UAW-CIO CONVENTION I AM INSTRUCTED TO LET YOU KNOW THAT ANY FINANCIAL LOSS YOU INCURRED BY MAKING THIS ENGAGEMENT WITH US WILL BE REIMBURSED PROMPTLY PLEASE LET US KNOW IMMEDIATELY ABOUT THIS MATTER I WILL WRITE YOU GIVING FULL DETAILS FRATERNALLY=

JAMES WATTS FET DIRECTOR LOCAL 600 UAW-CIO=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[United Auto Workers - Ford Local 600]

February 10, 1953

Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

25-62-7

Dear Mr. Watts:

I am sorry of the cancellation of my appointment in Detroit, as it does put me under considerable difficulties.

I shall have to charge you $100, because of the changed plans and re-arrangements that I shall have to make.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Jackson,

[United Auto Workers - Ford Local 600]

May 20, 1953

Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Mr. Watts:

I have not heard from you since your telegram of February 9th, 1953, cancelling the proposed dinner and promising to write full details. I replied by letter February 9th, expressing my sorrow for the cancellation, and saying that I should charge you $100 in view of the changed plans and re-arrangements.

Since then I have had no word. I do not know whether or not you are still in office, or whether this address will reach you. I should, however, like to hear from you, and especially to have one matter cleared up:

My wife, Shirley Graham, sent you for sale at the dinner $35 worth of her books. They went by express direct from the publishers. I should like at least to have these returned as we shall have to pay for them, and thus to close this unfortunate incident.

May I hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-62-1

[United Auto Workers - Ford Local 600]

May 28, 1953

Mr. William R. Hood
Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO
10550 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Mr. Hood:

I am sorry to trouble you with a matter that has been pending since last December and which I am unable to get straightened out. I do not know whether or not it is under your jurisdiction.

In December I accepted an invitation sent me by Mr. James Watts, FEPC Director, Ford Local 600. He invited me to lecture in Detroit for his organization and to accept a dinner. A long series of negotiations followed in which I planned to take a trip from New York to San Francisco and return, basing the trip mainly on this Detroit engagement. In order to make my dates I had to ask him to change the date of the proposed dinner from February 13th to February 11th or 12th. This Mr. Watts wrote he was unable to do, since the dinner [redacted] had been contracted for in the India Room of the Detroit-Leland Hotel. I therefore re-arranged my schedule and it was finally settled that we were to speak the 13th and start for California the 14th.

On February 9th I received a telegram from Mr. Watts saying that the engagement had been cancelled "due to conditions beyond our control." He offered to pay any financial loss, and promised to write giving me full details. From that time to this I have not heard a word from Mr. Watts, nor has he returned or made any accounting for nearly $60 worth of books by Shirley Graham which he asked my wife to consign to him for sale.

I have written him several times. Now finally I am writing you. As I told him, I incurred a loss which I estimate at $100, and even if that cannot be paid I do wish that the books would be returned immediately as otherwise we shall have to pay for them.

I am sorry to bother you with this matter, but I do not want

to have it hanging on longer.

I am writing a similar letter to Mr. Coleman A. Young.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

United Committee

to Commemorate the

Tenth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

פאראייניגטער קאמיטעט פאר דעם 10טן יאָרטאג פון דעם ווארשעווער געטא אויפשטאנד

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March 16, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We have the honor to extend to you a cordial invitation to address the mass rally to Commemorate The 10th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, which will take place on Sunday, April 19, 1953, 2 P. M. at Manhattan Centre, 34 St. and Eighth Avenue, New York City.

The uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto of April 1943 was a turning point in modern Jewish history. The heroic stand of the Ghetto heroes gave courage to millions of people in their struggle against fascism. In these critical days it is especially imperative to remember the martyrdom of the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto who gave their lives to vindicate the honor of the Jewish people and uphold the dignity and security of all mankind.

We are sure that your message would add a great deal of prestige to the deliberations of this historic meeting. We hope that you will accept our invitation and we would very much appreciate your early reply.

Most cordially yours,

Simon Federman

Simon Federman,
Chairman

March 30, 1953

Mr. Simon Federman, Chairman
United Committee to Commemorate the 10th
anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
225 West 34 St. Suite 1007
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Federman:

Answering your letter of March 16, may I say that I shall be glad to speak for your committee on Sunday, April 19th, at Manhattan Center.

My charge will be $50.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

United Committee

to Commemorate the

Tenth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

פאראייניגטער קאמיטעט פאר דעם 10טן יאָרטאָג פון דעם ווארשעווער געטא אויפשטאנד

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April 10, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In behalf of our Arrangements Committee I wish to express our sincere thanks for your consent to speak at our Mass Rally on Sunday, April 19th at the Manhattan Center, 34th Street, New York. The meeting will begin at 2 P.M. and - if it is agreeable to you - we have scheduled your talk for 2:45 - 3 P.M. At this time however, I also wish to discuss a situation that has arisen in our Arrangement Committee.

Our meeting has as its chief purpose - in addition to paying tribute to the Ghetto heroes - the stressing of the lessons of the Warsaw Ghetto and its great Uprising and its significance to our own problems.

Attending to this task will be a number of speakers representing various sectors of American communal life that have requested participation. The large list of speakers however, has created a problem of avoiding overtaxing the time schedule and the endurance of our audience. As a way out, our committee is compelled to resort to drastic limitations of the time alloted to each speaker.

In line with this proceedure, would you take it amiss, dear Dr. DuBois, if I asked you to plan your talk for a period not exceeding fifteen minutes?

I assure you that it is extremely embarrassing for me to impose this Proscrustean condition on you, but I trust that you will recognize the necessity of this request.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Simon Federman,
Chairman

I am enclosing leaflet &c

25-54.76

April 22, 1963

Mr. Simon Federman, Chairman
United Committee to Commemorate the
Tenth Anniversary of the Warsaw
Ghetto Uprising
225 West 34 Street, Room 1007
New York 1, N.Y.

To W.E.B. Du Bois, Dr.

For speech at rally Sunday, April 19:

Preparation and delivery,
Secretarial help; $50

Received Payment

United Committee
to Commemorate the
Tenth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising
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April 24, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please accept our deep appreciation for your address and message of greetings at the Meeting of April 19, 1953 at the Manhattan Center, New York City.

Your address was a most valuable contribution to the historic significance and great success of the meeting.

Respectfully,

Abraham Jenofsky, Secy.

deposited
April 29/53

25-54.77

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OUR UNION IS PROUD TO JOIN ON HONORING DR DEBOIS ON THE OCCASION OF NEGRO HISTORY WEEK FOR HIS GREAT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND EQUALITY=

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[United Electrical Workers]

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25-64-18

January 6, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your rapid reply to my last letter.

Reynolds' Hall has been engaged for your speaking date: January 25, 1953, 4:00 P.M. Promotional activities are now underway.

I shall communicate with you more fully shortly and am anxious for any possible collaboration.

(I speak for the group.)

Sincerly,

Richard B. Henry

January 12, 1953

Mr. Joseph Felshin
New Century Publishers
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Felshin:

We shall be glad to accept delivery on Dr. DuBois' ne w book, IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, on the terms offered by you in your letter to me dated January 7, 1953. Please consign to us a quanity of copies not less than 300 and not more than 500.

We shall be glad to accept delivery on copies in excess of 500, on the same terms, provided and except that all necessary shipping costs on these copies, both ways, be borne by you.

25-64, 25

Sincerly yours,

Richard B. Henry

for the

UNITED NEGRO ASSEMBLAGE, INC.

cc: Dr. W.E.B. DuBois

sg/RBH

January 20, 1953

25-64-26

Mr. Richard B. Henry
United Negro Assemblage
3545 N. Carlisle St.
Philadelphia, 40, Pa.

Dear Mr. Henry:

I shall leave here Sunday, January 25th at 1:30 p.m. and arrive in Philadelphia at 3:04p.m.

If it would be nearer I could get off at North Philadelphia at 2:54 p.m.

Please let me know if this is suitable.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[United Negro Assemblage]

January 23, 1953

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We shall meet your train, 3:04 P.M., Sunday, January 25th, 1953, 30th St. station, Philadelphia.

Respectfully yours,

Richard B. Henry

25-64-28

The Key
to
Better Jobs

Human Rights
Now!

The United Negro Assemblage, Inc.

invites you to hear

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Distinguished Historian and World Statesman

at a

MASS RALLY

4:00 p. m.

Sunday, January 25, 1953

REYNOLDS HALL

Admission (Broad above Master Sts.) Free

The Answer
to
Poor Housing

Human
Rights Now!

35-64-30

May 20, 1953

Mr. Richard B. Henry
United Negro Assemblage
3545 N. Carlisle St.
Philadelphia, 40, Pa.

Dear Mr. Henry:

As you will remember, I spoke for you Sunday, January 25th, 1953, after a long correspondence in which it was clearly understood that I was to be paid a fee of $100. Payment was not made at the time of the lecture, and I afterward sent you a bill to which no answer has been returned.

I suppose that I must conclude that you and the United Negro Assemblage which you represent do not intend to pay this debt. I merely write a last time to know if that is true.

If I do not hear from you I shall not write you again.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[United Negro Assemblage]

June 6, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I deeply regret that circumstances have not yet permitted me to fully remit your bill of $100. Moreover, I am extremely grieved at having thus involved you in the result of my own miscalculations. Trusting that you do not regard this unfortunate delay as evidence of bad faith, I assure you the bill will be paid in full, with interest, in, I trust, the not too distant future.

Sincerly,
Richard B. Henry
Richard B. Henry

25-64-31

[United Negro Assemblage]

THE RESULT:

THE UNITED NEGRO ASSEMBLAGE was Incorporated as a National Non-Profit Charity in October of 1952, with National Offices in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Members are confident that U.N.A. is the best possible means for achieving First-class Citizenship for the Negro and True Brotherhood for all America.

THE FOUNDATION IS LAID

THE PROGRAM IS WRITTEN

SUCCESS IS AT OUR FINGERTIPS

BUT !

SUCCESS NOW DEPENDS ON YOU !

YOUR DOLLARS YOUR SUPPORT

JOIN !

GIVE !

Milton R. Henry, Att'y-at-Law
(Chairman of the Board)

Richard B. Henry
(President

Joseph L. Constantine, Jr.
(Vice President)

Clifton Brooks
(Secretary-General)

THE UNITED NEGRO ASSEMBLAGE INC.

SAY CITIZEN !

DO YOU WANT

Full Enforcement of F.E.P.C. ?

A Fair Housing Practice Commission ?

The End of Police Terrorism ?

Negroes in Congress?

Bigger, Better Negro Business ?

True Negro History in Schools ?

The End of The Stereotype ?

A Better America ?

25-69, 27

You Bet You Do !

(What Good American Doesn't ?)

and so do the Many

Other Negroes

Who Know That

Wishing won't do it ! Action will !

Here is What They are Doing ➤➤➤

Everybody's - Joining

U.N.A. !

BECAUSE U.N.A. knows where to go and how to get there !

BECAUSE U.N.A. has a Commonsense sure-to-win Program !

BECAUSE U.N.A. is an Organization of the Negro People for ALL the Negro People !

Join !

Give ! Join !

The

United Negro Assemblage, Inc.

Join ! Give !

Give !

U.N.A.'S BEGINNING

Organized in December of 1951, on the heels of the Cicero Riot and the Christmas Bomb-murder of a Negro Leader in Mims, Florida, the United Negro Assemblage came into existence to answer the dangers to life and livelihood which, despite all our other efforts, still stalk the Negro in Twentieth Century America.

Born in Philadelphia, U.N.A. was purposely kept "under wraps" for over a year.

During this period the young Negro Men and Women who were the Founders, worked diligently to produce a Powerfully Constructed Organization which would truly represent the interests of the Negro people.

They worked for an organization which would maintain a constant vigil over the Negro's welfare: protect what we have, secure what we lack and, at the same time, make positive contributions to the progress of the whole world.

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA
AFFILIATED WITH CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

1800 TRANSPORTATION BLDG.
608 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE WEBSTER 9-5343

August 19, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Friend:

Our Union has taken action, the outcome of which should be of vital concern to your organization and every individual interested in combatting the evils of racial discrimination in America.

It is action to remove from office Adrian O. McKinney, Director of our Union's eight-state District 9, who has deliberately violated the Constitution and policy of UPWA-CIO by brutally insulting Negro members of our Union and supporting the holding of a segregated banquet in Atlanta, Georgia. This Director, furthermore, had attacked the basic anti-discrimination policy of our Union and so instructed his Field Representatives to do likewise.

As you perhaps know, the unity of Negro and white members has been the cornerstone upon which our organization is built. Therefore, resistance to all weapons of discrimination that might split our membership race from race has been to us not only an ideal but a matter of life or death.

We have maintained the policy of equality for all our members, and the practice of this policy has been acclaimed, as you perhaps know, by such national leaders as Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Trusteeship Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Archibald Macleish, Carey McWilliams, and thousands of others whose support of our policy has inspired us to work constantly to maintain it.

Thus, the action taken by the Director of District 9 in holding a Jim Crow, Union-sponsored affair is not simply a retreat from the democratic position previously assumed by our local Unions in Georgia, but an act of sabotage against a main pillar of our organizational structure.

For these reasons, I, together with Grover R. Hathaway, Secretary-Treasurer of our Union, and himself the former Director of District 9, have filed charges of Union policy violation against Director McKinney. We realize that this action is unprecedented in the labor movement. We also realize that attempts will be made to identify our Union's determination to fight discrimination, both North and South, as a "Communist" tactic.

We expect this. In fact, Thurgood Marshall, who spoke at our last convention, pointed out the "Communist" labelling of those who fight discrimination, especially in the South, when he said:

> "The Klan is cleverly organized....They are no longer aimed on the record as being against Jews or Catholics. They are now aimed against communism, so that they can take a Catholic or a Jew or a Protestant and label him a communist and go after him and run him out, so that anybody who is for breaking down the status quo is subject to this violence in the South...."

However, as President Ralph Helstein has often stated, "Devotion to the principle of equal rights for all Americans, regardless of race, does not belong alone to the Communists."

We feel confident that the justice of the fight to rid our organization of misleadership that peddles discrimination to working men and women will be supported by all honest sections of labor, as well as by civic and religious groups devoted to democracy in our country.

For this reason, our success in this case may set a precedent that will have far-reaching ramifications in the drive to build a completely democratic labor movement in America.

We are enclosing some basic reports concerning this case, and we would like to receive your comments and suggestions regarding it.

What do you think can be done to guarantee a victory for democracy so that its outcome can spread not only throughout the ranks of organized labor, but throughout our communities as well?

I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Thurgood Marshall, also.

Looking forward to hearing from you at an early date.

Fraternally yours,

Russell R. Lasley

Russell R. Lasley
Vice President and Director
of the Anti-Discrimination Department

RRL:mb

Enclosures

(oeiu-#28-afl)

25-31-30

[U.S.- Bureau of Labor]

April 21, 1953

Mr. Harold Goldstein
Assistant Chief of the
Division of Manpower and Employment Statistics
U.S. Bureau of Labor
Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:

I have read of a study which you made under a subcommittee of the Labor and Labor Management Relations of the United States Senate.

I should like very much to have a copy of this report. Will you send it to me, with bill, or if you will let me know what the cost is I will remit.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[U.S. - Bureau of THE CENSUS]

January 13, 1953

Census Regional Office
251 West 42 St.
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Can you tell me where I can get the following information:

1. The Negro population of the United States, 1950, by states and by sections; final figures if possible, otherwise estimates.

2. Occupation and income of Negroes in the United States by states, sections, and covering the nation; final figures if possible, otherwise estimates.

3. If total figures for the country are not available, what state reports or sectional reports can be obtained?

What will be the cost of this information?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

U.S. - Bureau of the Census

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE
NATIONAL PRODUCTION AUTHORITY
FIELD SERVICE

346 Broadway
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

January 22, 1953

Color and Democracy
Colonies and Peace
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Attention: Mr. W. E. B. DuBois

125-55-6

Gentlemen:

Reference is made to your letter of January 13 wherein you request the bulletin containing statistics on the Negro population. We enclose a list of the states for which these reports may be obtained at the prices indicated therein.

The summary report for the United States is not yet available, and we are not in a position to indicate its release date at this time.

If you are interested in receiving these State reports, we shall be glad to send them immediately upon receipt of your remittance.

We might add that these bulletins are available also for reference in our library and we shall be glad to place them at your disposal whenever you may find it convenient to call.

Very truly yours,

JOHN F. SINNOTT
Regional Director

Ida M. Meyer
Commercial Agent

Enclosure

[U.S.- Bureau of THE CENSUS]

1950 CENSUSES OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

ANNOUNCEMENT 5

Final Reports

POPULATION

SERIES P—B BULLETINS

(State Bulletins - General Characteristics)

DECEMBER 1951

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Each of the bulletins is a preprint of Chapter B of the corresponding part of Volume II of the 1950 Census of Population. Volume II will comprise a series of separately published parts: United States Summary, each State, the District of Columbia, and other parts for the Territories and possessions. Chapter A of each of these parts will relate to number inhabitants (Series P-A bulletins), Chapter B to general characteristics (Series P-B bulletins), and Chapter C to detailed characteristics (Series P-C bulletins).

A form is attached for your convenience in ordering copies of the P-B bulletins. Please complete, detach, and mail the order form together with a check or money order (payable to the Treasurer of the United States) to the SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS, GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON 25, D. C., or to any of the Department of Commerce Field Offices. (Do *not* mail to the Bureau of the Census.)

The order form lists the areas for which the P-B bulletins will be issued and the established prices. It is expected that these bulletins will be issued between February and October 1952. Each requested item will be mailed immediately upon publication.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
FIELD SERVICE

Albuquerque, N. Mex.
203 W. Gold Avenue

Atlanta 3, Ga.
50 Whitehall Street S.W.

Baltimore 2, Md.
200 E. Lexington St.

Boston, Mass.
40 Broad St.

Buffalo 3, N. Y.
117 Ellicott St.

Butte, Mont.
306 Federal Bldg.

Charleston 4, S. C.
Area 2 Sgt. Jasper Bldg.

Cheyenne, Wyo.
21st St. and Carey Ave.

Chicago 1, Ill.
221 N. La Salle St.

Cincinnati 2, Ohio
105 W. Fourth St.

Cleveland 14, Ohio
925 Euclid Ave.

Dallas 2, Texas
1114 Commerce St.

Denver 2, Colo.
19th and Stout Sts.

Detroit 26, Mich.
230 W. Fort St.

El Paso, Texas
310 San Francisco St.

Hartford 1, Conn.
135 High St.

Houston 2, Texas
1018 Preston Ave.

Jacksonville 1, Fla.
311 West Monroe St.

Kansas City 6, Mo.
903 McGee St.

Los Angeles 15, Calif.
112 West 9th St.

Louisville 2, Ky.
631 Federal Bldg.

Memphis 3, Tenn.
229 Federal Bldg.

Miami 32, Fla.
36 N. E. First St.

Milwaukee 2, Wis.
517 E. Wisconsin Ave.

Minneapolis 2, Minn.
607 Marquette Ave.

Mobile 10, Ala.
308 Federal Bldg.

New Orleans 12, La.
333 St. Charles Ave.

New York 18, N. Y.
2 West 43rd St.

Oklahoma City 2, Okla.
408 Insurance Bldg.

Omaha, Nebr.
403 So. 15th St.

Philadelphia 7, Pa.
1015 Chestnut St.

Phoenix, Ariz.
805 N. First st.

Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
717 Liberty Avenue

Portland 4, Oreg.
520 S. W. Morrison St.

Providence 3, R. I.
327 Post Office Annex

Reno, Nev.
1479 Wells Avenue

Richmond, Va.
400 East Main St.

St. Louis 1, Mo.
1114 Market St.

Salt Lake City 1, Utah
109 W. Second St., So.

San Francisco 2, Calif.
870 Market St.

Savannah, Ga.
125-29 Bull St.

Seattle 4, Wash.
5th Ave. & Madison St.

For local telephone listing, consult section devoted to U. S. Government

GPO 83-23945

ORDER FORM

Your name _____

Street address _____

City _____ Zone _____

State _____

Please enter on the appropriate line the number of copies desired. Note that a separate line is provided for your convenience in ordering complete sets of the bulletins.

Detach form, enclose check or money order (payable to the Treasurer of the United States), and mail to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., or to any of the U. S. Department of Commerce Field Offices. Do *not* mail to the Bureau of the Census.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
- - - -Enclosed- - - -
To be mailed later.....
Subscription.....
Refund.....
Coupon Refund.....
Postage.....

AREA	PRICE	NUMBER OF COPIES	AREA	PRICE	NUMBER OF COPIES	AREA	PRICE	NUMBER OF COPIES
1. U. S. Summary.....	$1.00		19. Maine.....	$0.35		37. Oregon.....	$0.40	
2. Alabama.....	.55		20. Maryland.....	.40		38. Pennsylvania.....	1.00	
3. Arizona.....	.30		21. Massachusetts.....	.45		39. Rhode Island.....	.30	
4. Arkansas.....	.55		22. Michigan..... not yet available	.60		40. South Carolina.....	.50	
5. California.....	.65		23. Minnesota.....	.55		41. South Dakota.....	.40	
6. Colorado.....	.45		24. Mississippi.....	.60		42. Tennessee.....	.60	
7. Connecticut.....	.40		25. Missouri.....	.60		43. Texas.....	1.50	
8. Delaware.....	.30		26. Montana.....	.40		44. Utah.....	.35	
9. Dist. Of Columbia.....	.25		27. Nebraska.....	.50		45. Vermont.....	.30	
10. Florida.....	.60		28. Nevada.....	.30		46. Virginia.....	.65	
11. Georgia.....	1.00		29. New Hampshire.....	.30		47. Washington.....	.45	
12. Idaho.....	.40		30. New Jersey.....	.55		48. West Virginia.....	.55	
13. Illinois..... not yet available	.70		31. New Mexico.....	.35		49. Wisconsin.....	.55	
14. Indiana.....	.60		32. New York.....	.65		50. Wyoming.....	.35	
15. Iowa.....	.60		33. North Carolina.....	.65		51. Alaska.....	.25	
16. Kansas.....	.60		34. North Dakota.....	.40		52. Hawaii.....	.30	
17. Kentucky.....	.65		35. Ohio..... not yet available	.70		53. Puerto Rico.....	.40	
18. Louisiana.....	.55		36. Oklahoma.....	.60		54. Minor Possessions	.35	

All bulletins in this series: _____ (No.) set(s) at $28.30 per set $ _____

NOTE.—These bulletins will be published during the period from February 1952 to October 1952. Each item ordered will be mailed as soon as it becomes available.

35-59-7

1950 CENSUSES OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

ANNOUNCEMENT 5

Series P-B Bulletins

The Bureau of the Census will soon begin publication of a series of final bulletins based on the 1950 Census of Population. The Series P-B bulletins (General Characteristics) will contain statistics on the general characteristics of the population for each county, the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm parts of each county, each urban place of 2,500 inhabitants or more, places of 1,000 to 2,500 inhabitants, as well as for the total of each urbanized area and each standard metropolitan area.

The subjects presented will include age; sex; marital status; race; nativity; citizenship; school enrollment; years of school completed; residence in 1949; number of married couples, families, and households; country of birth of the foreign-born white population; employment status; major occupation group; major industry group; and income of families and unrelated individuals. Separate data are to be presented for the nonwhite population in selected areas.

This series will comprise separate bulletins for a United States summary, each of the States and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. An additional bulletin will cover American Samoa, the Canal Zone, Guam, and the Virgin Islands of the U. S.

[U.S.- Dept. of State]

February 4, 1953

25-59-2

State Department
Division of Far-Eastern Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I understand that you publish a bibliography on Africa.

Please send it to me with bill or let me know what it costs.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

Dear Madame:

When I last applied for a passport in February 1952, I was informed that "your proposed travel would be contrary to the best interests of the United States" and a passport was denied me and my wife.

I write to ask if the State Department is still of the same mind and if consequently it would be useless for me to make another application.

You will permit me to remind you that I have held United States passports since 1892 and my wife since 1927. During that time neither of us has in any way violated the laws of this nation or been convicted of any crime. I have always here and abroad expressed my opinions within limits of the law and naturally expect to continue to do so.

I wish to make two trips: I. to visit Budapest, April 10, 1953, to attend the meeting of the World Peace Council of which I am a member. The Council proposes at this meeting to present prizes to persons who have worked for peace in the leading nations of the world. I have been nominated as one of these recipients. 2. We wish in October, 1953, to attend the Inter-continental Conference of the Bahai Faith, to be held in New Delhi, India.

I would like therefor to know whether or not the State Department has altered its decision of last February, with regard to my right to travel.

I am, Madame,

Very sincerely yours

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley,
Chief Passport Division
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

41-10D-9 enclosure

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

March 28, 1953

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Chief Passport Division
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Madame:

When I last applied for a passport in February 1952, I was informed that "your proposed travel would be contrary to the best interests of the United States" and a passport was denied me and my wife.

I write to ask if the State Department is still of the same mind and if, consequently, it would be useless for me to make another application.

You will permit me to remind you that I have held United States' passports since 1892 and my wife since 1927. During that time neither of us has in any way violated the laws of this nation or been convicted of any crime. I have always here and abroad within the limits of the law expressed my opinions and naturally I expect to continue to do so.

I and my wife wish to make two trips:

1. To visit Budapest, April 10, 1953 to attend the meeting of the World Peace Council of which I am a member. The Council proposes at this meeting to present prizes to persons who have worked for peace in the leading nations of the world. I have been nominated as one of these recipients. 2. We wish in October, 1953, to attend the Inter-continental Conference of the Bahai Faith to be held in New Delhi, India.

I would like therefore to know whether or not the State Department has altered its decision of last February, with regard to my right to travel.

I am, Madame,

Very sincerely yours,

25-31-77

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
F130-Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt

APR 6 1953

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois,
Thirty-one Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, New York.

My dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Department has received your letter of March 28, 1953 in which you state that you and your wife desire to travel to Hungary during this month and to India in October, 1953.

You are informed that since May 1, 1952 travel to Hungary has been forbidden to American citizens.

With respect to your proposed travel to India, you may wish to raise that question at a later date. However, if you and Mrs. Du Bois are communists, the Department under the new regulations, copy of which is enclosed, would be obliged to refuse to provide you with a passport. However, the Department would consider the matter when you care to present it. At that time you and your wife should each submit to the Department a sworn statement as to whether you are now or ever have been communists.

25-31-78

Sincerely yours,

R B Shipley

R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office.

Enclosure:
Supplement to
Passport Regulations.

COPY

[U.S. - Dept. of State]

PASSPORT REGULATIONS

"51.135 Limitation on Issuance of Passports to Persons Supporting Communist Movement. In order to promote the national interest by assuring that persons who support the world Communist movement of which the Communist Party is an integral unit may not, through use of United States passports, further the purposes of that movement, no passport, except one limited for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be issued to:

(a) Persons who are members of the Communist Party or who have recently terminated such membership under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion -- not otherwise rebutted by the evidence -- that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests and under the discipline of the Communist Party;

(b) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, who engage in activities which support the Communist movement under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion -- not otherwise rebutted by the evidence -- that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement.

(c) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully of advancing that movement.

25-55-46

"51.136 Limitations on Issuance of Passports to Persons Likely to Violate Laws of the United States. In order to promote the national interest by assuring that the conduct of foreign relations shall be free from unlawful interference, no passport, except one limited for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be issued to persons as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities while abroad which would violate the laws of the United States, or which if carried on in the United States would violate such laws designed to protect the security of the United States.

[U.S. + Govt. Printing Off.]

January 12, 1953

Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to secure a copy of the study made by the Senate subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations covering the economic and social status of the Negro in this country.

It was prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics under the direction of Harold Goldstein.

Will you kindly let me know what it would cost, or send it to me with bill?

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[U.S. - INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE]

FORM 1040
U.S. Treasury Department
Internal Revenue Service

U. S. INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURN
FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1953

1953

or taxable year beginning ....., 1953, and ending ....., 195...

Do not write in these spaces
Serial No.
(Cashier's Stamp)

Name William E.B. Du Bois
(PLEASE PRINT. If this is a joint return of husband and wife, use first names of both)

HOME ADDRESS 31 Grace Court
(PLEASE PRINT. Street and number or rural route)

Brooklyn 2 NY
(City, town, or post office) (Postal zone number) (State)

Social Security No. 104-12-561-7 Occupation Writer

Your exemptions

1. List your name. If your wife (or husband) had no income, or if this is a joint return, list also her (or his) name.

A W.E.B. Du Bois

B .....
(Your wife's name—do not list if she is filing a separate return or if she had income not included in this return)

Check below if at the end of your taxable year you or your wife were—

65 or over [X] Blind [ ]

65 or over [ ] Blind [ ]

Name—and address if different from yours

On lines A and B below—
If neither 65 nor blind write the figure 1
If either 65 or blind write the figure 2
If both 65 and blind write the figure 3

Number of exemptions for you 2

Number of her (or his) exemptions ...

C. List names of your children (including stepchildren and *legally* adopted children) with 1953 gross incomes of less than $600 who received more than one-half of their support from you in 1953. See Instructions.

Enter number of children listed .....

D. Enter number of exemptions claimed for other close relatives listed in Schedule I on page 2 .....

E. Enter total number of exemptions claimed in A to D above 2

Your income

2. Enter your total wages, salaries, bonuses, commissions, and other compensation received in 1953, *before payroll deductions*. Persons claiming traveling or reimbursed expenses, see Instructions.

Print Employer's Name	Where Employed (City and State)	Total Wages	Income Tax Withheld
		$	$
	Enter total →	$	$

3. If you received dividends, interest, or any other income (or loss), give details on page 2 and enter the total here ..... $ 546 86

4. Add amounts shown in items 2 and 3, and enter the total here ... $ 546 86

How to figure the tax

(Unmarried or legally separated persons qualifying under Schedule J as "Head of Household," check here [ ].)

IF YOUR INCOME WAS LESS THAN $5,000.—Use the tax table on page 4 *unless you itemize deductions*. The table allows about 10 percent of your income for charitable contributions, interest, taxes, medical expenses, etc. If your deductions exceed 10 percent, it will usually be to your advantage to itemize them and compute your tax on page 3.

IF YOUR INCOME WAS $5,000 OR MORE.—Compute tax on page 3. Use standard deduction or itemize deductions, whichever is to your advantage.

Tax due or refund

5. (A) Enter your tax from table on page 4, or from line 13, page 3. $
(B) Enter your self-employment tax from line 35, separate Schedule C.
Enter total here → $

6. How much have you paid on your 1953 income tax?
(A) By tax withheld (in item 2, above). Attach Original Forms W-2. $
(B) By payments on 1953 Declaration of Estimated Tax (include any overpayment on your 1952 tax not claimed as a refund).
Enter total here →

7. If your tax (item 5) is larger than payments (item 6), enter *balance of tax due* here. This balance must be paid in full with return ..... $

8. If your payments (item 6) are larger than your tax (item 5), enter the *overpayment* here → $

Enter amount of item 8 you want $..... $.....
(Credited on 1954 estimated tax) (Refunded)

Do you owe any prior year Federal tax for which you have been billed? (Yes or No) No Is your wife (or husband) making a separate return for 1953? (Yes or No) Yes If "yes," write her (or his) name Shirley Graham Du Bois
If you have filed a return for a prior year, state latest year 19 52 Where filed? 1st Dist., Kew Gardens, L.I., Brooklyn
To which District Director's office did you pay amount claimed in item 6 (B), above? .....

I declare under the penalties of perjury that this return (including any accompanying schedules and statements) has been examined by me and to the best of my knowledge and belief is a true, correct, and complete return.

(Signature of person, other than taxpayer, preparing this return)	(Date)	(Signature of taxpayer)	(Date)
(Name of firm or employer, if any)		(Signature of taxpayer's wife or husband if this is a joint return)	(Date)

To assure split-income benefits, husband and wife must include all their income and, even though only one has income, BOTH MUST SIGN.

16—69192-1

- - Please Attach All Original W-2 Forms Here - - -

35-63.64

Schedule A.—INCOME FROM DIVIDENDS

Name of corporation declaring dividend	Amount	Name of corporation declaring dividend	Amount
	$		$
		Enter total here →	$

Schedule B.—INCOME FROM INTEREST

Name of payor	Amount	Name of payor	Amount
	$		$
		Enter total here →	

Schedule C Summary.—PROFIT (OR LOSS) FROM BUSINESS OR PROFESSION, FARMING, AND PARTNERSHIP

1. Business profit (or loss) from separate Schedule C, line 23	$ 2021.00	
2. Farm profit (or loss) from separate schedule, Form 1040F		
3. Partnership, etc., profit (or loss) from Form 1065, Schedule K, Column 3...		
(Partnership name) (Address)		
4. Total of lines 1, 2, 3	$	
5. Less: Net operating loss deduction (attach statement)	1484.14	
6. Net profit (or loss) (line 4 less line 5)		536 86

Schedule D.—NET GAIN OR LOSS FROM SALES OR EXCHANGES OF CAPITAL ASSETS, ETC.

1. From sale or exchange of capital assets (from separate Schedule D)	
2. From sale or exchange of property other than capital assets (from separate Schedule D)	

Schedule E.—INCOME FROM ANNUITIES OR PENSIONS

1. Cost of annuity (amount you paid)	$	4. Amount received this year	$
2. Cost received tax-free in past years		5. Excess of line 4 over line 3	
3. Remainder of cost (line 1 less line 2)	$	6. Enter line 5, or 3 percent of line 1, whichever is greater (but not more than line 4)	

Schedule F.—INCOME FROM RENTS AND ROYALTIES

1. Kind and location of property	2. Amount of rent or royalty	3. Depreciation or depletion (explain in Schedule H)	4. Repairs (attach itemized list)	5. Other expenses (attach itemized list)
	$	$	$	$
1. Totals	$	$	$	$

2. Net profit (or loss) (column 2 less sum of columns 3, 4, and 5)	

Schedule G.—INCOME FROM OTHER SOURCES INCLUDING ESTATES AND TRUSTS

1. Estate or trust (Name) (Address)	
2. Other sources (state nature)	
Total income (or loss) from above sources (Enter here and as item 3, page 1)	$ 546 86

Schedule H.—EXPLANATION OF DEDUCTION FOR DEPRECIATION CLAIMED IN SCHEDULE F

1. Kind of property (If buildings, state material of which constructed). Exclude land and other nondepreciable property	2. Date acquired	3. Cost or other basis	4. Depreciation allowed (or allowable) in prior years	5. Remaining cost or other basis to be recovered	6. Life used in accumulating depreciation	7. Estimated life from beginning of year	8. Depreciation allowable this year
		$	$	$			$

Schedule I.—EXEMPTIONS FOR CLOSE RELATIVES OTHER THAN WIFE AND CHILDREN—(See Instructions)

1. Name of dependent relative. Also give address if different from yours	2. Relationship	3. Did dependent during 1953— (a) Have gross income of $600 or more?	(b) Reside in your home?	(c) Receive entire support from you?	4. If answer to either 3(b) or 3(c) is "No" enter amount spent for dependent's support in 1953 by— You (and your wife if this is a joint return)	Others, and by dependent from own funds
					$	$

Enter here and as item 1D, page 1, the number of other close relatives claimed above ....

Schedule J.—HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (See Instructions)
(Not applicable where wife or husband died during taxable year)

If all of the following questions are answered "Yes," you may determine your tax as Head of a Household:

1. Were you unmarried (or legally separated) at the close of your taxable year? (Yes or No) .....
2. Was your home occupied during the entire taxable year as the principal residence of both yourself and (*a*) a person for whom you are entitled to an exemption, or (*b*) your unmarried child, grandchild, or stepchild, even though not a dependent? (Yes or No) .....

List name(s) and relationship to you .....

3. Did you furnish more than one-half of the cost of maintaining the household during the taxable year? (Yes or No) .....
If you did not furnish the entire cost, state total amount furnished by you $.....; by all others (including those sharing your home) $..... Deductions on page 3 are to be determined without reference to this schedule. 16—69192-1

ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS—FOR PERSONS NOT USING TAX TABLE ON PAGE 4 OR STANDARD DEDUCTION ON LINE 2 BELOW—

If Husband and Wife (Not Legally Separated) File Separate Returns and One Itemizes Deductions, the Other Must Also Itemize

Describe Deductions and state to whom paid. If more space is needed, attach additional sheets.

Contributions			
	Total Contributions (not more than 20 percent of item 4, page 1)		
Interest			
	Total Interest		
Taxes			
	Total Taxes		10 50
Losses from fire, storm, or other casualty, or theft			
	Total Allowable Losses (not compensated by insurance or otherwise)		
Medical and dental expenses *(if over 65 see Instructions)*			
	Net Expenses (not compensated by insurance or otherwise)	263 27	
	Enter 5 percent of item 4, page 1; subtract from Net Expenses		
	Allowable Medical and Dental Expenses. See Instructions for limitation		263 27
Miscellaneous *(See Instructions)*			
	Total Miscellaneous Deductions		
	Total Deductions		273 27

TAX COMPUTATION FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1953 (For Other Taxable Years Attach Form 1040 FY)

1. Enter amount shown in item 4, page 1. This is your Adjusted Gross Income		546 86
2. If deductions are itemized above, enter total of such deductions. If deductions are not itemized *and line 1, above, is $5,000 or more:* (*a*) married persons filing separately enter $500, (*b*) all others enter 10 percent of line 1, but not more than $1,000		263 27
3. Subtract line 2 from line 1. Enter the difference here. This is your Net Income		283 59
4. Multiply $600 by total number of exemptions claimed in item 1E, page 1. Enter total here		1200 —
5. Subtract line 4 from line 3. Enter difference here. (If line 1 includes partially tax-exempt interest, see Instructions)		−916 41
If line 5 is not more than $2,000 ——		
6. Enter 22.2 percent of amount shown on line 5 and disregard lines 7, 8, and 9		—
If line 5 is more than $2,000 ——		
7. **And you are a single person, a married person filing separately, or a head of household ——** Single persons and married persons filing separately use Tax Rate Schedule I on page 12 of Instructions to figure tax on amount on line 5; heads of household use Tax Rate Schedule II		—
8. **And you are filing a joint return ——**		
(*a*) Enter one-half of amount on line 5		
(*b*) Use Tax Rate Schedule I on page 12 of Instructions to figure tax on amount on line 8 (*a*)		
(*c*) Multiply amount on line 8 (*b*) by 2		—
9. If alternative tax computation is made, enter here tax from separate Schedule D		—
Disregard lines 10, 11, and 12, and copy on line 13 the same figure you entered on line 6, 7, 8 (*c*), or 9, unless you used itemized deductions		
10. Enter here any income tax payments to a foreign country or U.S. possession (attach Form 1116)		
11. Enter here any income tax paid at source on tax-free covenant bond interest		
12. Add the figures on lines 10 and 11 and enter the total here		—
13. Subtract line 12 from line 6, 7, 8 (*c*), or 9. Enter difference here and as item 5 (A), page 1		

TAX TABLE FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1953

FOR PERSONS WITH INCOMES UNDER $5,000 NOT COMPUTING TAX ON PAGE 3

Read down the shaded columns below until you find the line covering the total income you entered in item 4, page 1. Then read across to the appropriate column headed by the number corresponding to the number of exemptions claimed in item 1E, page 1. Enter the tax you find there in item 5(A), Page 1.

If total income in item 4, page 1, is—		And the number of exemptions claimed in item 1E, page 1, is—				If total income in item 4, page 1, is—		And the number of exemptions claimed in item 1E, page 1, is—										
		1	2	3	4 or more			1 And you are—		2 And you are—			3 And you are—			4	5	6	7	8 or more
At least	But less than					At least	But less than	Single or a married person filing separately	An unmarried head of a household	Single or a married person filing separately	An unmarried head of a household	A married couple filing jointly	Single or a married person filing separately	An unmarried head of a household	A married couple filing jointly					
		Your tax is—						Your tax is—												
$0	$675	$0	$0	$0	$0	$2,325	$2,350	$334	$334	$201	$201	$201	$67	$67	$67	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
675	700	4	0	0	0	2,350	2,375	339	339	206	206	206	72	72	72	0	0	0	0	0
700	725	9	0	0	0	2,375	2,400	344	344	211	211	211	77	77	77	0	0	0	0	0
725	750	14	0	0	0	2,400	2,425	349	349	216	216	216	82	82	82	0	0	0	0	0
750	775	19	0	0	0	2,425	2,450	354	354	221	221	221	87	87	87	0	0	0	0	0
775	800	24	0	0	0	2,450	2,475	359	359	226	226	226	92	92	92	0	0	0	0	0
800	825	29	0	0	0	2,475	2,500	364	364	231	231	231	97	97	97	0	0	0	0	0
825	850	34	0	0	0	2,500	2,525	369	369	236	236	236	102	102	102	0	0	0	0	0
850	875	39	0	0	0	2,525	2,550	374	374	241	241	241	107	107	107	0	0	0	0	0
875	900	44	0	0	0	2,550	2,575	379	379	246	246	246	112	112	112	0	0	0	0	0
900	925	49	0	0	0	2,575	2,600	384	384	251	251	251	117	117	117	0	0	0	0	0
925	950	54	0	0	0	2,600	2,625	389	389	256	256	256	122	122	122	0	0	0	0	0
950	975	59	0	0	0	2,625	2,650	394	394	261	261	261	127	127	127	0	0	0	0	0
975	1,000	64	0	0	0	2,650	2,675	399	399	266	266	266	132	132	132	0	0	0	0	0
1,000	1,025	69	0	0	0	2,675	2,700	404	404	271	271	271	137	137	137	4	0	0	0	0
1,025	1,050	74	0	0	0	2,700	2,725	409	409	276	276	276	142	142	142	9	0	0	0	0
1,050	1,075	79	0	0	0	2,725	2,750	414	414	281	281	281	147	147	147	14	0	0	0	0
1,075	1,100	84	0	0	0	2,750	2,775	419	419	286	286	286	152	152	152	19	0	0	0	0
1,100	1,125	89	0	0	0	2,775	2,800	424	424	291	291	291	157	157	157	24	0	0	0	0
1,125	1,150	94	0	0	0	2,800	2,825	429	429	296	296	296	162	162	162	29	0	0	0	0
1,150	1,175	99	0	0	0	2,825	2,850	434	434	301	301	301	167	167	167	34	0	0	0	0
1,175	1,200	104	0	0	0	2,850	2,875	439	439	306	306	306	172	172	172	39	0	0	0	0
1,200	1,225	109	0	0	0	2,875	2,900	444	444	311	311	311	177	177	177	44	0	0	0	0
1,225	1,250	114	0	0	0	2,900	2,925	449	449	316	316	316	182	182	182	49	0	0	0	0
1,250	1,275	119	0	0	0	2,925	2,950	455	454	321	321	321	187	187	187	54	0	0	0	0
1,275	1,300	124	0	0	0	2,950	2,975	460	459	326	326	326	192	192	192	59	0	0	0	0
1,300	1,325	129	0	0	0	2,975	3,000	466	465	331	331	331	197	197	197	64	0	0	0	0
1,325	1,350	134	1	0	0	3,000	3,050	474	473	338	338	338	205	205	205	72	0	0	0	0
1,350	1,375	139	6	0	0	3,050	3,100	485	483	348	348	348	215	215	215	82	0	0	0	0
1,375	1,400	144	11	0	0	3,100	3,150	496	494	358	358	358	225	225	225	92	0	0	0	0
1,400	1,425	149	16	0	0	3,150	3,200	507	504	368	368	368	235	235	235	102	0	0	0	0
1,425	1,450	154	21	0	0	3,200	3,250	518	515	378	378	378	245	245	245	112	0	0	0	0
1,450	1,475	159	26	0	0	3,250	3,300	529	525	388	388	388	255	255	255	122	0	0	0	0
1,475	1,500	164	31	0	0	3,300	3,350	541	536	398	398	398	265	265	265	132	0	0	0	0
1,500	1,525	169	36	0	0	3,350	3,400	552	546	408	408	408	275	275	275	142	8	0	0	0
1,525	1,550	174	41	0	0	3,400	3,450	563	557	418	418	418	285	285	285	152	18	0	0	0
1,550	1,575	179	46	0	0	3,450	3,500	574	567	428	428	428	295	295	295	162	28	0	0	0
1,575	1,600	184	51	0	0	3,500	3,550	585	578	438	438	438	305	305	305	171	38	0	0	0
1,600	1,625	189	56	0	0	3,550	3,600	596	588	448	448	448	315	315	315	181	48	0	0	0
1,625	1,650	194	61	0	0	3,600	3,650	607	599	459	459	458	325	325	325	191	58	0	0	0
1,650	1,675	199	66	0	0	3,650	3,700	618	610	470	469	468	335	335	335	201	68	0	0	0
1,675	1,700	204	71	0	0	3,700	3,750	629	620	482	480	478	345	345	345	211	78	0	0	0
1,700	1,725	209	76	0	0	3,750	3,800	640	631	493	490	488	355	355	355	221	88	0	0	0
1,725	1,750	214	81	0	0	3,800	3,850	651	641	504	501	498	365	365	365	231	98	0	0	0
1,750	1,775	219	86	0	0	3,850	3,900	662	652	515	511	508	375	375	375	241	108	0	0	0
1,775	1,800	224	91	0	0	3,900	3,950	673	662	526	522	518	385	385	385	251	118	0	0	0
1,800	1,825	229	96	0	0	3,950	4,000	684	673	537	532	528	395	395	395	261	128	0	0	0
1,825	1,850	234	101	0	0	4,000	4,050	696	683	548	543	538	405	405	405	271	138	5	0	0
1,850	1,875	239	106	0	0	4,050	4,100	707	694	559	553	548	415	415	415	281	148	15	0	0
1,875	1,900	244	111	0	0	4,100	4,150	718	704	570	564	558	425	425	425	291	158	25	0	0
1,900	1,925	249	116	0	0	4,150	4,200	729	715	581	574	568	435	435	435	301	168	35	0	0
1,925	1,950	254	121	0	0	4,200	4,250	740	725	592	585	578	445	445	445	311	178	45	0	0
1,950	1,975	259	126	0	0	4,250	4,300	751	736	603	596	588	456	455	455	321	188	55	0	0
1,975	2,000	264	131	0	0	4,300	4,350	762	746	614	606	598	467	466	465	331	198	65	0	0
2,000	2,025	269	136	2	0	4,350	4,400	773	757	625	617	608	478	476	475	341	208	75	0	0
2,025	2,050	274	141	7	0	4,400	4,450	784	768	636	627	618	489	487	485	351	218	85	0	0
2,050	2,075	279	146	12	0	4,450	4,500	795	778	648	638	628	500	497	495	361	228	95	0	0
2,075	2,100	284	151	17	0	4,500	4,550	806	789	659	648	638	511	508	504	371	238	105	0	0
2,100	2,125	289	156	22	0	4,550	4,600	817	799	670	659	648	522	518	514	381	248	115	0	0
2,125	2,150	294	161	27	0	4,600	4,650	828	810	681	669	658	533	529	524	391	258	125	0	0
2,150	2,175	299	166	32	0	4,650	4,700	839	820	692	680	668	544	539	534	401	268	135	2	0
2,175	2,200	304	171	37	0	4,700	4,750	851	831	703	690	678	555	550	544	411	278	145	12	0
2,200	2,225	309	176	42	0	4,750	4,800	862	841	714	701	688	566	560	554	421	288	155	22	0
2,225	2,250	314	181	47	0	4,800	4,850	873	852	725	711	698	577	571	564	431	298	165	32	0
2,250	2,275	319	186	52	0	4,850	4,900	884	862	736	722	708	589	581	574	441	308	175	42	0
2,275	2,300	324	191	57	0	4,900	4,950	895	873	747	732	718	600	592	584	451	318	185	52	0
2,300	2,325	329	196	62	0	4,950	5,000	906	883	758	743	728	611	603	594	461	328	195	62	0

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE oar-16—69192-1

[U.S. - INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE]

SCHEDULE C

U.S. INCOME TAX RETURN, 1953

W.E.B. Du Bois

EXPLANATION OF SCHEDULE:

I have received the following net income from lectures delivered, after subtracting expenses of travel and hotels	$1205.
Payment for articles published in periodicals	316.
Services to American Peace Crusade	250.
Royalties from books	250.
Total:	$2021.00

Subtract from this the following expenses:

Rent of office, 23 West 26 Street, N.Y., N.Y.	$600.00	
Clerical help	833.73	
Office expenses and supplies	50.41	
Total:	$1484.14	$1484.14
Net income:		$ 546.86

SCHEDULE G

I have received gifts as follows in 1953:

From Atlanta University	$1200.
From the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	1200.
	$2400.

I made no contribution at any time towards these gifts, nor was this compensation for any services rendered. I was employed by Atlanta University from 1896 to 1910 and from 1934 to 1944. I was employed by the National Association of Colored People from 1910 to 1934 and from 1944 to 1948. All services rendered to these organizations were paid for at the time at the highest current rate of compensation. The gifts in each case were made in recognition of 50 years' work in race relations in the United States, outside my ~~contractual duties for~~ the organizations. I am 86 years of age.

I have received from the United States Government $720, Social Security 104-12-5679.

I have received from Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix, Prague, Czechoslovakia, an International Peace Prize of 2,500,000 French francs which netted $7,140. The statement concerning this prize and a copy of the letter are attached.

41-11-94

Thursday Morning -November 26, 1953

His Excellency,
M. Andrei Vyshinsky

My dear Mr. Vyshinsky:

Last night about eight we received a telephone message purporting to come from your office and saying that you would not be able to attend our dinner tonight. We were much distressed and also not at all sure that the message was really from you. We telephoned the Park Avenue office twice but were unable to get a response. I am therefore venturing to disturb you this morning.

25-59-7

We are terribly sorry if Mme. Vyshinskaya is indisposed for we had looked forward to having your family in our home. My wife has gone to some pains to prepare a holiday dinner; Paul Robeson, who is in a rest home, is flying up from Washington this afternoon to be with you, his wife is giving up her dinner with the grandchildren to be present. Howard Fast and wife are leaving their children with their grandparents and driving down here. Thus we will have a small intimate company. If Mme. Vyshinskaya continues too ill to come, perhaps your daughter can come and bring an escort; or if neither can come, perhaps you can bring two of your colleagues.

At any rate you will have to have dinner sometime, somewhere: why not have it here? You may set the hour at any time which suits from six on and stay as briefly or as long as you like. You can relax completely in this quiet neighborhood and listen to Paul sing.

I hope you will not disappoint us. It will not be easy soon to get this group together and all will be much distressed if you are not here. Of course we do understand from the morning news under how great a burden you are and will know if you decide not to honor us, how strong the reason must be. May we trouble you to telephone your final decision sometime before night: Main 4-2929.

I am, dear Mr. Vyshinsky,
Very sincerely yours,

[Nov 1953]

My dear Dr.Du Bois,

I feel so sorry because of misunderstanding in connection with a proposed dinner on November 26, 1953. It is a matter of deep regret for me that my unability to attend it had caused for you so many inconveniences as I have learned from your letter.

I have taken all available measures in order to advise you on circomstances which prevent me to attend the dinner. I have managed to do it only on November 25.

I request you to understand me correctly and not to view this case in a wrong way. In fact these days were really difficult for me at the Assembly due to the fact that serious questions were discussed there. My situation became more complicated due to the illness of my wife, whom my daughter could not leave alone. Please, exuse us.

25-59-6

Certainely, with great pleasure we shall meet you at your home or at any other place, My wife, my daughter and I would like to have pleasure to invite you and your wife to have a dinner in the friendly company of Paul Robson and his wife, Howard Fast and his wife and some other our common friends.

Would you please to reserve a day between the 15th-20th December for a dinner at our home, I hope that we can have such an occassion. Please inform in advance of your decision.

My wife and I ask your wife and you to accept our sincere consideration.

Yours sincerely

A. Vyshinsky.

Nov. 30, 1953

His Excellency, M. Andrei Vyshinsky
680 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Vyshinsky:

We are much distressed that you are so unhappy over the dinner. We understand perfectly why you could not attend and trust that Mrs. Vyshinskaya is improving.

We know, too, how heavy your schedule was at the UN on that day. Mrs. Du Bois listened to most of your speech.

It would have been difficult for you to notify us in time to call off the dinner, as the people attending were summoned from so wide a circle.

But you must not feel that you owe us any hospitality. I myself, and most of the others have been the recipients of so much kindness on the part of the Soviet Union and its officials that a dinner for us at this busy time is quite unnecessary. It would be much better to wait until you return next year. Then it will be busier for us to arrange a pleasant meeting.

Please convey to Mrs. Vyshinskyya, your daughter and yourself, our deepest assurances of friendship and appreciation.

I am, dear Mr. Vyshinsky,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

December 2, 1953

His Excellency, M. Andrei Vyshinsky
680 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Vyshinsky:

Your secretary telephoned last night suggesting December 14th as a date for a dinner at your house. I regret to say that this seems impossible.

As I told you before, Paul Robeson is in a hospital in Washington, going through a diet to reduce overweight. He broke his stay once to come up to the Thanksgiving dinner. It would be unwise for him to break his treatment there again, and neither I nor Mrs. Robeson think it wise to urge him to do so.

Then, too, the Fasts are very busy with their new publishing business, and Mrs. Du Bois has a Christmas party which she is giving for two orphans.

I think you will understand, therefore, that it would be quite impossible for us to make a date before Christmas. May I urge again that as soon as you return to this country we arrange to see each other in a pleasant social gathering.

Mrs. Du Bois and I sincerely hope that Mrs. Vyshinskaya's health is improving. Our best regards to you and your family for the trip home.

I beg to remain, my dear Mr. Vyshinsky,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-59-9

[Walker Manuf. Co]

November 11, 1953

Proprietor
Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co.
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Sir:

I have been looking for the facts concerning the life of Madam C. J. Walker and find, to my surprise, that I have nothing in my library and cannot find anything.

Will you tell me if her life has been published, and if so, how I can get hold of it?

I should like to use it in some historical work which I am doing.

I shall be very much obliged.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

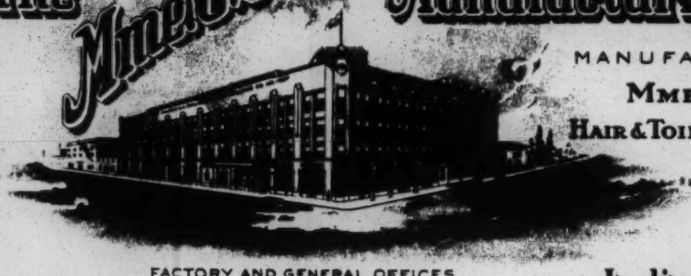
W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-21

[Walker Manuf. Co.]

The Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, Inc.

WALKER COLLEGE FOR TREATING AND TEACHING MME. WALKER'S METHOD OF BEAUTY CULTURE



FACTORY AND GENERAL OFFICES
WALKER BUILDING

MANUFACTURERS OF
MME. WALKER'S
HAIR & TOILET PREPARATIONS

BRANCHES
NEW YORK CITY — LOUISVILLE, KY.
CHICAGO, ILL. — TULSA, OKLA.
WASHINGTON, D.C. — DALLAS, TEXAS
BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — HOUSTON, TEXAS
KANSAS CITY, MO.

Indianapolis 2, Indiana

November 19, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

25-5-4-14

Dear Sir:

Thanks very much for your favor of the 11th instant.

Madam C. J. Walker's life has not been published in book form. Newspaper articles from time to time have been published concerning her life and works.

I am enclosing herewith a brief statement concerning her that may be of some help to you. I shall be glad to answer any questions concerning her that you may ask. Any cooperation with you in reference to this matter that I can give is yours.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very respectfully yours,

Robert Lee Brokenburr, General Manager

THE MME. C. J. WALKER MFG. COMPANY, INC.

RLB:mmm

Enclosure

Date of Marriage
" " Business
" & figures of Expansion
Children
Date of death
Do of Present Income
Recipients of Charity

[Walker Manuf. Co.]

The Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, Inc.

WALKER COLLEGE FOR TREATING AND TEACHING MME. WALKER'S METHOD OF BEAUTY CULTURE

FACTORY AND GENERAL OFFICES
WALKER BUILDING

MANUFACTURERS OF
MME. WALKER'S
HAIR & TOILET PREPARATIONS

BRANCHES
NEW YORK CITY — LOUISVILLE, KY.
CHICAGO, ILL. — TULSA, OKLA.
WASHINGTON, D.C. — DALLAS, TEXAS
BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — HOUSTON, TEXAS
KANSAS CITY, MO.

Indianapolis 2, Indiana

November 20th, 1953

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dubois:

25-5-4-16

Mr. Brokenburr has asked me to forward to you some material relative to Mme. Walker and our company. I am forwarding a brief history and some magazine accounts and press releases that will be of some help.

Unfortunately, we do not have this data in one volume, (properly written). Some of the magazine accounts are highly sensationalized and fictionalized, as you will quickly note.

This is a situation we intend to correct as soon as feasible, until then, this is the best we can do. Ebony ran an account similar to the other stories, also.

I trust this is satisfactory. Kindest personal regards and regards to the wife. The re-issue of Souls of Black Folk has created some unusual interest here.

Yours,

Willard B. Ransom

Willard B. Ransom
Assistant Manager

WBR/mma
Enclosures

[Walker Manuf. Co.]

November 23, 1953

Mr. Robert Lee Brokenburr, General Manager
The Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co., Inc.
Walker Bldg.
Indianapolis, 2, Indiana

25-54-15

My dear Mr. Brokenburr:

I thank you for your letter of November 19.

If it will not be too much trouble, may I ask for the following additional facts:

1) The date of Mme. Walker's marriage.
2) The date of her first established business, and figures indicating its expansion in business done and territory covered.
3) The date of her death.
4) The form in which the business is now carried on; its annual turnover and geographical location.
5) The names of the charities to which her fortune was left.

I am not seeking to write an account of Mme. Walker's life, but in tracing the development of the American Negro since 1876 I want to give due weight to the tremendous influence which she and her business had.

I shall thank you for any further help you can give me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Walker Manuf. Co]

December 2, 1953

Mr. Willard B. Ransom, Assistant Manager
The Mme. C. J. Walker Manufacturing Co., Inc.
Walker Building
Indianapolis 2, Indiana

Dear Mr. Ransom:

Thank you very much for the material which you sent me November 20th concerning Mme. Walker.

I should think that your company ought to see that a good Life of this remarkable women is written.

I am glad that you are interested in the re-issue of THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. I am writing the publishers and asking them to communicate with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

85-54-17

April 22, 1953

TO HARRY F. WARD:

Only those who with lagging steps follow your courageous path to freedom can appreciate what you have paid in effort and sacrifice during the last half century.

We send our warmest congratulations.

W.E.B. Du Bois
Shirley Graham

DB:lh

25-60-1

[Ware]

310 Riverside Drive
New York 25,N.Y.
March 5th,1953

Dear Dr.DuBois,

My son Alexander, who lives in Anniston, Alabama, sent me this enclosed clipping in a recent letter. I don't know just which,of his Anniston,papers this comes from. I don't wonder that Alexander used his red pencil to put a question mark but I am wondering if some sort of protest should not be sent to that paper if I find out its name.

So many lies! So much turning white into black and vice versa! And now I've added listening to the United Nation speeches to my wild scrambling to try to understand this so distraught world.

All good wishes to you and your Lady-wife.

Cordially your old friend

Alice H Ware

25-54-19

P.S. I had a two hour visit, recently, from Grace Towns Hamilton.

The South And The Negro Race

It is of interest to note that there has been established a society here in the Southeast among the people of the Negro race for the purpose of combatting the effort on the part of do-gooders and politicians of both the white and the colored race up North to revive FEPC in the present Congress.

We believe that the society in question is well advised. For under our policy of gradualism we are making great progress by way of bringing about a better spirit of brotherhood and cooperation between the two races. Consider, for instance, the recent signing of a Negro baseball player by a Savannah, Ga., team, the election of a Negro doctor by four civic clubs in Taylor, Texas, as the oustanding citizen of 1952 in that city, and the act of white citizens in Talladega serving as pallbearers at the funeral of a beloved Negro citizen of that Alabama town.

Moreover, as an evidence of the economic opportunities Negroes enjoy here in the South, Tuskegee Institute recently paid tribute to a Negro farmer of Loxley, Ala., who had earned a gross income of $90,000 last year in his farming operations. As another evidence of their increasing prosperity, we note that members of the colored race here are now riding in some of the finest cars that are to be seen on our streets. And many of them dress as well as the white citizens.

W. E. B. DuBois, a Southern Negro philosopher, has recognized these facts and is adding his influence to those who oppose the attempt to abolish segregation. Also, Davis Lee, a New Jersey Negro editor, calls attention to the fact that while Albany, N. Y., employs only three Negro teachers and Newark only 70, Georgia employe 7,313 at annual salaries approximating $15,000,000, and North Carolina pays its Negro teachers $22,000,000 annually. One Texas Negro college president gets $15,000.

All of that would be changed if the two races were forced into competition as opposed to cooperation. It is no wonder, therefore, that sensible Negroes are becoming alarmed over political scheming in the Congress. They know on which side their bread is buttered — the South side.

25-54-18

→ Is this true?

March 6, 1953

Mrs. Alice H. Ware
310 Riverside Dr.
New York 25, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Ware:

Thank you for the clipping sent me from Anniston.

Of course the statement is utterly untrue.

If you can get me the name of the paper, I will write to them.

Shirley and I returned yesterday from three weeks in California where I delivered ten lectures and Shirley many more, on Peace and the Revolts in Africa. It was a very inspiring trip.

I hop this will find you well. We both send love.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-54-20

[Webb] 2907 Cloverdale Ave
Los Angeles 16 Calif.

My Dear Dr Bois,

What I am about to ask of you, may be deemed entirely unethical, by you + many others. Consequently I can readily understand why you would refuse to answer my request.

Nevertheless here is my request;

Would you please if possible evaluate the NAACP that is from Walter White + Roy Wilkins down or up whichever the case may be. My reason for making this request is that I have followed your activities, read your books including "In Battle for Peace", and I have done your life as a class project. In toto it seems that the

26-00-24

NAACP does not encourage you. I think you above all should be in that organization, what is really the situation? they (the NAACP) do not want you?, or is it that you do not have the time to work with them?

Respectfully

Robert McKnight Webb

25-60-25

November 18, 1953

Mr. Robert McDuff Webb
2907 Cloverdale Avenue
Los Angeles 16
California

Dear Mr. Webb:

As you suggested in your letter without date, it would not be ethical for me at this time to evaluate publicly the NAACP.

I appreciate your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-23

[Weymouth]

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY

3950 1/2 La Salle Avenue
Los Angeles 62, Calif
February 12 1953

Dear Dr. W.E.B. DuBois:

With a deep sense of gratitude we, as American citizens, acknowledge our debt to you as a mature scholar, an understanding teacher, a far-sighted organizer, but most of all, as an intelligent and courageous fighter for basic civil rights and for world peace.

Sincerely

Frank W Weymouth

Frank W. Weymouth, Professor of Physiology, Emeritus

Mary Weymouth (Mrs F. W.)

Mary Weymouth

[Wherry]

Sta A, Box 184,
Los Angeles Cal,
Jan 12th, 53

MRs Shirley DuBoise,
c/o Dr W E B, DuBoise,
N A A C P. Office,
20 W, 40th St,
New York City N Y.

Dear Madam,

I note Dr DuBoise will be here next month, as speaker of Negro History Week, I am sending you a Press Release of the Douglass and Washington Families, I had held recently, Mrs Douglass spent 2 weeks in Hawaii with her little granddaughter, they went and returned by plane, Mrs Douglass returned last Thurs A M, and she left Friday P M, for Texas New Orleans Atlanta Ga, her old home and then to her permanent home in Washington, she said ~~she~~ she wants to be there Jan 20th, 53

She said they had a good time on the Islands, they did not know anyone they met lots of nice people and had fun, I am trying to get the lives of Carver Douglass and Washignton filmed, I would like to hear from Dr telling me that he would like for me to arrange a Press Interview for him, I would like to get his comments through the Press to the Motion Picture Producers, to buy and film these stories instaed of making all of those cheap Gangster films, of Crime,

We needs more History, and he can be a great help, with his sayings, the people are just waiting for the decision that is to be handed down of the 5 svhool cases if segregation, that is now before the U S, Supreme Ct

Reply Air Mail Return Envelope

Jan. 14, 1953

Mr. Charles Whery
St. K Box 184
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Whery:

I am returning herewith the letters which you sent to Mrs. Du Bois.

With regard to a press interview or any filming while I am on the Pacific coast, will you kindly consult Mr. Peter Hyum, Southern California Peace Crusade, Room 310, 326 West 3rd St., Los Angeles, 13, California. He is in charge of my lectures.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

GORDON AND SCHAFFER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
4104 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 11, CALIFORNIA
ADAMS 1-4207

Sta K,Box 184,

Jan 24th,53

100-60-27

Miss Lillian Hyman,

Dear Madam,

Please confer with Dr DuBois,and teal him that I received his letter,and I wrote to the man that he told me to about the Press Conference,and that he haven,t answered my letter yet,I know he will be here during Negro History Week,and it would be a good idea for him to mention a picture based upon the lives of Fred Douglass Booker T,Washignton & Dr Geo W,Carver,

This might would help his wife sell the screen rightsto her Book,I would like to hear from him soon as possible, Very truly yours. Chas D,Wherry

25-60-54

(36)a.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

by WESTERN UNION

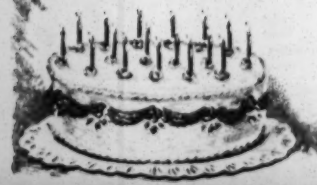
.NA204 BDA PD=HOUSTON TEX 11 947A= 1953 JUN 11 AM 11 38

DR W E B DEBOIS=

23 WEST 26 ST PENT HOUSE=

MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF THE DAY AND MAY THERE BE MANY MANY MORE SINCERELY=

:LULU B WHITE=



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[Wilkerson]

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

January 29, 1953

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

My hearty congratulations upon your receipt of the world peace award! I intended to say this to you last week, but let it get put aside in the rush of many things. It seems to me that this award is even more than deserved recognition of your own great role in the struggle for peace; that it is recognition also of the whole developing peace coalition in our country which your leadership symbolizes.

25-57-9

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

P. S. - Enclosed is a letter you sent me and which you should have in your files. Thanks for letting me see it. I understand that machinery is now in motion for the purpose of dealing collectively with the problems involved.
D. A. W.

February 11, 1953

Mrs. Elsie Willcox
P.O. Box 735
South Norwalk, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Willcox:

I am sending you the last office copy of my "Revolt in Africa". Will you please be sure to return it.

This, of course, is written for a speech and not for publication, and there may be some mistakes in facts or dates. I do not think they are many or important, but if it was prepared for printing I should have to go over it pretty carefully.

However, I think it is substantially correct.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[Williams, Isiah]

May 28, 1953

Pvt. Isiah Williams, U.S. 53137433
Btry B, 8th F. A. Bn.
APO 25 c/o P.M.
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have your letter with its enclosure of $3. I have turned over the money order to the Council on African Affairs for subscriptions.

I thank you very much for your kind words and am glad of your knowledge of my life.

I am not editing or publishing any newspaper at present, but I often contribute to FREEDOM. I have entered your subscription for that paper and have asked them to write you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

February 11, 1953

Mrs. Yolande Du Bois Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Yolande:

Shirley and I start west for lectures Friday afternoon at 4 p.m. We are scheduled to lecture in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and possibly some other places on the way back.

I have been meaning to get in touch with you if not to call, but I have not been able to do so. I hope you are all right and that Du Bois is getting on.

One thing I want to emphasize, and that is: you should make every effort to get adequate returns from your withholding taxes. I think you ought especially to have your lawyer insist upon the cost of your automobile being taken out. A great many times lawyers do not press this for various reasons, but if you do press it and go into details I am sure the claim would be considered. Any other claims you can possibly make, be sure to do so. The taxes people with small salaries must pay are outrageous, and they deserve every deduction they can get.

I shall be back early in March and shall hope to hear from you very soon, or come down for a visit.

I hope your finances are not in too bad shape.

Shirley and I join in best love to you and Du Bois.

Yours affectionately,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 20, 1953

Mrs. Yolande Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

I am so sorry that I have neglected writing you for so long. I did not realize, although naturally I have plenty of excuses.

We arrived from the West March 5th. Since then I have had six meetings of my seminar on Africa at the Jefferson School; prepared my income tax returns; spoke at Brighton Beach, at the Stalin Memorial Meeting and at the Warsaw Ghetto meeting; attended the annual meeting of the American-Soviet Friendship Council and a meeting in honor of Paul Robeson by the New World Review; appeared on television with Marcantonio and went to a party afterward; written several articles for the National Guardian and one for the Monthly Review and for Freedom; wrote a book review for Science and Society.

We have attended the theater twice, the circus once, and several good movies. I was in bed with a bad cold for a couple of days, and have begun again writing on that eternal novel.

In addition to this there has been a little correspondence and a few thousand phone calls. So you see I have an excuse although it is inadequate.

I did write Du Bois once and also wrote Dr. Higgins about your health, which worries me a bit. You must plan to get out of Baltimore this summer for a rest. I hope to help you do it when and if the Peace Council prize money comes to hand. I am expecting it some time in May.

We are going to the Bahamas for three weeks, leaving the 25th unless, of course, the United States government should step in, although I do not expect any such trouble.

I hope you will look after yourself, and above all things do not worry. My mother, your grandmother, used to always worry, and our aunts and uncles said that she worried about things that never happened. I perhaps go too far the other way and do not worry when I ought to.

I hope Du Bois is getting on reasonably and that the house is still comfortable. At the present writing you are not going to need your air conditioning for some months.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

April 25, 1953

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

We plan to fly April 25th at 10:30 by way of the BOAC. We return May 17th.

Our address while away is:

c/o Dr. G. S. Morrell
P.O. Box 693
Nassau, N.P.
Bahamas.

With love to both,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 19, 1953

Mrs. Yolande D. Williams
2417 N. Pulaski St.
Baltimore 17, Md.

Dear Yolande:

We arrived home safely Sunday, after three weeks in the Bahamas. I am in excellent condition and so is Shirley.

It was really an astonishingly beautiful trip. We went down and visited the little island where your great grandfather, Alexander Du Bois, was born, and stayed there two days. It was a funny little empty island with about a hundred people, and they were all down on the shore to greet us.

Our best love to you and Du Bois. Let me know how you are getting on.

I shall try to get down soon.

Yours with love,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-55-9

FATHER'S DAY GREETING by WESTERN UNION

744

[Williams]

=..PA054 P.BRA012 GTG NL PD=BALTIMOR MD 20=

DR W E B DUBOIS=

B 31 GRACE CT BROOKLYN NY= 1953 JUN 21 AM 12 55

:MY VERY BEST LOVE AND GOOD WISHES TO YOU ON FATHERS DAY

CONGRATULATIONS ON BEING A HOLLYWOOD STAR=

=YOLANDE=..

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[WOLF, POPPER, ROSS AND WOLF]

March 30, 1953

Mr. Paul Ross
Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf
160 Broadway
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Paul:

25-48-1

I am proposing that Shirley and I send the enclosed letter to Waldo and Mary Salt. We have, of course, the 2-year lease in writing, duly signed, but the notice of breaking the lease and other matters are entirely by conversation and I think there ought to be a clear understanding in writing.

I am taking this up with Shirley tonight, but meantime I am sending you a copy so that she can talk with you about it. Shirley is naturally very loath to say anything unpleasant, and I tried to make this as pleasant as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Enc

April 24, 1953

Mr. Paul Ross
160 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Ross:

Dr. Du Bois and Shirley Graham leave for the Bahamas Saturday morning, April 25th. They will return May 17th.

Their address will be:

c/o Dr. C. S. Worrell
P.O. 693
Nassau N.P.
Bahamas

Liberty Book Club may consult you about a book contract. Dr. Du Bois will sign anything that you approve.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

[redacted] Road

[redacted] W.E.B. Du Bois, May 28, 1953

[redacted] Gt Barrington property - Please return

[redacted] paid to date — no mortgage

[redacted] sale for $750 - $1000 cash

[1953]

Thursday 9/3/53

Dear Dr. DuBois—

Nan and I returned last evening from a hurried visit to Canada - to find your memorandum on the Electric installation. We confirm Shirley's authorization to proceed on our a/c and enclose our check to your order for $80 - to cover the charge. We also send along our September rent check.

Concerning your St. Barnaby property - as I promised you I undertook to trace the chain of title beyond the date which was certified to you in the abstract prepared by attorney Oc. Bidwell on April 17, 1928.

The purpose of my research was to ascertain the quantity of land to which you can claim title. This has become particularly important because Mr. Armstrong of Wheeler & Taylor - real estate agents informed me that he had received a solicitation offer of $500 - (I believe from the adjoining owner) who claimed that the piece was long & narrow and could not be used as a building lot because it had no depth - the adjoining owner claiming the rear portion of the whole lot.

My researches are not completed - because there are several puzzling conveyances in the title chain.

I enclose a brief pencilled summary of the title chain from 1810, at which time a large tract was conveyed to one Mary Younglove

42-44-117

who conveyed to Edward Younglove who conveyed a small piece of the tract to James Freeman in 1833. The deed to Freeman contains a detailed description which a surveyor could even today use to fix the precise lines of the plot - in all two (2) roods.

The problem begins to arise with Freeman's Conveyance to the Sisters Kellogg. He conveyed to them all he had - but in two separate parcels as you will notice from an examination of the #4 items on my notes. From this it would appear that he lived on the 3/8 acre plot - and that Lucinda was his wife - one must presume that she lived with him in the building on this lot. But the 3/4 acre plot also had "buildings thereon". It was this 3/4 acre plot which the Sisters Kellogg conveyed to Lucinda M. Burghardt and Albert Deroy Burghardt on Nov 18, 1857. The 3/8 acre plot was not then conveyed by the Kellogg's.

Question No 1:- was Lucinda M. Burghardt one of the grantees in the deed from the Kellogg's the same person who was Lucinda Freeman in the will of Nov. 22, 1860?

The importance of the answer to this question will become clear in a moment.

At this point two (2) facts should be noted:

1. In her will Lucinda Freeman, (relict of James Freeman) conveys "the use of my house and home lot including all the premises" to her brothers for life and remainder the fee to "my brother Hanlon Burghardt and Albert D. Burghardt Hanlon Burghardt's son and Henry C. Burghardt, son of Dr. Burghardt." She died about 11/25/1860 - three days after the execution of the will.
2. She executed the will by her mark.

Incidentally was the Albert D. named in her will the same as who was co-grantee with Lucinda M. in the Kellogg deed?

Question #2. Was the "house and home lot" devised by Lucinda Freeman the 3/8 acre plot on which James Freeman had lived at the time

42-44-117

of his conveyance to the Kellogg sisters in 1857.

The two questions must be answered because there appears on record (item #6 on my notes) a deed purporting to have been signed by Lucinda M. Burghardt and Albert Deroy Burghardt on Feb 13, 1860 conveying the 3/4 acre parcel to one Crippen.

There are certain interesting facts about this latter conveyance:

(1) It appears to have been signed in full handscript by both grantors (although the Lucinda Freeman of the will - only 9 months later signed with her mark).

(2) The signature of Lucinda was not witnessed - although that of Albert Deroy was witnessed by the Justice of the Peace.

(3) The signature of Albert D. was actually copied that of Lucinda was not.

Certainly if it is the same Lucinda who owned not have devised the 3/4 acre lot by will of she has conveyed it by deed the preceding February!

What I have not yet ascertained are answers to the following questions:

(1) Did the Kellogg sisters ever convey or devise by will the 3/8 acre parcel. The probate records show that Sarah Kellogg died about Jan 6, 1863 and left her residuary estate to Mary Kellogg - this plot is not specifically mentioned in the will. I did not find any deed as yet from either Mary or Sarah for this parcel - I shall continue search on this point.

(2) Did Crippen ever convey the 3/4 acre plot or did he devise it by will? So far I have not found any such record. I shall also try to find the answer to this question.

For convenience I enclose my own pencilled sketches of the plots conveyed to and by James Freeman. They are not either according

to scale, or otherwise accurate but they will give you an idea of the lines fixed by the Lords.

I hope to have the work completed before I leave for the city on Labor Day - and I shall report to you further on my return.

Nan joins me in sending to both Stella and yourself this afternoon our deepest esteem and affection

Sincerely
Paul

Nov. 20, 1953

Mr. Paul Ross
160 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Paul:

Will you kindly write for us a letter like the following with any changes that you would suggest; Please write it as our attorney, on your office paper.

"To the Chief of Police, Brooklyn.

Sir:

As attorney for the Corporation: 31 Grace Court, Incorporated, I am writing to ask your cooperation in having removed a wire which we have discovered, stretching from our property to the property opposite at 32 Grace Court.

This wire has not been installed with our consent or with our knowledge, and is an infringement and a danger, and contrary, I believe, to city ordinances.

We do not wish to undertake the removal on our own responsibility as it might injure pedestrians or property, but we would like to have it removed as soon as possible.

May I hear from you at your convenience."

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-48-6

Nov. 30, 1953

Mr. Paul Ross
160 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

My dear Paul:

I have decided to sell the Great Barrington property.

Shirley, who is probably a better merchant than I, suggests that I ask $800 and accept $750. Personally, I am willing to accept $700, although I suppose there will be some deductions for the real estate men, etc.

Do the best for us that you can.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-48-7

[1953?]

COPY

Mr. Paul Ross, Attorney
160 Broadway
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Ross:

It becomes my painful duty to inform you that 31 Grace Court, Inc. is running a serious deficit. Increased costs of operation are obvious: taxes have been raised twice since we took over, fuel oil is higher, every item of maintenance or repairs costs more. Paralleling this general trend is the totally unexpected fact that my own and more especially my wife's income have been so undermined as to be almost non-existent. We must therefore make some distribution of the increased cost of living at 31 Grace Court with our tenant.

31-5-3

As you will remember we cut the rent for you from two hundred dollars a month to one hundred and seventy-five. Because of the circumstances this lower rent has become a real hardship. However, we want to avoid placing undue and unexpected strain on you and therefore suggest that we split this difference between us, making the rental for the next term of your lease one hundred and eighty-seven dollars a month.

As our lawyer, the corporation books at the offices of Sydney H. Danis are open to you. It was the recent corporation tax report which brought this matter so forcibly to my attention. If you would like to talk this over do not hesitate to come in and see me. I feel certain that you will agree with the reasonableness of this proposal.

All good wishes.

Yours very truly,

January 6, 1953

Womens International League
for Peace and Freedom
41 Greenwich Av.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Madam:

I have been asked by friends in Denver to let you know that my wife, Shirley Graham, and myself are making a trip to the middle west and Pacific coast in February to speak on Peace and its connection with the problems of Africa.

We have engagements in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and vicinity, and San Francisco and vicinity. Also, negotiations are being made for extending the trip to Oregon, and Washington.

I am bringing this to your attention in case you would be interested in making any engagements for us.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-19

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, 3.
RITTENHOUSE 6-7110

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
MILDRED SCOTT OLMSTED

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1734 F Street
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METROPOLITAN 3807

LEGISLATIVE SECRETARY
ANNALEE STEWART

February 5, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

25-60-18

Your letter of January 6, 1953 addressed to our office in New York has been referred to me for reply.

I have taken up your generous offer to speak for our branches in the West with our National Executive Committee, whose meeting in Washington has just closed.

Since we are sending some members of our own National Board to meet with our members in these areas it seemed better not to create any confusion or distract their attention by suggesting speakers from another organizations.

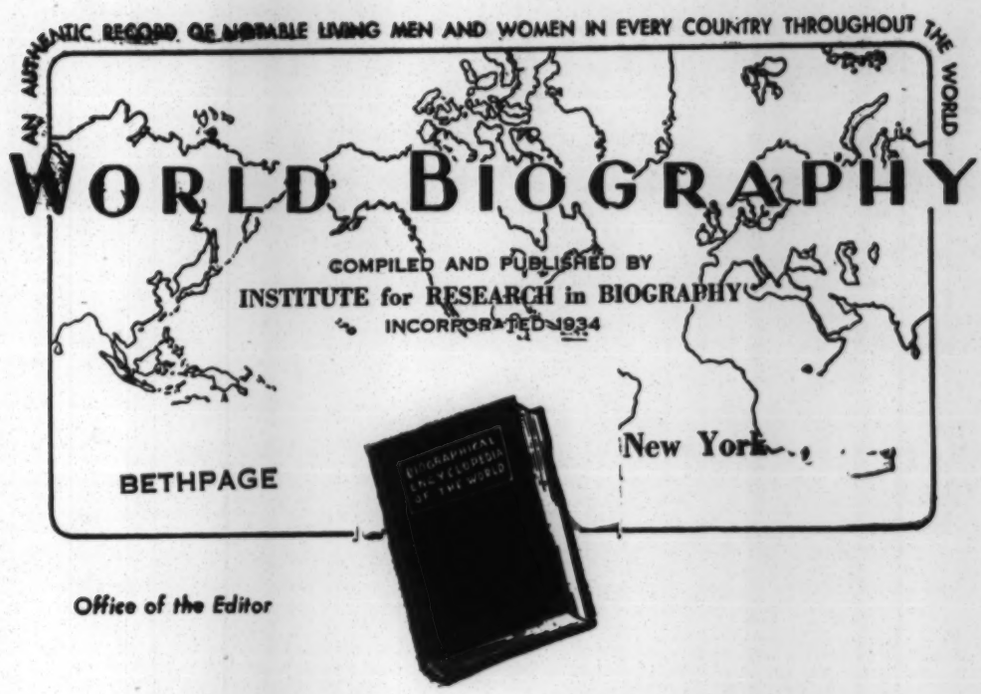
You may be interested to know however that our study project for branches for 1952/53 has been Africa for which we have prepared and are using a valuable kit, so many of our members will probably hear you at other gatherings and get the benefit of your information.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Scott Olmsted

Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted
National Administrative Secretary

MSO/hgb
dictated but not read



Office of the Editor

25-54.33

November 30, 1953

Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois
23 W. 26th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are pleased to inform you that your biography is included in the Fifth (1954) Edition of WORLD BIOGRAPHY, now in press. This book publicizes the careers of notable leaders in every field in all countries.

The price of the volume is $25 upon publication, but you can save 10% by taking advantage of the enclosed special pre-publication offer.

Sincerely yours,

F. A. Quirk,
For the Editor.

Please return to
W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague

, January 14th, 1953.

Dear Friend,

As a result of the great success of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, the World Peace Movement is facedwith some extremely important problems.

In order to examine the possibilities of unity of action which have been raised, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to hold a plenary session of the World Council in March.

We can inform you now that this meeting will probably be held in the second fortnight of March and that the proposal made by the Hungarian Peace Committee that the session be held in Budapest has been adopted by the Bureau. We shall inform you in good time of the exact date of the session and of the proposals made for its agenda.

Many National Committees have already sent us proposals for new candidates for the World Council from among important people in their countries, whose participation would be desirable from the point of view of broadening the movement. We have informed your National Committee that if it wishes to submit to the World Council the names of important people in your country for co-option to the Council, it should send us these proposals as quickly as possible so that we may keep them in mind when choosing people who can be invited to the next session of the Council.

The Bureau of the World Council has, in addition, recommended the celebration of great cultural anniversaries in 1953. It proposes to celebrate the 410th anniversary of the death of the famous Polish astronomer Copernicus, whose 400th could not be celebrated because of the Second World War; the 2,200th anniversary of the great Chinese poet Chu Yuan; the 400th anniversary of the death of the French writer and humanist Rabelais; the 100th anniversary

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46-11-3

of the birth of the Cuban writer Jose Marti, hero of the Cuban independence struggle. In a subsequent letter dealing with the question of the great cultural anniversaries, we shall inform you of all further details on this subject.

We ~~also~~ have pleasure in informing you that the Jury of the International Peace Prizes met on December 10th, 11th and 16th, 1952, under the chairmanship of M. Pierre Cot and attended by Mme Wanda Wassiliewska, Mao Dun, Gabriel d'Arboussier, Jorge Amado, the Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Arthur Lundkvist, Professor Jan Mukarowsky and General Jara.

After examining the proposed candidatures, the Jury of the International Peace Prizes proposed to the World Council of Peace the award of the prizes and gold medals as given in the enclosed list.

We are taking this opportunity of informing you of a proposal made to the World Council by the Jury of the International Peace Prizes. It concerns the establishing of a Gold Medal of Heroes of Peace to be granted for exceptional merit to both well known and ordinary people active in the Peace struggle. This high distinction could be granted, for example, to the best signature collectors who have shown outstanding activity in the past world campaigns, to the men and women whose ardent struggle for Peace and heroism provide a great example for the Defenders of Peace all over the world. The Bureau, having approved this proposal, will submit it for consideration by the World Council.

46-11-4

With the aim of making this proposal more definite, we have asked your National Committee to send us as quickly as possible its final proposals on this subject.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secrtariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague

26th February, 1953

Prof. W.E.B. DU BOIS

85-52.18

Dear Friend,

We take pleasure in informing you that, following the decision of the Bureau of the World Council, which took place in Vienna after the Congress, and on the proposition made by our President, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, the next Session of the World Council of Peace has been convoked for 10th to 15th April, 1953, in Budapest, Hungary.

We will keep you informed of all the details concerning the holding of this meeting.

We shall be very pleased if you would let us know as soon as possible whether you will be able to participate in this important Session of the World Council.

Our best wishes to you, and we hope very much that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you at this meeting.

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

Jean LAFFITTE

General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

March 6, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Palais Sia Prague
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have received your notice of the next session of the World Council of Peace, April 15th, 1953, in Budapest, Hungary.

I would certainly attend this session if I could get a passport. This, I am quite sure, will be impossible, but nevertheless I will apply and let you know the result.

I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

18th March, 1953

To Members of the World Council of Peace

and National Peace Committees

25-52.19

Dear Friends,

There will be a full Session of the World Council of Peace in Budapest from April 10th to 15th.

This meeting will be the first to be held since the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. In achieving an identity of outlook on the part of a number of Peace forces, the Congress of the Peoples stressed the necessity for negotiations to take place with the aim of concluding a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers - the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France.

The Commission to give effect to the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples, relating to the Address to the Five Great Powers, met in Vienna on March 16th and 17th. It has sent the Address of the Congress to the Governments of the Five Great Powers. It has called upon the governments of other countries, inviting them to lend their support to make the opening of negotiations possible. This Commission has also taken the initiative in launching an appeal to public opinion, asking for support for the steps it has taken.

It is the duty of the World Council to assist this action with all the forces it can command.

The World Council must examine in its principal aspects the question of the defence of the independance and sovereignty of nations as an assurance of their security and of world peace.

This examination will take place in the light of recent developments in the international situation :

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The people of Germany and of the countries bordering upon Germany are developing a combined action to prevent the ratification of the Bonn and Paris Agreements on the European Army!

The Peace forces are continually strengthening their position against the dangerous attempts to extend the war in Asia; against the use of the island of Taiwan (Formosa) as a base for aggression, against the blockade of China, the rejection of the cease-fire and refusal to re-open negotiations in Korea and against the development of bacterial warfare and the intensification of Japanese re-armament.

In Latin America and in the Near and Middle East, the opposition of the peoples to the military pacts is growing.

The importance of these problems leads us to hope that, in our coming deliberations, there will participate, either as guests or observers, numerous personalities and representatives of organisations who, in every country, wish to work to bring about an end to present conflicts and to make their contribution to the easing of international tension.

It is in liaison with these Peace forces that we are asking the National Committees and Members of the World Council to work towards the preparation of the next Session of the World Council.

With my very best wishes for success in your work on behalf of the cause of Peace.

F. Joliot-Curie

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie

President of the World Council of Peace

[World Peace Council]

March 27, 1953

Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie
President of the World Council of Peace
Palais Sia
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear Doctor Curie:

I wish very much that I could attend the session of the World Council of Peace April 10th at Budapest. I shall apply for a passport, but it is almost certain to be refused, so that there is a very small chance of my being able to attend.

I want to assure you, however, of my continued interest and efforts we are making towards Peace in the United States. Recently I made a trip to California where I gave ten lectures and my wife, Shirley Graham, some twenty others. We had a large and enthusiastic audience.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-52-11

[World Peace Council]

April 7, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Palais Sia
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have asked the State Department for a passport to attend the Peace Congress in Budapest April 10 - 15.

In reply I have been told by the office of the Secretary of State that no passports to Hungary can legally be issued to American citizens today; and that this has been the rule since May, 1952.

In addition to that, the Department of State has sent me a printed statement of their rules for issuing passports to American citizens. I am enclosing the main provisions of this extraordinary document.

You will readily understand that permission for me to receive an American passport to travel abroad will be practically impossible until our present laws are changed.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

[World Peace Council]

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague
7th April, I953.

25:52, 33

Dear Friend,

The Commission elected by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, which met in Vienna on March I6th and I7th, has forwarded to us the documents adopted at this meeting together mith the texts of the main contributions which were made there.

We are sending you, as enclosed, the text of the final statement made in Vienna by the Secretariat of the Commission, the list of participants, the text of the Appeal to all peoples and the speeches made at the meeting.

We hope that these texts will help you in your work.

Very sincerely yours,
For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace

Palamède Borsari
Secretary

RM/CS

[World Peace Council]

Paris, le 24 Avril 1953.

Cher et grand Ami,

Vous savez combien nous serions heureux de vous voir participer aux travaux de la prochaine session du Conseil Mondial de la Paix. Cette réunion a été retardée et aura lieu vraisemblablement aux environs du 12 ou du 15 juin.

Je tiens à vous dire toute mon admiration pour votre courageuse et énergique activité en faveur de la paix qui renforce la confiance en l'avenir de tous les hommes attachés à la paix et au progrès.

Croyez à mes sentiments bien amicalement et affectueusement dévoués.

25-52-13

Joliot-Curie

Frédéric Joliot-Curie
3, rue des Pyramides
PARIS Ier

Monsieur le Professeur W.E.B. DU BOIS
"Color and Democracy Colonies and Peace"
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

[World Peace Council]

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, April 30th, 1953.

Dear Friend,

The Commission to put into effect the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples concerning the Address to the Five Great Powers has made public the first replies of the Governments to this Address :

The letter from the President of the Council of Ministers of Greece, A.L. Papagos, dated April 20th; a telegram dated April 27th, from Mr. V. Molotov on behalf of the Government of the USSR; a telegram dated April 27th, from Mr. Miltcho Neytchev on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; a telegram dated April 28th, from Mr. Chou En Lai on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The Commission has also made known that it has received an acknowledgement to its demarche from the Government of Great Britain dated April 13th, 1953.

We are therefore forwarding to you, for your information, the texts of all these replies of the Governments received to date to the demarche of the Commission.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

J. LAFFITTE
General Secretary

25-52 . 27

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

CO.

Prague, April 30th, 1953.

W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

25-52:26

Dear Friend,

We thank you for your two letters on the subject of your participation in the next Session of the World Council.

We are extremely sorry that circumstances again prevent you from attending a meeting of the World Council, but assure you that we will keep you fully posted on any decisions that are taken there.

May we express our unfailing admiration for the tireless work you and your wife are doing on behalf of the cause of Peace, and our hopes that the day may not be far distant when we shall have the pleasure of meeting you again.

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore
Secretary

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

COMMUNIQUE DU BUREAU DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Le Bureau du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, réuni à Stockholm les 5 et 6 mai 1953, salue la démarche effectuée par la Commission Internationale qui a saisi tous les gouvernements de l'Adresse du Congrès des Peuples, appelant à la négociation entre les Cinq Grandes Puissances en vue de la conclusion d'un Pacte de Paix.

Il se félicite du large écho que cette démarche à déjà trouvé dans le monde et invite l'opinion publique de tous les pays à l'appuyer. Il réaffirme que les solutions négociées doivent prévaloir sur les solutions de force.

Il constate que les idées simples que le Mouvement de la Paix a propagées depuis des années et les initiatives raisonnables qu'il a appuyées commencent à porter leurs fruits. Une situation nouvelle est créée qui commande un redoublement d'efforts.

Les derniers évènements ont encore gagné des millions d'hommes à l'idée et à l'esprit de négociation. Ils montrent aux peuples qu'ils peuvent déterminer, par leur action, la détente internationale qui sera leur bien commun et une source de prospérité.

La négociation a repris en Corée. Les peuples doivent exiger qu'elle aboutisse rapidement à un armistice et au règlement d'un conflit qui provoque tant de souffrances et menace encore de s'étendre au monde entier.

La sauvegarde de la Paix exige également que le problème allemand fasse enfin l'objet de négociations à Quatre en vue d'une solution pacifique.

Des forces s'opposent encore directement ou indirectement à la détente. Mais le bon sens et la vigilance des hommes épris de paix peuvent leur faire échec. Ces hommes s'opposeront à tous les actes, à toutes les manoeuvres qui pourraient retarder ou compromettre les négociations. Ils demanderont aux gouvernements de tout faire pour que les négociations s'engagent et qu'elles aboutissent.

Pour rechercher des moyens nouveaux au service de l'esprit de négociation, pour associer à l'action en faveur de la paix tous ceux qui, éclairés par les évènements, prennent conscience de la nécessité et de la possibilité de la négociation, le Bureau décide de convoquer le 15 juin 1953, à Budapest, le Conseil Mondial de la Paix.

Ses travaux porteront sur les derniers développements de la situation internationale. Ils mettront l'accent sur la nécessité de faire triompher en toutes circonstances les solutions négociées. Ils contribueront à la détente internationale, à la sécurité des peuples, dans le respect de leur indépendance.

Stockholm, le 6 mai 1953.

[World Peace Council]

Paris, le 13 mai 1953.

Cher et Grand Ami,

Je tiens à apporter une précision à ma lettre du 24 avril.

Le Bureau du Conseil Mondial de la Paix a fixé au 15 juin le début de sa prochaine session. Cette session aura lieu à Budapest et se prolongera vraisemblablement jusqu'au 20 juin.

Je sais combien il est peu probable que vous puissiez venir et combien nous nous réjouirions si cela était possible.

Je vous prie de croire à mes sentiments bien amicalement dévoués.

25-52-12

Joliot-Curie

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE
3, rue des Pyramides
PARIS Ier

Monsieur W.E.B. DU BOIS
23 West, 26th street
NEW YORK N.Y. (U.S.A.)

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

PRAGUE, le 16 Mai 1953

Dr. W.E. DU BOIS
31, Grace Court
Brooklyn 2
NEW-YORK U.S.A.

81-407-52

Dear Sir,

We have forwarded to you a copy of the Statement issued by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, which met in Stockholm on 5th and 6th, 1953.

For yourinformation, we underline here briefly some of the conclusions that were drawn by the Members of the Bureau in their discussions.

The Bureau welcomed the action taken by the Commission appointed by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in calling for the conclusion of a Peace Pact and its approach to the Governments and expressed its approval of any activity carried out towards the aim of achieving negotiations wherever possibilities for an immediate solution exist. It particularly emphasised the possibility of obtaining a speedy end to the hostilities in Korea and pointed out the necessity of reaching a peaceful solution to the German problem.

The present activities of the World Peace Movement are taking place amid events which are favourable to a relaxation of international tension. It is a new situation in which the World Peace Movement has played an important part. It is a situation in which the efforts of all those who want to see a genuine easing of tension achieved by negotiation are being reinforced.

The support given by the public to the recent peace moves has revealed the possibility of negotiating, without delay, a settlement of the most pressing specific problems. For these reasons the Bureau supports every chance of concrete negotiations and condemns any action which may serve to hinder negotiations.

The members of the Bureau reaffirmed their main objective as laid down by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace: "To make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force". It is an objective based on the will to accomplish real steps towards negotiation and the solution of the problems for which it is possible to find immediate settlement. We believe that the carrying out of this objective can help bring together all those

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who are today becoming aware of the necessity and the possibility of negotiations.

The reasons which we have stated above led the Bureau to call the meeting of the World Council of Peace which will take place in Budapest on June 15th. The length of the Session has not yet been decided, but it is foreseen that it will continue until June 20th at least.

In view of the importance of this meeting the Bureau considers that very widely representative guests and observers should be present. We have already written to the American Peace Crusade to ask them for their assistance in suggesting personalities who have expressed their desire to see the resolution of the acute problems facing the world by means of peaceful negotiations.

25-64-16

The Bureau has decided to meet on June 14th in order to drawn up the final agenda to be submitted to the World Council. However, in order to facilitate the preliminary discussion it has drawn up a list of questions which it is thought could serve as a basis for this agenda. We enumerate these proposals below :

First point - Armistice in Korea and peaceful solution of the problems in the Far-East.

Second point - Peaceful solution of the German problem.

Third point - Relaxation of international tension and economic and cultural problems.

Fourth point - Political consequences of the international relaxation of tension. Independence and Security.

Fifth point - Role and composition of the World Council of Peace.

We should be interested to have your ideas on the contents of this letter.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace

Yvan LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

June 10, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte, Gen. Secy.
Council of World Peace
S.I.A. Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear Mr. Laffitte:

I have your circular letter of May 16th.

On May 11th I sent from Nassau in the British Bahamas a letter to Mr. Frederic Joliot-Curie enclosing a statement which I wished to present to the meeting of the World Council of Peace in Budapest June 15th. I also sent copies of that document to Mr. Ivor Montagu and Professor Bernal in England. I did this because I have been a little afraid that some of my communications to you have not gone through.

I am enclosing in this letter the statement which I sent to Mr. Joliot-Curie for your information and use. May I add that since writing this statement public opinion in favor of armistice in Korea and a peaceful solution of the problems in the Far East has greatly increased and I do not believe that it can be resisted.

The German problem is a little different. There is still opposition to a united Germany in this country, and a belief that we can depend on West Germany in military alliance.

On the third point there is every evidence that the economic situation in the United States is going to compel her to cease advocating war.

I trust that your meeting will be interesting, and express my great personal sorrow at not being able to be present.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-C4-20

[World Peace Council]

DECLARATION ON THE LAUNCHING OF A WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATION.

The events of recent months have convinced the peoples that settlement of all international differences by peaceful means is possible of attainment.

The peoples have come to realise that Peace can be won by patient and persistent effort on their part.

The World Council of Peace, meeting in Budapest from the 15th to the 20th June, 1953, calls upon the peoples to redouble their efforts to help forward negotiation for international settlement.

Every people has the right to free choice of its own way of life, and the duty to respect the freely-preferred choice of other peoples.

The peaceful coexistence of different social systems that is necessary can, by adoption of this principle, be made possible and relations between the peoples become beneficial to all.

Such coexistence requires that all disputes and arguments be settled by the method of negotiation.

The armistice in Korea, leading to a Korean peace, must be signed forthwith on the basis of the agreements already arrived at. Each new delay adds to the bereavements, the destruction, the suffering.

All other wars now being waged and aggressive actions against the independence of peoples must likewise cease. The use of arms against any movement of national liberation constitutes a factor of international tension and may give rise to a centre from which war will spread.

The German people has the right to reunification and national sovereignty, with due regard to the security of its neighbours and the prevention of the rebirth of militarism and the spirit of revenge.

Japan must recover her full national sovereignty, on the basis of a Peace Treaty recognised by all interested countries and guaranteeing the security of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific.

By safeguarding respect for their sovereignty, by opposing foreign interference in the conduct of their foreign affairs, by refusing to allow establishment of military bases and any form of occupation by foreign troops, the peoples can guarantee their security and the protection of Peace.

The gradual achievement of security will make it possible to halt the arms race, to begin arms reduction by way of negotiation, and to devote the resources, hitherto used for works of death and destruction, to raising the standard of living for all.

Economic and cultural exchanges between all countries must be established on a basis of equality and non-discrimination, profitable to all.

Negotiations will fundamentally change the course of events. The United Nations can become the instrument of this change, by keeping faithfully to the spirit of its Charter. It must admit the countries which have applied to enter. China, like other nations, must be represented by the government of her choice.

It is on these grounds that the World Council of Peace has decided to launch a world wide campaign for negotiation.

In this campaign the peoples will express in a variety of organised ways, their demand that all disputes and differences shall be settled by peaceful means.

Only the peoples, by unceasing action, can make negotiation, agreement and Peace prevail.

Adopted unanimously.

The Session of the World Council of Peace
Budapest, 20th June, 1953.

[World Peace Council]

APPEAL OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

A great hope has been born. Everybody now sees that agreement is possible. The slaughter can be ended. The Cold War can be stopped.

In this hour we solemnly call upon the peoples to demand of their governments that they negotiate and agree.

It is for us all to support every move - from whatsoever government it may come - to solve disputes by peaceful means. It is for us all to frustrate the efforts of those who prevent or delay agreement.

Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it.

Budapest, June 20th 1953.

[World Peace Council]

Copy

Prague, July 1st, 1953.

Dear Friends,

A new sentiment is being expressed by public opinion in all countries : the conviction that agreement between different States is possible.

As a result of this, the World Council has appealed to all peoples, calling upon them to urge their Governments to negotiate and come to an agreement. This step, of great political significance, marks the opening of a new international campaign, which will be on a scale surpassing all that has so far been done by the Movement.

There is no doubt that the forces opposed to easing the tension are aware of the peoples'determination to see negotiations undertaken. They are also aware of the significance of the forces that the Appeal, which expresses this determination, can bring to bear. It should cause no surprise that certain factors have appeared recently which conform to the desire to delay and even to prevent negotiations.

It seems, therefore, that the first task arising from the Council's Appeal concerns the immediate need to oppose all attempts to hamstring negotiations and to counteract all manoeuvres to delay the agreements which can be concluded.

Some days ago, for instance, everything seemed on the point of settlement in Korea. But we now see a situation developing which can jeopardise a peaceful settlement. At the same time, events in Berlin have given rise to factors making for tension with the object of preventing the peaceful solution of the German problem. These events gave rise to statements which show that war-like hysteria in certain political circles still exists.

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Any delay in the opening of the campaign could only encourage attempts of this nature. It could also make negotiations more difficult. Finally, it could compromise the successes obtained and drive the prospects of easing the tension further away. It is, therefore, extremely important to launch the campaign quickly. First of all, the necessity must be stressed of bringing about the failure of all attempts to prevent or delay agreement.

It is obviously not for us to lay down by what ways and means the campaign in your country will assume its specific character. During the discussions which were held on this point in Budapest, the representatives of different countries concluded that a campaign of a universal character was needed, based on the respective peaceful exigencies of each country.

This campaign will, therefore, give rise to widely differing forms of action. It is up to each Movement to determine these forms. However, whatever the forms may be, it appeared at the session in Budapest, that a great number of national movements consider that an important place must be given to the method of collecting signatures, for this is the tried means which can mobilise all the forces of the Movement.

This does not mean that the signatures must be collected for the Appeal of the World Council as was done during preceding campaigns. What matters is that the Appeal be rapidly made known in order to promote activity which, by means of signatures or in other ways, will bring the Governments to negotiate.

Whatever may be the forms which you draw up in the future for the systematic development of this great campaign, it seems to us to be very important to undertake immediate action to resist those who are still preventing a relaxation of international tension.

With this in view, it seems to us desirable to use all methods which have already been practised and which will quickly give the people the opportunity of expressing their demands. These are, for example, discussions on the demands formulated by the Movement in meetings, conferences, trade unions, municipal councils and all other organisations.

.../...

35-52.47

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It would be as well if all these activities were to end with the adoption of appeals, petitions, addresses to Governments and Parliaments in every country and to the Governments of the Five Great Powers, urging them to undertake the necessary steps for the settlement, through negotiations, of international questions at issue.

In view of the urgent need for the campaign to open, and also because of the help which the experience of your Movement can provide for other countries, we would ask you to let us know the immediate activities which you have begun or plan to undertake during the month of July.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

25-52.48

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial
de la Paix

Prague, July 7th, 1953.

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

Prof. W.E.B. DU BOIS
United States

25-52.14

Dear Friend,

We regret very much that you were not able to be present at the last and very important Session of the World Council which took place in Budapest from June 15th to 20th. We thank you very much for the speech you sent for it, which was received in time to be translated.

No doubt you are already aware that the World Council decided to appeal to the peoples to insist that governments negotiate and reach an understanding so as to arrive at a solution of international differences.

We are forwarding you the text of the Appeal of the World Council together with the declaration which was adopted at this Session, and a copy of a letter which we have addressed to certain National Committes for Peace, impressing upon them the urgency of engaging without a moment's delay in the world campaign.

It is evident that the American people are called upon to play a role, according to their own ways of working, which is of first importance in this international campaign for such high aims. We know that you will do everything possible to lend your valuable assistance to this campaign for Peace. It would also to useful to us to have your ideas on this campaign.

We assure you that we will send you, later on, other documents on the work of this Session of the Council which we are publishing. Should you require any other of our publications we shall be glad to send them at your request.

With our best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

July 29, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

25-64.33

My dear M. Laffitte:

You will remember the paper that I prepared for the Peace Congress at Budapest. I have just received a letter from M. Claude Morgan of "Defense de la Paix", directed by Pierre Cot, asking me for an article on the American Peace Movement.

I have sent him such an article, which is largely identical with the paper I sent to the Peace Congress. I told him that I was quite sure you would have no objection to its publication in this review but to get in touch with you and that I would do the same.

I would be glad if you would drop him a note.

With best regards, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

Prague, July 30th, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. DU BOIS
United States

Dear Friend,

We have received from the Transvaal Peace Council the information that it is intended to hold a South African National Peace Congress in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg on August 22nd and 23rd. This Congress will play an important part in South Africa's contribution to the world-wide campaign for negotiation.

Knowing and appreciating your interest in the work of the Peace forces in this country, we are asking, on their behalf, if you would like to send them a message of support and encouragement.

Correspondence can be sent to : "The Secretary, Box 10528, Johannesburg, Transvaal.

We send you our best wishes in your work in this great campaign,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore.

f.f. Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial
de la Paix

Prague, August 24th, 1953.

Secrétariat

Palais Stia Prague
A.G.

Professor W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

25-56-6

Dear Friend,

I reply to your letter of August 7th in the absence of Mr. Jean Laffitte.

I wish to confirm that at its Budapest meeting last July, the World Council of Peace decided to award one of the six International Peace Prizes for 1952 to you. On July 27th, we wrote to the American Peace Crusade giving them all the information about this so that they would in turn inform you.

As you may know, the prize consists of an Honorary Diploma and the sum of two million 500 thousand French francs. We are in contact with the American Peace Crusade in order to arrange the official awarding of the Prize, and as soon as we hear from them on this subject we shall let you know.

We wish to take this opportunity of warmly congratulating you for the Prize that has been awarded you by the World Council of Peace in public recognition of the outstanding contribution which you have made to the cause of Peace and friendship between the peoples for many years.

We regret any inconvenience which this tardy official confirmation may have occasioned you and hope that the practical arrangements can be made in as short a time as possible.

With our best wishes for your good health,

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore

Roy GORE
Secretary

[World Peace Council]

WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATION

INFORMATION BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 2. September 5th, 1953

37-18-107

COMMUNIQUE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATION

The simple and correct ideas of the Appeal for negotiations issued by the World Council of Peace on June 20th have already won over hundreds of millions of men and women in all countries. This has come about because these ideas express the great desire of the peoples that all international differences be settled by negotiations. This desire is opposed to those still powerful forces which seek to prevent the easing of international tension and to prevent or delay agreement.

The demand of world public opinion has already achieved the fulfilment of the hopes of the people for an end to the bloodshed in Korea. The conclusion of the armistice—a great victory for the idea of negotiation—is increasing the certainty of everyone that agreement is possible and is stimulating the will to action.

The world campaign for negotiations was launched in many countries as soon as the decisions of the World Council in Budapest were made known to the peoples.

In Great Britain, the Peace Movement has recently called upon the people to ask their Government to propose a date and place for an early meeting of the Great Powers at the highest level—according to the proposal of the Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill—and that it act in favour of China's entry into the United Nations. Thousands of signatures have already been collected in many districts for this proposal. Several national trade unions and local Labour Party branches have already called for negotiations and for an easing of the tension.

In India, by means of a signature campaign, the Peace Council is asking the people to call upon their Government to approach the Great Powers with a view to a negotiated settlement of international problems and to frustrate the attempts of those who want to prevent understanding. It also calls for the conclusion of an agreement between India and Pakistan with the aim of rejecting the setting up of foreign military bases on their territory. Big organisations, such as the Peasant Movement, and representative personalities, including several Deputies of the Congress Party, are calling for support for negotiations. Finally, a broad meeting of intellectuals and writers has set on foot various activities to develop cultural exchanges between all the peoples.

In France, representatives of many organisations met together with the delegates of the Peace Movement in a National Conference. A campaign has been launched, with the active participation of very many personalities and local communities to demand that the Government take the initiative in favour of a meeting of the Great Powers, to open negotiations to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam, to realise the peaceful solution of the German problem and to reject the Bonn and Paris agreements. This campaign is being carried out in different ways; by "Peace Note-books" which contain the feelings for Peace of the town dwellers and villagers; the signature campaign has already enabled hundreds of thousands of signatures to be collected for the ending of the war in Indo-China; approaches to deputies have led hundreds of municipal councils and departmental councillors to speak out for negotiations.

In Italy, there is strong pressure developing among the people to make the Government promote the easing of international tension and restore economic and cultural relations with all countries. To this end, a National Peace Assembly was recently held, and attended by very many outstanding people from political, economic and cultural fields who had remained aloof from the Peace Movement until then. An intense campaign of meetings is taking place in the towns, villages, and factories, and deputations are being sent to M.P.s and municipal councillors demanding that they speak out and act for Peace.

Contd. P. 2. col. 1.

Referendum on Negotiations in the Union of South Africa

The negotiations campaign is taking the form of a referendum in South Africa. The Peace Movement is circulating several questionnaires one of which asks:

"Do you think that the Government of South Africa should interfere in favour of negotiations between the Great Powers in order that they might settle their differences peacefully?"

The Union of South Africa Peace Congress which took place on August 22nd and 23rd in Johannesburg decided to extend to all the Union provinces this referendum which had been hitherto confined to the Transvaal.

There were delegates at this Congress from Natal, Cape Province, Basutoland, Swaziland and the Transvaal. A number of them had been delegated by important organisations such as the African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the African Independent Churches, the Natal Landowners and the South African Labour Party, the trade unions, etc.

National Plebiscite on Negotiations in Brazil

At a recent meeting, the leadership of the Brazilian Peace Movement decided to give the Brazilian people's participation in the world campaign for negotiations, the form of a plebiscite to be carried out throughout the country from September 1st to October 15th. During this period, all citizens over 16 years-old will be called upon by the Peace Committee to approve the following text printed on a "Voting Paper."

"I favour the solution of all conflicts and international differences by means of agreement between the Governments so that the cold war may be ended and the blood cease to flow."

The voting papers will be collected in boxes set up in public places or in factories, offices, farms, streets, houses and so on.

Regional Commissions and a national Commission, composed of distinguished persons, will each week count the votes collected and will draw up a report which will be sent to the President of the Republic.

In the weeks preceding the opening of the plebiscite, the Peace Movement has been carrying out a big propaganda campaign to make known the decisions of the Budapest Session of the World Council of Peace. In Rio de Janeiro, several public meetings have been held; participants included, Dr. José de Castro, author of the famous work "Geography of Hunger." Big meetings were held in the State of Parana and the Peace Movement in the State of São Paulo began publishing a newspaper.

The Peace Movement explained in a "Manifesto to the Brazilian People" why it had decided to launch this referendum:

"For us, the people of Brazil, it is of vital interest that the international tension resulting from war preparations, is removed, giving place to a climate of Peace which will lead us towards the solution of our acutest problems, those of work, the health and the education of our people. Peace, of which we are so greatly in need, can be won if the spirit of negotiation is made to triumph over resort to force in international problems... By initiating a campaign so that the spirit of negotiation may prevail over resort to force, as a means of solving international differences, we are loyal to the noblest Brazilian traditions. In the charter of the constitution arbitration is advocated as a means of solving our foreign questions..."

World campaign for negotiation

Session of the Soviet Peace Committee

An enlarged session of the Soviet Peace Committee was held in Moscow on August 31st, with the participation of representatives of the Peace Committees of the Republics and Regions and delegates from the main social organisations. The agenda included the examination of "The Results of the Session of the World Council of Peace and the tasks before the Peace Committee in the USSR." After the opening speech of Ilya Ehrenburg, the President of the Committee, the writer Nicolai Tikhonov presented the report which was submitted for discussion.

After many speeches, including those of the Secretary of the Soviet TUC, Soloviev, the film producer, Gerassimov, the composer, Shostakovich, the writer, Polevoi, Mrs Popova and Metropolitan Nicolai, the Committee decided to convene in December a Soviet Peace Conference. The session also passed a resolution giving its support to the decisions taken by the World Council in Budapest which says: *"Given goodwill, means can be found for settling controversial questions."*—The resolution then went on to refer to the Soviet people's desire to see the Korean problem settled *"peacefully, fairly and rapidly"* and expressed its full agreement with the proposals of the Soviet Government concerning the peaceful settlement of the German problem. The resolution also expressed itself in favour of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations and advocates the development of economic and cultural relations between the peoples.

The resolution concluded:

"Possessing all modern military techniques, the Soviet People has never threatened and does not threaten anyone; as always, they strongly insist upon rapid conclusion of agreements, on a big reduction in armaments and upon the prohibition of the use of atomic, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction."

Prominent Citizens Call Australian Convention on Peace and War

A Convention on Peace and War will take place in Sydney from September 26th to the 30th.

A "Declaration on World Peace" last April by a group of ten Methodist Ministers in Sydney first put forward the suggestion of a Convention. This declaration drew attention to the necessity for negotiations and stated that *"there are no differences between States that should not be settled by patient negotiation. Negotiation must replace war as the method of settling differences between nations."*

It went on to make the suggestion that people in every town and village should get together to discuss ways and means of saving the Peace.

This declaration took effect and, recently, a group of prominent citizens decided to call for a National Convention based on the ministers' declaration. Among the convenors were the Rev. N. St. Clair Anderson, Executive member of the Congregational Union, Mr. Bitel, a clothing manufacturer and Dr. M. R. Lemberg.

Convening committees were set up in Brisbane, Melbourne, and Adelaide and the Australian Peace Council decided to support the Convention and to help in the preparations. An organising committee has been formed consisting of representatives from the different States. A special bulletin is being produced and a big campaign of meetings is being carried out to prepare for the Convention.

Already many well-known Australian personalities have joined the convening committee—for example, Dame Mary Gilmore, D.B.E., and Will Lawson, both writers; musicians like Raymond Hanson, the composer and Cyril Monk; sportsmen such as W. Prigg, former captain of the Australian Rugby League, as well as professors and businessmen.

One of these personalities, the Rev. Dr. A. H. Wood, ex-President Methodist Conference Victoria and Tasmania, spoke at a meeting organised by the convening committee in Melbourne. He said:

"Surely we in Australia will now be ready to recognise China without any further ado. I hope Mr. Casey and the Commonwealth Government will go further than that, and say that China should be represented in the United Nations..."

"The Convention, he went on, *would probably also consider how the Colombo Plan for assistance to South-East Asian countries could be strengthened, and how progressive disarmament could be carried out. The Convention would surely consider Sir Winston Churchill's call for a Four Power conference on the highest level, and he believed that it would consider that all systems could live side by side in the world and that all international disputes could be settled by negotiation."*

The Convention expects to bring together representatives of all sections of Australian life who are looking for an easing of the international situation and who know that this is possible. They include people holding very different opinions as can be seen from the following examples:

The Acting Premier of Queensland, Mr. Duggan, has expressed his hope that *"The Korean truce would pave the way to Peace in Indo-China and Malaya and the end to the cold war."*

The Newport Rail Workshops Combined Unions Shop Committee carried a resolution which states:

"We insist that our Government advise the U.S. Government that if any provocative action by it causes the re-opening of hostilities, it will receive no support from Australia. We further insist that our Government recognise the Chinese People's Republic and support its inclusion in the United Nations, thus ending a ridiculous situation of being compelled to recognise China at truce negotiations, but disregarding it as a Government for all other purposes."

In support of Mr. Duggan's declaration, the Queensland Trades and Labour Council called on the Federal Government *"to do everything possible to finalise the Korea negotiations and to enable the speedy return of all Australian and other troops to their homelands."*

The Melbourne Trades Hall Council called upon the United Nations to establish *"a Peace of lasting quality"* in Korea.

CONTINUATION OF COMMUNIQUE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE WORLD CAMPAIGN FOR NEGOTIATION

In many countries actions have been organised for the success of the Peace talks in Korea and the peaceful solution of the problems in Asia; in the United States a "Month of Action for the maintenance of Peace in Korea" has been organised in the form of letters and delegations to the President and to Congress members. In Holland and in Colombia, forceful demands have been made for the return of the expeditionary forces in Korea.

The peoples intend to guarantee their sovereignty and they reject any aggressive coalition. In Japan, within the framework of the world campaign "A Peace Month" has been organised with the main aim of developing the struggle against foreign bases, the stationing of foreign troops and remilitarisation. Several organisations and political parties, representatives from the Diet and local assemblies are taking part in this struggle. In Germany and Belgium it is the vigorous action against the "European Defence Community," and for the peaceful solution of the German problem through negotiations between the Great Powers, around which the campaign centres. This struggle has already resulted in leading personalities of different political and social circles in Germany taking up a favourable position.

The peoples are demanding that their Governments support all moves for negotiation and understanding between the Great Powers. This is the central aim of a signature campaign launched by the Argentine Peace Movement, of wide discussions in Brazil to be followed by a National Congress, of ballots organised in Canada and in South Africa. The many popular activities in preparation for a Congress in Australia and in Indonesia, the appeals launched in Iran and in Lebanon, the "survey" which is developing in Algeria and the activity being carried out by the Swiss Peace Movement with regard to the Swiss Federal Government, are all steps which have been taken in this direction.

In Burma, through countless meetings, through petitions which have already gained the support of thousands, the people's demand is expressed in favour of a meeting between the Big Five. This also includes the demand for the withdrawal of the Kuomintang troops from Burmese territory.

The decisions of the World Council of Peace are being given unanimous support in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and in the Peoples' Democracies.

And so the world Campaign is developing amid expressions and activities for negotiations embracing sections much broader than the Peace Movement. Therefore, there is every possibility for the campaign to spread to new fields. In giving every man and woman the opportunity to act effectively through organised action, the world campaign for negotiations will engender a force which can achieve new victories in the peaceful solution of the international problems.

Prague, August 20th, 1953.

World campaign for negotiation

Strong current of feeling for negotiations in Germany

During the past few weeks many Germans have spoken out for a negotiated solution to the German problem. During the election campaign in West Germany, spokesmen of important political groups have advocated the peaceful re-unification of Germany by means of talks between the Four Powers and understanding between the Governments of Bonn and Berlin.

Well-known leaders of the Social-Democratic Party have called for a peaceful re-unification, explaining that this excludes any participation in the European Defence Community since the two things are contradictory.

Leaders of the German Union and the People's Party have taken a stand in favour of talks between the two German Governments.

Distinguished figures of the Evangelical Church have condemned the policy of worsening international tension and the "Day of Churches" ("Kirchentag") which has just been held in Hamburg has testified to the great desire of German people for understanding and unity.

Personalities are publicly stating their position:

Frau HELEN WESSEL (West Germany), former President of the Centre Party, stated on August 8th:

"Our task is solely to restore the unity of Germany by peaceful means and to help eliminate the points of tension in the world. After the terrible experiences of the last two wars, we reject the "mailed fist" policy and we demand that the German problem be settled through negotiations. If all Germans support this conception, that would also have a welcome influence in the world."

In an article which appeared on August 8th in the organ of the Christian-Democratic Union "Neue Zeit" (New Times), the Prior H. GRÜBER, after criticising the policy of "war psychology" and "liberation" against the Central and Eastern European countries, wrote:

"The danger of the psychological war is, indeed, particularly great for us Germans, and especially for the people of Berlin, for we are, in this war, the number one theatre of operations. It is not in this way that the question of the re-unification of Berlin and Germany can be settled... We fear that if the continued rhythm of the psychological war does not quickly cease, the possibility of genuine political activity and negotiations may be banished for a long time. In a letter which I sent some time ago to the Bishop of Chichester, I asked that the Christians of the whole world act on the Governments of their countries to avert misfortune and promote contacts at the highest level."

Dr. WIRTH, Chancellor during the Weimar Republic, stated on August 24th:

"In the present situation, all questions at issue can be solved through negotiations. That is why I have studied the recent Soviet note with the deepest interest. The specific proposals in this note are put forward to eliminate the division of our Motherland and to obtain independence and full freedom of action for Germany. This document offers us the possibility of living without zonal frontiers, without the expenses of occupation and without reparations. It is now a question of creating the necessary conditions for Germany to rise again, freed from the ties of subjection, prosperous and happy and respected by all the peoples.

On August 25th, Pastor MARTIN NIEMÖLLER, President of the Hesse Evangelical Church, declared in the course of a sermon in Grummesbach/Denschlag:

"We, the people of Germany, are at the frontier between East and West and we must build bridges which will lead to our neighbours of the East and agree with them on our future."

"Whoever advises us to exacerbate by alliance with one of our neighbours the already strained relations with our other neighbour, takes a heavy responsibility upon himself about which we must now enlighten him. Were we to neglect this warning, murder and fratricide would again rage among us."

Pastor Niemöller strongly came out against the politicians who are preventing agreement being reached between Eastern and Western Germany, and said they had no right to claim to act in this way in the interests of maintaining Peace. *"What we have to do, is to elect Peace."*

Dr. HEINEMANN, former Minister in the Bonn Government, declared on August 21st:

"The longest negotiations are preferable to the shortest atomic war. A third world war would bring us re-unification —in a common grave. The survivors would then, very probably, be ready to negotiate at last. That is why we demand with all the insistence in our power:

"Why not negotiate now? With a mailed-fist policy there will be no German re-unification. Since that is so, we must clearly see that Western Germany's present policy is not only opposed to re-unification but is built precisely on the division of Germany.

"The Soviet Note presents us with the problem of making up our minds whether we are ready to take the path of solving the German problem peacefully."

*

At a conference of Social-Democratic workers in Hamburg on August 25th, the Social-Democratic Party Deputy, Helmut Kallitzer, urged that a Four-Power Conference to solve the German problem immediately, be convened.

He emphasised that for the Hamburg port-workers, the re-unification of Germany is a vital question.

The Social Democratic workers passed a resolution demanding immediate negotiations for the purpose of re-unifying Germany.

Appeal by Well-known Portugese For a Big-Power Conference

This Appeal has just been launched in Portugal by a group of leading figures amongst whom were Professor Ferreira de Macedo, the writers Alves Redol and Lilia de Fonseca, the film producer, Manuel Guimaraes, the composer, Lopez Graca and Father José Maria des Santos...

"Great efforts are being made today throughout the world for the spirit of peaceful negotiation to definitely remove the danger of a resort to violence. Portugal cannot remain aloof from this tremendous movement which embraces peoples and Governments, from this great desire which is gripping people belonging to every party and nationality, holding all kinds of opinions and beliefs... We call upon all national organisations and institutions to unite with us in our desire that the Portugese Government gives its support to current measures for a Conference of the Big Powers..."

Danish Peace Defenders Urge Compatriots to Press Their Government to Support International Detente

The National Conference of the Danish Peace Defenders which took place on August 22nd and 23rd in Copenhagen adopted a resolution in which it *"pledged all Peace organisations, all bodies and unions which are working for Peace to press Parliament and the Government to oppose the setting up of military bases on Danish territory and to take positive steps at U.N.O. for Peace, if possible with other Scandinavian countries and to support any proposal, from whatever Government it may emanate, which could contribute to greater international understanding.*

"The Conference," the resolution goes on, *"urges the Danish people to express their hopes for an international settlement which would lighten the burden imposed on our country by the excessive military expenditure and would ensure her independence."*

Ceylon Peace Committee Calls For Trade With Every Country Without Political Discrimination

The Ceylon Peace Committee has just published a statement in which, after emphasising that "the admittance of People's China to U.N.O. is the primary prerequisite to Peace in Asia and the world," draws attention to the necessity to reach an easing in the international situation which would free the colonial peoples of Asia from the scourge of war and famine.

"It must be further stressed that if the present economic crisis in this country is to be solved, Peace in Asia must be restored. The scarcity of rice, leading to its high price in the world market and the consequent necessity for our Government to subsidise rice if the people of this country are to be saved from starvation, is mainly due to the fact that most of the rice-producing countries of Asia have been or are being ravaged by war."

32-18-108

World campaign for negotiation

Conference on Peace, National Economy and Living Standards in India

A "Conference on Peace, National Economy and Living Standards" is being prepared in India. The idea for such a conference was born at the bureau meeting of the All-India Peace Council in February this year and, at the end of July, the first preparatory meeting took place in Patna.

This meeting was called by Dr. Gyan Chand, former Economic Adviser to the Government of India. In his letter of invitation, Dr. Chand said:

> *"It has been felt for some time that it is very necessary to study how Peace and war effect our national economy and our standard of living ... Recently, there have been trade union conferences for Peace in West Bengal and Madras.*
>
> *"At the West Bengal Peace Conference a special Commission on 'India's Reconstruction Under Conditions of Peace' was organised.*
>
> *"The question of Peace has also been widely discussed at various trade union and kisan sabha conferences in different parts of the country.*
>
> *"Various business organisations have also expressed anxiety at the rise in prices, scarcity of raw materials and capital goods due to the Korean war, re-armament programmes and stock-piling. Some of our major industries are under a crisis at the moment."*

In the course of the preparatory meeting in Patna, the positions taken by various important workers' and peasant organisations were recalled and, in particular, the resolution adopted by a conference of representatives from 70 trade union organisations representing 50,000 workers which was held in the Spring in Madras. This resolution stated:

> *"The guarantee of social security is based on peaceful constructive efforts and warlike efforts and warlike preparations are a serious threat to the implementation of any social security measures."*

The importance of a preparatory conference of workers for Peace which took place in March in Calcutta, was also emphasised, as well as the activity of peasant organisations dealing with Indian economic questions related to the problem of Peace—particularly the vexed question of famine.

At the Patna meeting a note from a group of industrialists was read out. The group included Mr. S. C. Roy, Mr. B. N. Banerji and other industrialists who are the leaders of the Indian Council of Economic Affairs in Calcutta. It pointed out the futility of so-called economic prosperity in wartime, and added:

> *"Peace is essential for any plan for the development of the economy of a nation and raising the standard of living of its people. Mere absence of war is no Peace."*

A well-known tobacco merchant read out a memorandum which had been drawn up by a special economic committee formed

Contd. P. 5. col. 1.

A National Campaign in the United States for Safeguarding the Peace in Korea and for Negotiation

The American Peace Crusade has invited all Peace Committees, all organisations and all citizens of the United States who are devoted to the cause of Peace to make the thirty days following August 6th, the anniversary of the atomic bombardment of Hiroshima, to September 6th, United States Labour Day, a "month for the safeguarding of the Peace in Korea and for negotiation."

This decision was taken at a meeting of the permanent Executive of the Crusade in which a number of religious personalities and leading trade unionists took part.

The declaration which was adopted by the meeting called on American public opinion to demand, once the armistice was signed in Korea, *"to allow no provocation which would lead to a re-opening of hostilities. Negotiations should take place on the principal questions until the time that Peace should be secured."* The declaration looks for *"the opening, between the Great Powers of talks on the highest scale, as wanted by the allies of the United States and of all peoples who wish for Peace."*

In order to express this desire the Crusade recommended the use of the most diverse forms of action: the organising of great demonstrations in the towns, the holding of many local meetings, corner gatherings and discussions, factory gate and shop meetings, *"Peace caravans"* composed of lorries, buses, horse-drawn carriages, etc.

It was the intention of the initiators that this campaign should be waged not only by the committees attached to the Crusade, but by all organisations working in the cause of Peace. The Executive of the Crusade also recommended that in each State and in each town contacts should be established and communal decisions taken.

The results of this campaign would be made known directly to Senators, Representatives and to the President by means of delegations, letters and messages.

First Information on the Campaign

The Appeal of the American Peace Crusade has been made known to public opinion in the different States. In Georgia, leaflets have been distributed and post-cards sent to President Eisenhower. In the principal centres of Connecticut the conclusion of the armistice in Korea was celebrated. The Saint-Louis Peace Committee proposed by letter to a 150 local leaders of trade unions, churches, etc. the sending of delegations to Members of Congress. In addition, in New York, the Peace Council organised an important meeting to celebrate the armistice in Korea. More than a thousand people participated. Mrs. Halois Moorehead Robinson, Paul Robeson, Thomas Richardson, Willard Uphaus, leaders of the American Peace Crusade, and the Reverend John Darr, were some of the speakers. One of the speakers was Mr. Paul Baker, who took part in the fighting in Korea. He declared that no explanation could justify in the eyes of the G.Is the massacres committed in Korea. He underlined that the only wish of his comrades was to *"go home and live there in peace and security."* If a cease-fire had been achieved by negotiations, there was no reason why there should be new fields of battle.

DISARM AND RESTORE NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS

Demands Italian Peace Committee

In a statement issued at the beginning of August, the Italian Peace Committee, after drawing conclusions from the recent National Peace Assembly, explains the character which it intends to give to the negotiations campaign:

> *"Italy needs a foreign policy which will give our country a chance to contribute to every move in support of peaceful negotiations; which will bring it the benefits which would result from a steady diminution of international tension; which would lighten the insufferable burden of the arms' drive and restore our international trade relations to normal.*
>
> *"The economic and social morass resulting from the re-armament policy and the crisis in our foreign trade, is giving rise to growing anxiety among the most varied sections of public opinion. ... Therefore, the National Committee, following the lead given by the discussions in the National Peace Assembly, will work to restore to normal our economic and cultural relations with all countries. This would constitute the first step in setting a new course in Italy's foreign policy and in ensuring an effective contribution by our Government to diminishing international tension."*

New Personalities in the Peace Movement

Among the 620 delegates and guests from 80 provinces who took part in the National Peace Assembly in Rome at the end of July, there were many who for the first time attended a meeting organised by the Italian Peace Committee. These included Liberals, Independent candidates for the elections, Catholics, Social-Democrats and distinguished people in the realm of culture.

Political figures included: former Liberal Senator, Mario Venditti; former Monarchist Senator, Santanastasio; former Christian-Democratic President of the Regional Parliament of Sicily, Paolo d'Antoni; former Independent Senator, Angrisani; Professors Trigone and Frassati, Monarchists; Dr. Caleffi and Professor Rho, former Social-Democratic leaders; Generals Consorte and Zani, Independents; Colonel Fedeli, director of a Monarchist newspaper. In addition, participants included many Professors of the Faculties of Modena, Bologna, Padua, Pavia, Venice, Florence and Naples, well-known writers such as Carlo Bernadi and Ugo Facco De Lagarde, National Prize winner, representatives of industrial concerns and import-export firms for engineering construction, fruit, preserves and so on.

World campaign for negotiation

Prominent Iranians Call for Conference for the Defence of the Rights of the Middle East Peoples

A group of Iranian personalities have called for the convening of a "Conference for the Defence of the Rights of the Middle East Peoples," in a statement published recently by Teheran newspapers.

The statement says:

"Our countries of the Middle East have been existing for a long time under conditions of extreme poverty and ignorance, due in large measure to the foreign interference in every sector of their national life.

"The sacred right of our peoples to decide their own destiny in complete independence and under their own sovereignty, is continually in jeopardy.

"This situation is marked by the presence of occupation troops and the setting up of military bases on most of our territories.

"Many and varied attempts have been made on our Governments to drag them—against the will of our peoples—into military pacts which are both threats to our sovereignty and a danger to Peace.

"Our national wealth is pillaged and our national cultures risk being drowned by the oppression and the barriers being raised against trade and cultural relations with other countries of the world.

"These conditions can be found in each of our countries in various forms. Faced with this common danger, it is our duty to meet and find common means which can save them.

"We speak to every man, to every woman and to every national body, calling upon them to support and spread this idea of a conference which should be convened with this aim in view.

"The setting up of a sponsoring committee, seems to us to be the best way of achieving success.

"We are convinced that at such a meeting the aspirations of our peoples for a free and happy life in Peace will find expression."

Among the signatories were Deputies, lawyers, former Ministers and professors.

The Press, particularly in the nationalist papers of the Lebanon, have printed the text of the Appeal and supported the idea of holding such a conference.

While launching the appeal to all Middle East peoples, the signatories at the same time addressed themselves to the Iranian people in particular, calling upon them to make preparations for participating in such a conference.

Colombians Demand Immediate Return of Soldiers and Sailors from Korea

By mass demonstrations and hundreds of petitions addressed directly to the President of the Republic, all social circles in Colombia are demanding the instant return to the country of the military and naval forces which took part in the Korean war.

Colombia and Puerto Rico were the only Latin American countries to send troops to Korea. Colombia sent a warship and a battalion 1,100 strong.

Colombian public opinion considers that the withdrawal of Colombian troops from Korea is the best contribution the country can make to maintaining the armistice, establishing a definite Peace in Korea and helping to bring about a lessening of tension in international relations.

At conferences given in the various Colombian universities to explain the meaning of the negotiation campaign and the injury suffered by all countries by a war policy, it has been observed that with the money spent by the Colombian Government on maintaining the forces sent to Korea, five schools per day could have been built in two consecutive years. This would have solved the problem of the 700,000 Colombian children unable to attend primary school for want of premises.

MORE BRITISH UNIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND EASING INTERNATIONAL TENSION

Since July 27th and the signing of the armistice in Korea, three more trade union conferences of great importance have taken place in Britain—the miners (representing 700,000 workers), the railwaymen (over 400,000) and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions representing more than one million workers in 39 unions.

The miners voted unanimously for a reduction in armaments and also for the admission of China to the United Nations.

The railwaymen went on record for Five Power talks and trade with all countries "with particular reference to further development in East-West trade."

The resolution of the shipbuilders and engineers calling for the widest possible extension of trade with all countries, stated:

"The Confederation believes, in particular, that the restriction of trade with Eastern Europe and China imposed by the U.S. is harmful to British economic strength."

With a short time to go to the TUC annual conference and that of the Labour Party, a brief review of union conferences held in recent months gives the following picture:

Twenty-five annual trade union conferences have demanded in one way or another the signing of an agreement between the Five Great Powers or the ending of the war in Korea. Over 15 have called for the extension of East-West trade and 13 have demanded a cut in the period of compulsory military service. Other resolutions calling for an end to U.S. domination and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Britain were also passed. The re-armament of Western Germany and Japan was opposed by several unions as was also Britain's participation in NATO and the wars in Malaya and Kenya.

Negotiations Campaign in India Reaches out to new Shades of Opinion

By Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council

The Korean armistice has brought new strength to the World Peace Movement's campaign for negotiations.

The celebrations organised all over India on the occasion of the Korean truce were participated in by leaders of all shades of opinion and the theme of nearly every speech made on this occasion was—NEGOTIATIONS.

In New Delhi, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Adviser to the Ministry of Reconstruction and a member of the Prime Minister's family, presided over the well-attended celebration meeting called by the All-India Peace Council. The speakers included Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and two Congress Party Members of Parliament, one of whom, Shri Amarnath Vidyalankar is President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress in Punjab.

In Bombay a meeting was presided over by Shri S. K. Patil, M.P., President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

Citizens of all parties sponsored a celebration meeting at Agra presided over by Shri K. D. Paliwal, former Finance Minister in Uttar Pradesh.

Several celebration meetings called by trade unions and kisan sabhas and political parties have similarly adopted resolutions and appeals for negotiations.

The campaign for signatures to the Patna Appeal for negotiations of the All-India Peace Council has begun.

Ninety-five Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly have signed the Patna Appeal. They include ten Congress Party Legislative Assembly Members, including the Deputy Speaker.

At Jullundur, in the Punjab, 500 leading citizens have signed the appeal.

The President and General Secretary of the Punjab kisan sabha, Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and Pandit Ram Kishan, have appealed to all their committees to have the appeal endorsed at all meetings called by them.

(Extracts from an article published in "Crossroads" on August 16th)

(Contd. from P. 4, col. 1.)

on the invitation of the Andhra Peace Committee to study the effects of the present war tension on the economy of Andhra and how the present acute crisis in each branch of the Andhra industry was a direct result of the existing tension, the one-sidedness of India's trade, and so on.

Pandit Sundarlal spoke of the plight of the weavers of Uttar Pradesh as a result of the non-availability of yarn, the supplies of which had been cut off as a direct consequence of the present war tension.

Karyanand Sharma, President of the Bihar Kisan Sabha, spoke on the effects of war and war preparations on India's peasantry.

The preparatory meeting finally decided to set up a Central Working Group and similar groups in as many provincial centres as possible to prepare for the Conference on Peace, Indian Economy and Living Standards.

Meeting and Understanding...

Pacifists Advocate Co-operation with the World Council of Peace

Some leading figures (including Pastor Martin Niemöller) belonging to various Pacifist organisations who in their personal capacity took part in the Budapest Session of the World Council of Peace have sent the following message to all Pacifist organisations:

"We, the undersigned, were invited and attended the Fourth Session of the World Council of Peace in Budapest on June 15th to 20th, 1953. We should like to say to our old and new friends of Peace that after deep reflection we have become convinced that it is not only correct and useful to be acquainted with the work of the World Council of Peace, but that it is possible and desirable to co-operate with it in a common effort for lessening tension and for negotiations.

"It has become clear to us that the activity of the World Council of Peace is the expression of a sincere will for Peace. In the congress which it organised, representatives from countries where there are dormant or sharp conflicts met together in a spirit of understanding and negotiation and discussed in common the problems which divide the world.

"That is why we ask, firstly, the Pacifist organisations in all countries to invite the National Committees of the World Peace Movement to send representatives to their activities and, secondly, we propose that all true friends of Peace seize the opportunity of meetings offered by the World Council of Peace so as to bring their contribution.

"Every effort must be mobilised in order to promote Peace.

"Today the international situation seems to be such as to give us hope for success in our work. At the time when the responsible Governments of the different nations are beginning to work in a spirit of negotiation and are endeavouring to overcome opposition, we cannot stand aside, but we must support with all our forces the attempts made by Statesmen in favour of a policy of understanding, lessening of tension and negotiation.

"We call upon all friends of Peace, without exception, to set the example by showing confidence and joining their forces in an energetic and courageous effort."

Signed:

René Bovard (Switzerland), Adrien Collinet (Belgium), Georges Dassesse (Belgium), Ragnar Forbeck (Norway), Olaf Forchhammer and Grete Forchhammer (Denmark), Georges Haldas (Switzerland), Uffe Hansen (Denmark), Oscar Jansson (Sweden), Einar Lassen (Denmark), Wolfgang Menzel (Germany), Martin Niemöller (Germany), Deryck Siven (Finland), Hans Textor (Germany), Peter Varenius (Sweden).

YOUNG PEOPLE OF 110 COUNTRIES MAKE FRIENDS IN BUCHAREST

The Fourth Festival of Youth for Peace and Friendship which was held in Bucharest from August 2nd to the 16th, has been an outstanding demonstration of confidence and optimism. Some facts will reflect better than any comment the magnitude and propitiousness of the results of this international meeting in which 30,000 young people from 110 countries took part.

The international interest which was aroused by this fête of friendship can be seen by the size of the Western delegations which came to Bucharest—3,500 from France, 1,500 from Italy, 1,700 from Austria, 1,300 from Denmark, 1,100 from Britain, 800 from Norway, 2,400 from Finland. With the exception of Puerto Rico, all the countries of North, Central and South America were represented by over a thousand delegates.

Entries for the cultural competition included 1,357 literary, plastic art, musical and film items, all of which in some way dealt with the ideals of Peace and brotherhood of man.

The 537 concerts and programmes presented during the Festival by the artistic groups of 65 countries were attended by 2,346,830 spectators. All fields of art—theatre, dancing, instrumental and vocal music, the cinema, puppetry, pantomime and circus—were represented in Bucharest—the quality of content and performance being of a high order. In every item Peace, joie de vivre and creative activity were extolled.

There were 4,366 participants from 54 countries in the sporting events—athletics, gymnastics, swimming, wrestling, boxing, water-polo, football, basket-ball, volley-ball, ping-pong, rugby, etc.

Five world records and 93 national records were broken.

Important decisions were taken in Bucharest for maintaining and developing the friendly relations which were made by thousands of young people. Next winter, in many countries, festivals will be held as well as meetings between young people of neighbouring countries, exchanges of sports and cultural delegations, of books and films and so on.

A festival of the young people of the Carribean countries will take place in Guatemala.

At the proposal of Finland, the five Northern countries of Europe will also organise a festival.

WHAT ARE NOTEBOOKS FOR PEACE?

So as to give the negotiations campaign a popular character, certain national Peace Committees have been endeavouring to show the people of individual regions and localities and members of the various social and professional categories how the campaign effects their own interests and hopes.

To do this, these Committees have not only found it necessary to justify the campaign by a particular policy suited to the different regions or sections of the populace, but have also tried to use forms of activity which answer to these differences. This is the object which the "Notebooks for Peace" are trying to achieve in certain countries.

They are simple school exercise books which pass from hand to hand in the districts, villages and enterprises at the initiative of some well-known local figure or committee or Peace worker. Each person writes down his own reasons for wanting negotiations and Peace. In the form of a report, the nature and number of messages are then brought to the attention of the Peace Movement and to that of certain public bodies or individuals such as municipal councillors, M.Ps and so on.

The work of the Peace Movements in France and in Rumania provide a number of interesting examples.

Asques is an administrative district in the departement of Tarn and Garonne in France consisting of some 150 inhabitants. The Municipal Council there has pledged itself to support negotiations. The Mayor, an independent Socialist, and several municipal councillors have passed round a Notebook containing the text of this pledge. The head of every family has appended his signature and added his remarks.

In the nearby market-town of Malause, 53 such testimonials were collected on market day. An old man who took part in the colonial war in Tonkin hoped that there would be Peace with Indo-China. A Radical-Socialist handicraft worker wrote:

"We don't want to see a third world war and hope that international questions can be settled by peaceful and legal means."

A Catholic landlord wrote:

"May everything be settled by legal and peaceful means so as to avoid or put a stop to even the smallest conflict."

Basing itself on these expressions of opinion, the Malause Peace Committee was able to state:

"Throughout these statements by very different types of people representing a large cross-section of opinion, beliefs and social conditions, one idea, one outstanding desire was paramount: to fight for Peace and to preserve it by settling conflicts through negotiation."

A retired railway worker from Brive wrote:

"With a son a prisoner-of-war in Viet Nam, I will give you my point of view. I want an end to the war in Indo-China, an immediate ending of hostilities with an agreement for an exchange of prisoners prior to their repatriation, the return of the Expeditionary Corps and an agreement between the Five Big Powers."

At Blanville in Seine Inférieure, a Peace Notebook contained the points of view on trade relations of naval dockyyard workers who were on strike.

In the Peace Notebooks which are being passed around in certain districts in Rumania, the people are giving their points of view on how to solve international questions in dispute and stating how they can best contribute to the cause of Peace.

The Cold War Can be Stopped

"Economic and Cultural Exchanges Between All Countries Must Be Established on a Basis of Equality and Non-Discrimination, Profitable to All"

Indian Cultural Delegation in China

"We can assure you that we will do everything in our power so that India should always stand side by side with China in her efforts to build Peace and to create friendship between all the nations of the Earth."

These words were spoken some weeks ago in Pekin, neither by a politician nor a diplomat, but by an Indian dramatist, Sachin Sen Gupta, who led a delegation of Indian artists to China. During July and August they visited the principal cities of the People's Republic at the invition of the Chinese Peace Committee.

The delegation consisted of 29 poets, dramatists, actors, dancers, musicians and singers from every province of India, representing nine languages. They were the creators and the exponents of the classical, popular and modern art of India.

Before thousands of spectators, including President Mao Tse-tung, members of the Government, leaders of the Chinese Peace Movement, celebrated Chinese artists, writers and intellectuals, the Indians gave unforgettable performances of music, dancing, poetry reading and dramatics, both contemporary and classical, in Pekin, Tien-Tsin, Nankin and Shanghai.

At the same time, the Indian delegation acquired a comprehensive, up-to-date and vital knowledge of the Chinese arts by continual contact with their Chinese colleagues, by visits to museums, conservatoires, universities and historic monuments.

In its turn, the delegation invited, in the name of the All-India Peace Council, the Chinese People's Republic to send a cultural delegation to India.

In this way, cultural relations which have existed for centuries between the two countries to the advantage of the world's treasure-house of culture, are being renewed and strengthened in Peace.

This is yet another proof of the efficacy of cultural exchanges for cementing friendship between the peoples and preventing the growth of the germs of mistrust, fear and hate.

*

The XIV International Film Festival which opened on August 20th in Venice was the occasion of a very interesting presentation of the outstanding productions of various countries. Sixteen countries participated—Argentina, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, the German Federal Republic, Japan, Britain, Italy, India, Yugoslavia, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, Hungary, France, the USA and the USSR.

*

In August three meetings took place attended by scientists from both the capitalist and the socialist countries—a session of the International Federation of Psychiatrists in Vienna, the 19th Congress of Physiologists in Canada and the International Congress for Rheumatic Complaints in Geneva.

World Teachers' Conference

From July 21st to the 25th, the World Conference of Teachers was held in Vienna. There were present 260 delegates from 53 countries from the East and West. Two of the most important contributions were made by the USA and the USSR.

The Conference issued an Appeal to the teachers of the world to fight for Peace which alone permitted the flourishing of culture and education.

Soviet Baptist Leaders Visit Sweden

Ten British and American Quakers and Baptists, including W. H. Lewis, General Secretary of the World Baptist Union, met their Swedish and Soviet brethren in Sweden recently. At a service in Stockholm's Tabernaclet, the General Secretary of the Soviet Baptist Church, Alexander Karev, gave a sermon on Peace which received much comment in the Swedish Press.

A Quaker, Mr. Thomas Harvey from Philadelphia said that from this contact had sprung a lifelong friendship

Some "East-West" Trade Agreements Concluded Recently

August 1st—Signing of a commercial and payments agreement between the USSR and Iceland on a rising scale over a period of twelve months.

August 5th—Signing of a commercial agreement between Argentina and the USSR for an exchange of goods to the value of 75,000,000 dollars.

August 18th—An economic and payments agreement between Egypt and the USSR is ratified in Cairo.

August 24th—A three-years' commercial agreement is signed between Hungary and the Argentine. An exchange of goods to the value of 30,000,000 dollars is planned for the first year. Hungary will provide rolling stock, telecommunications and electrical equipment, tractors, etc. The Argentine will deliver linseed oil, cotton and leather.

September 1st—Commercial and payments agreements are concluded between Italy and Bulgaria, valid until the end of 1954. Total value of goods to be exchanged is 10,000,000 dollars. Bulgaria will provide grain, oil-seeds, poultry, eggs, chromium and tobacco. Italy will deliver mechanical equipment, textiles and chemicals.

September 3rd—Commercial agreement is signed in Bonn between the German Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia for an exchange of goods to the value of 34,000,000 dollars.

Trade With China Would Avoid Redundancy in Agricultural Machinery Industry— Says U.S. Trade Unionist

The slump in America's agricultural machinery market could be offset to a certain extent by trade with China, according to Mr. Milton Burns, President of the Equipment-United Electrical Workers' Union, speaking on August 18th in Chicago at a meeting with officials of the International Harvester Co. to discuss ways of reducing redundancy at the company's plants. Nearly 8,000 workers are expected to be laid-off work this month because of production cuts, reduced sales and other factors.

Important Commercial Magazine of the United States For Trade With China

The San Francisco magazine "The Pacific Shipper," a very influencial commercial organ among maritime circles on the Pacific coast, devoted an editorial on August 10th to the question of trade with China. The journal writes:

"The time has come, we think, to face up courageously to the fact that the sensible rather than the expedient or popular course to take with reference to Red China is to lift our embargo on non-strategic goods and trade with Peiping (Peking) in all things except military weapons and accessories."

The Chilean Government Decides to Extend Trade Relations to All Countries

The Government of General Ibanez del Campo has announced its decision to extend its economic and political relations to include every country and to sell Chilean copper, not only to the Western Powers, but at the same time to other countries.

This decision was taken after the visit of Mr. Milton Eisenhower, the U.S. President's brother, who was sent by the White House as ambassador extraordinary to the Latin-American countries. Mr. Eisenhower told the Chilean Government that the price of copper—from the production of which Chile receives more than 50 per cent. of her revenue—must be based on the tariff fixed by the U.S. Government, not on the world market price. That would have meant immediate unemployment on a large scale and the beginning of a new period of economic crisis in Chile.

During a Parliamentary debate in which the voices of all parties were raised in support of fredom to trade and of the necessity to throw off the shackless on normal trade and diplomatic relations with all countries, the Chilean Government reached its decision. This is the result of a huge campaign which was begun by the Peace Defenders and which won the support of public opinion.

Now, the advocates of the policy of negotiation and reaching agreement have ensured that the Government has taken a decision which means the immediate beginning of negotiations to bring about normal diplomatic, trading and cultural relations with any country anywhere.

PEACE PROPAGANDA IN ITALY

During the International Fair in Milan recently, the Peace Committee pasted up on the walls of the city a simple poster *(see illustration on right)* consisting of a photograph of the Fair Palace and this inscription:

> *"The success of the Fair depends upon reducing international tension. The resumption of trading relations between East and West is a welcome contribution to the restoration of trade between different countries. It raises the living standards of the peoples, reduces unemployment and facilitates peaceful co-existence between the nations."*

A pamphlet published in Naples deals with the consequence of the presence of U.S. troops in the city and outskirts. The pamphlet links their presence with the creation of the European Army and shows that real international security presupposes respect for the independence of all countries and the elimination of all foreign military bases.

*

Some regional Peace Committees have produced memoranda with the help of jurists showing that the agreements creating the European Army (under consideration for ratification by Parliament) are incompatible with both national and international law. These memoranda are sent to judges, barristers and lawyers.

Army men have produced similar documents exposing the consequences of these agreements from the military point of view.

*

Many Committees have produced leaflets or posters commenting upon recent international events, particularly the proposal of Sir Winston Churchill for a meeting between the heads of the Great Powers, and pointing out the utility of the Peace Movement and the effectiveness of popular action.

For instance they showed the correctness of the campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact and the influence on the course of events of the millions of signatures collected.

BRAZILIAN PEACE MOVEMENT'S BULLETIN

The Brazilian Movement of the Defenders of Peace publishes from its headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, besides its monthly review, a weekly bulletin with the main purpose of giving guidance to the regional committees.

Every Saturday, the bulletin (the number of its pages differing according to the importance of the news to be disseminated) is sent to the regional committees, members of the National Council, affiliated organisations and to the Press and the agencies.

The Bulletin gives national and international news, the activities and pronouncements of the World Council of Peace as well as those of the national leadership of the Brazilian Peace Movement. It gives the resolutions and statements, declarations of politicians and statesmen and quotations from the Press. It has a feature under the title: "This Week in the World" in which are given a resumé of the political events and important declarations which may be of use as points on which to orientate the campaign.

It gives information on the preparations for national and international meetings and summarises the discussions which take place.

So that each regional movement can be kept in touch with what is happening in the other regions and to profit from their experiences, the Bulletin has a section "News From The States" where there is news of the current campaign.

The bulletin suggests slogans, organises study courses, and competitions, encourages friendly competition between the Committees, gives an account of the correspondence received and despatched, thus presenting a log of the activities undertaken. It also publishes the important instructions of the Movement's national leadership.

The bulletin is not confined to printing material already known. It is a disseminator of new material which provides interesting reading and in fact gives vital guidance.

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

Vienna, September 10th, 1953

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
United States

Dear Friend,

We enclose herewith the Resolution and the Communiqué as adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace which met from September 8-10th at Vienna.

We will send to you later more detailed information on the work of the Bureau.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

25-53, 21

[World Peace Council]

Resolution of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace, at its first meeting since the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, salutes this victory of the cause of peace.

The Bureau reviewed the progress of the campaign launched on June 20th, 1953 by the World Council of Peace, calling upon the people to demand of the governments that they negotiate and agree.

The welcome extended by public opinion to this appeal shows that the World Council of Peace voiced the dearest wish of humanity.

Today no statesman dares any longer openly to oppose negotiation. But recent developments oblige the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to call to the peoples to be on the alert.

The word negotiation is too often being used to veil manoeuvres opposed to the peaceful settlement of international problems.

It is not negotiation for one party to lay down the conditions beforehand to another, and to seek to prescribe in advance the form and content of the negotiation.

To precede negotiations on Korea by a separate treaty with Syngman Rhee, who has not accepted the armistice, and exclude India from the Political Conference; to demand, before the starting of any negotiation on Germany, acceptance of the re-birth of German militarism, is to seek to make agreement impossible.

We call on the peoples to prevent the war in Korea from being resumed on any pretext whatsoever, and to bring the war in Indo-China to an end. In the interests of peace, the use of force against the independence and security of peoples in Asia and Africa must be stopped.

The peoples will not allow the revival in Germany of a source of conflagration, endangering all Germany's neighbours, the German people themselves, and world peace.

What the peoples demand is sincere negotiation, an honest search, in every field, for agreed solutions acceptable to all.

They call for loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations. They demand that the People's Republic of China be admitted to its rightful place in the United Nations. It is their conviction that neither settlement of major international problems nor the establishment of peace is possible without the participation of China.

The dread threat of the H bomb, hanging over humanity, makes immediate and essential the banning of all weapons of mass destruction. The perilous and unbearable burden of military expenditure must lifted by international agreement on disarmament.

It is time for resumption of trade on a footing of equality among all nations, for their mutual benefit, and the rapid achievement of a better life for all. It is time to renew the co-operation of all nations with one another.

The way to new horizons must be opened for mankind.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace turns with confidence to the peoples, who, by their strength, were able to achieve the Korean armistice. It calls upon them to unite, and combine their efforts so that the policy of force may be foiled and the Governments be brought to agree.

Vienna, September 10th, 1953

[World Peace Council]

25-52-22

COMMUNIQUE OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to call a meeting of the World Council in November to review the further development of the present campaign calling on the Governments to reach agreement on all matters at issue between them. The Bureau will submit for the Council's consideration a proposal for the calling of a World Congress for Peace in 1954.

Vienna, September 10, 1953

[World Peace Council]

September 18, 1953

Mr. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Yanska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Sir:

In my letter of September 15th I indicated to you that we were proceeding on the question of the method of award of the International Peace prize to Dr. Du Bois. We have met with Dr. DuBois and he has expressed a desire to have the formal presentation made at a Chicago Conference on peaceful negotiations to take place on October 17th. We are taking this matter up with the American Peace Crusade personnel in Chicago, who are working on the Conference and we believe that it will meet with their hearty support.

25-56-26

Dr. DuBois has already scheduled to be the keynote speaker at this Conference.

We suggest that the cash award be sent directly to Dr. DuBois, rather than through us.

Meanwhile, we shall do all within our power to bring about the proper public attention to the significance of the award of the International Peace Prize to D r. DuBois.

We shall write you further when C hicago confirms the proposal that the award take place at the Conference.

Will you please send us additional copies of the booklet which lists the world figures who have received the award for 1953.

Yo urs sincerely,

Thomas Richardan,
National Co-Director

COPY

[World Peace Council]

September 18, 1953

My dear M. Laffitte:

I have been a little alarmed by your letter of August 24, by the hand of M. Roy Gore. The Peace Crusade as organized in New York, under the direction of Thomas Richardson, is a very inefficient body. Many persons of the highest integrity and ideals have been cooperating with it, but the local office is very poorly run as is evident by its failure to answer your communication of July 27, and also their failure to notify me.

There are affiliated branches of the Peace Crusade throughout the country and some of these are very efficient and have carried on our cause splendidly.

25-52-8

I am especially alarmed at learning today that in your letter of July 27 to the New York Peace Council, you proposed to turn over the draft for my prize money to this organization. This would be very unwise if you wish me to receive it. May I suggest that the draft be made payable to me and sent directly to me at the above address. I feel strongly about this and have just talked personally to Mr. Richardson and told him that I would write you today and say this.

So far as the diploma and presentation are concerned, Mr. Richardson and I have agreed today that the presentation will take place in Chicago, October 16, at a meeting of the "Conference to Further World Peace Through Negotiation". This body is affiliated with the Peace Crusade and instituted by leaders of that organization like Robert Morss Lovett, who with myself originally headed the Peace Crusade. The Secretary of this meeting is Mrs. Marjorie Milton, 166 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

May I suggest that:

1. The diploma be sent to the American Peace Crusade, 125 W, 72 St. N.Y.C.
2. That the prsentation take place in Chicago, Oct. 16, at the Conference to Further World Peace.
3. That the prize money be sent directly to me at 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

That is the understanding which has just been agreed to by Mr. Richardson of the American Peace Crusade. He has promised to write you to this effect.

Very sincerely,

(signed) W.E.B. Du Bois

25-56-7

[World Peace Council]

Prague, September 25th, 1953.

Dear Friends,

We took the liberty of sending you, from Vienna, copies of the resolution adopted by the Bureau of the World Council, together with the communiqué announcing the convening of a Council meeting. The main concern of the Bureau discussions was to help the development of the campaign launched by the World Council in Budapest to make the Governments negotiate and arrive at the peaceful solution of international differences.

The Bureau examined the first results of this campaign which gave rise to a great variety of activities in several different countries. At the same time, it noted that during the same period, the actions of some Governments tended to make negotiation and agreement impossible.

These actions show that there is still a danger of war. For instance, there are obstacles being set up to obstruct the establishment of Peace in Korea; the help and encouragement being given to the reconstitution of German militarism; the continuation and intensification of the war in Indo-China and the violence being used against the peoples of North Africa and the Near and Middle East.

However, those who are carrying out such actions are reavealing their opposition to agreement. But they no longer dare to declare themselves openly against negotiation today. In this respect, members of the Bureau pointed out that attempts are now being made by certain Governments to use the idea of negotiation to conceal aggressive intentions and a desire to continue the cold war. This is shown particularly by laying down prior conditions and by various manoeuvres so as to make negotiations impossible or useless. They are thereby endeavouring to maintain confusion among the peoples and to turn the attention of public opinion away from the action which must be carried out to obtain agreement.

In view of these considerations, the Bureau thought it necessary to define the character of the campaign which has been undertaken at the appeal of the World Council. The object of this campaign is not to achieve abstract declarations, etc., in favour of negotiation. Its main object is to bring the peoples into mass action to demand real agreements between Governments which will lessen the tension.

The Bureau considered that great efforts should be made in this campaign in order to avoid at all costs the re-opening of the war in Korea; to prevent the endorsement and application of measures which could revive the embers of conflagration in Europe by reconstituting German militarism. It showed that the present campaign to obtain agreement could satisfy the desire of public opinion to put an end to the danger resulting from the piling up of armaments and the possible use of weapons of mass destruction such as the H-bomb. This was linked up with the extension of trade relations which is being demanded by the peoples of all countries, as a means of relieving the tension and improving living standards.

On the other hand, the members of the Bureau laid great stress on the danger arising from the intention of different Governments to propose the revision of the United Nations' Charter in such a way as would make impossible future agreement between the Great Powers. In its resolution the Bureau once more confirmed the respect for the Charter held by all Peace-loving peoples, thereby affirming its opposition to any revision.

On this question, within the framework of the World Council campaign, the Bureau has asked that the People's Republic of China take her place in the United Nations and that she participate in all international conferences the object of which is lessening the tension.

As a result of its discussions, the Bureau considered that the campaign launched by the World Council on June 20th in Budapest must be successful in spite of all the obstacles. It called a meeting of the World Council in order that it might consider its new developments and open the way for solutions which will ensure a reduction in tention and demanded by the peoples.

The World Council which will meet at a crucial stage, to discuss the great international problems, should be able to work on the bases of results of a universal character.

We hope that this information which we are sending you on the essential problems raised by the resolutions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace will be of assistance to you in your activities for Peace.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial
de la Paix

Prague, September 26th, 1953.

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

Dr. W.E.B. DU BOIS
(United States)

25-52.13

Dear Friend,

As you, no doubt, are already aware, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace held an important meeting in Vienna from September 8th to 10th.

Copies of the resolution adopted by the Bureau and the Communiqué issued at the close of its discussions have been forwarded to you.

In this connection, we have sent to some national committees for Peace a letter containing more detailed information arising out of the Bureau discussions as a guide to help them make a thorough examination of the vital problems raised by these documents.

We enclose a copy of this letter for your information.

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

COPY COPY

September 28, 1953

Mr. Jean Laffitte
World Council of Peace
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Laffitte:

This letter will supplement my letter of September 18th about the arrangements for the awarding of the International Peace Prize to Dr. DuBois.

42-1c-28

We are still awaiting final confirmation of the proposal that the award be made at the Chicago Conference for World Peace to be held in Chicago on October 16th and 17th. The proposal is that the award be made at a mass meeting on Friday evening, October 16th. Dr. DuBois has given his approval of this plan, as have Crusade leaders in Chicago. Final adoption of the plan, however, must await the approval of the Conference arrangements committee which is meeting on October 1st.

We shall wire you as soon as we have word from Chicago that the award arrangements are definite - and you may receive this wire before this letter reaches you. It is our hope that you will be able to help us in securing messages from world peace leaders to Dr. Du Bois for this occasion. Such messages should be addressed to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, care of Robert Morss Lovett, Room 312, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Illinois.

It is hoped that Ernest DeMaio or Fred Stover will be able to make the award to Dr. DuBois on behalf of the World Council.

It is our understanding that there is a Diploma which goes along with the Peace Prize. If possible, we would appreciate it if this Diploma could be sent to Dr. DuBois at the address given above in Chicago so that it can be presented to him at the meeting.

We are enclosing a copy of the Call to the Chicago Conference. As you see, thisConference should make a great contribution to advancing the work for peace in the Chicago area.

Thanking you for your help in making the presentation of the Peace Prize award to Dr. DuBois as distinguished as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

[World Peace Council]

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Prague, October 1st, 1953.

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

K.D.

Dr. William W.E. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn
New-York

Dear Friend,

In reply to your letter of the 18th instant, we would inform you that we have given instructions to the National City Bank of New-York to transfer to you in dollars the equivalent of the sum of two million five hundred thousand francs corresponding to the International Peace Prize awarded to you by the World Council. We think this will give satisfaction to the request contained in your letter.

25-56-4

We are very pleased to learn from your letter and that of Mr. Richardson of September 18th that the ceremony for the awarding of the Medal and the diploma in connection with the Prize will be held in Chicago on October 17th at the Conference to further World Peace through Negotiation and we shall make the necessary arrangements for the World Council to be represented on this occasion.

We would be grateful if you would let us know as soon as you have received the sum in question. We are also asking the American Peace Crusade to let us have at the earliest possible moment a report on the ceremony to be held at Chicago.

With friendly greetings,

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte

General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

October 14, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

I received yesterday through the National City Bank of New York $7142.85 in cash, the proceeds of my Peace Prize award.

I write to thank you and the World Peace Council very sincerely for this remittance.

The formal presentation will take place, as you probably know, in Chicago, Illinois, Friday night, October 16, and the diploma will be handed me by Robert Morss Lovett, my classmate and lifelong friend, former ~~governor~~ of the Virgin Islands, U.S.A. At that time he will make the presentation speech which will doubtless be sent to you.

I am enclosing the words which I will say in response.

Sincerely

Again, thanking you for your kindness and consideration, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-56-3

World Peace Council Award

Mr. Lovett and Friends:

The meeting at Paris in the Spring of 1949, of the Partisans of Peace, now known as the World Peace Council, was the most impressive gathering of human beings which I have ever seen. The high ideal of Peace after two devastating world wars and in the shadow of a third, was voiced in the swarming hundreds of thousands who thronged the Buffalo Stadium and echoed from far Prague, where Asia met to greet us. Later meetings all over Europe and in Asia and Africa, culminating in the unforgettable Stockholm Appeal against the horror of the Atom Bomb, have made this organization one of the greatest among men, holding high the ideal of release from the worst threat of our day to Civilization.

I am embarrassed when this body of great, learned and self-sacrificing persons regards my few and ineffective efforts for Peace worthy of notice. I know that through me the World Peace Council wishes to express its conviction that the United States of America today more than any other nation is to blame for the terrible danger of continued murder and destruction, and wishes therefore to recognise any word no matter how unheard and unheeded, which has been raised here for Peace. For this reason alone I receive in all humility these tokens of reward for what I have tried to do. Before this brutal Juggernaut of Wealth and Force my words have been fruitless and futile; but at least they have been spoken.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Chicago, Oct. 14, 1953

46-11-33

Speech by Robert Morss Lovett
Presenting Peace Prize to W.E.B. Du Bois
Friday, October 16, 1953 at Chicago, Illinois
Curtiss Hall, 410 S. Mich. Blvd.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois -- I have been given the honor of presenting to you the well-deserved award of the World Council for Peace. I presume that this honor has fallen to me because of my long association with you, which began at Harvard College in 1889, sixty-five years ago. You were then an upper classman, distinguished as the best speaker in a college where oratory was cultivated as a fine art. I was a freshman.

Through these many years I have watched your career develop with something of the care with which a freshman looks at his superiors in speech and writing. You have been a defender of the rights of your people in the grand tradition of Frederick Douglass. One of your books, "The Souls of Black Folk" is an American classic. And you have broadened your appeal to your country and all humanity in the great cause of international peace. In this time of trial and persecution you have been fearless and outspoken. You above all men deserve this award of the World Council of Peace which I have the honor of bestowing on you.

46-11-28

Robert Morris Lovett

William Stroud Bryan Du Bois

[illegible] the [illegible] of the World Council for Peace. I present that this honor has fallen [illegible] appreciation [illegible] not [illegible] of my long [illegible] [illegible] 1889 [illegible] 65 years ago. You were then a white child [illegible] in a college [illegible] when making [illegible] [illegible] freshman. Since then many years [illegible] you career [illegible] [illegible] you [illegible] freshman [illegible] people [illegible] in the great battle [illegible] North Star [illegible] Black Folk [illegible] broadened your appeal to your country to [illegible] And you have [illegible] all through the great crises [illegible] to the [illegible] In this [illegible] of trial and persecution you have been fearless and outspoken. You alone all men claim the award of the World Council of Peace which I have the honor of bestowing on you.

9-23-53

[World Peace Council]

COPY

Speech by Robert Morss Lovett
Presenting Peace Prize to W.E.B. Du Bois
Friday, Oct. 16, 1953 at Chicago, Ill.
Curtiss Hall, 410 S. Mich. Blvd.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois -- I have been given the honor of presenting to you the well-deserved award of the World Council for Peace. I presume that this honor has fallen to me because of my long association with you, which began at Harvard College in 1889, sixty-five years ago. You were then an upper classman, distinguished as the best speaker in a college where oratory was cultivated as a fine art. I was a freshman.

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46-111-127

[World Peace Council]

October 20, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

The Peace Prize of the World Peace Council was presented to me Friday, October 16, 1953 at Curtiss Hall, Chicago, Illinois. Robert Morss Lovett was in charge.

I am enclosing the speech which he made and my reply.

We did not receive any diploma or certificate if one was sent. Personally I received the cash, as I have written you before.

There was in attendance 500 or more persons, and an excellent conference on "Peace Through Negotiations" was held.

Later I spoke at the University of Chicago and appeared on Television.

A number of messages were received from Europe and America.

May I thank you and your associates for your kindness in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-52-2

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, October 23rd, 1953.

Dr. W.E. DU BOIS
NEW YORK
(U.S.A.)

25-58.11

Dear Friend,

We are pleased to inform you that the World Council will meet in Vienna from November 23rd to 28th.

The enclosed statement, issued by our President, Professor Joliot-Curie, puts forward the points most likely to figure on the agenda and will give you an idea of the themes that the World Council will probably discuss.

However the Council will draw up the final agenda for the session at its opening meeting.

In view of the importance of this meeting we hope very much that you will be able to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

STATEMENT

of Professor JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.

85-52.12

The World Council of Peace will meet in Vienna from November 23rd to 28th, 1953.

In the light of the current campaign, the World Council of Peace proposes to consider what should be done by all peace-lovers, regardless of past or present differences, to induce the Governments to settle the disputes and conflicts among the nations - with due regard to the independence and and security of every people - by agreements acceptable to all ; with particular reference to :

- The prohibition, under control, of the H-Bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, together with a reduction of armaments;
- The settlement of the questions of Korea and Germany which are, at the present time, the principal threats to world Peace.

PARIS, October 20th, 1953.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
275 FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y., TEL. LE 2-5347

25-52142

[World Peace Council]

OCT 24 1953

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LT WILLIAM DU BOIS 23 WEST 26 STREET NEWYORK

PEACE PRIZE EXHIBITION OPENS VIENNA NOVEMBER 25 STOP WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED YOUR BOOKS STOP PLEASE SEND PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHICAGO CEREMONY STOP SALUTATIONS

LAFFITTE

CFM 23 26 25

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
275 FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y., TEL. LE 2-5347

[World Peace Council]

October 30, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear M. Laffitte:

I am venturing to write you again because I am not at all sure that you receive regularly the letters which I send.

My wife has just sent you five of my books for your exhibit. We sent them indirectly through England so as to be sure you would get them.

Before that I wrote you October 14th and October 20th saying that I had received the cash for the Peace Prize through the National City Bank, and was under deep obligations. I hope that word reached you.

Also, I wrote that the presentation of the presentation of the prize took place at the Conference on Peace Through Negotiations, in Chicago on Friday, October 16, 1953. The presentation was made by Robert Morss Lovett, former Secretary of the United States, Virgin Islands. I sent you a copy of the speech which he made and of my response.

We received nothing from your office in the way of a certificate or diploma which could be presented on that night. If it was sent I am afraid it has gone astray, but I would like to know if it was sent and to whom?

In response to your last letter concerning the next Peace Meeting, you will, of course, understand that despite my great desire it will not be possible for me to get a passport.

I trust this will find you in good health.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

2 copies sent [World Peace Council]

Nov. 9, 1953

M. Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council
Palais, S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

My dear M. Laffitte:

On November 4th Mr. Thomas Richardson brought me two packages: one containing the diploma and the other the gold medal of the World Peace Congress. He said that they had been received by the hand of Dr. Endicott in Canada.

May I again express my thanks and gratification for these beautiful and impressive tributes. I shall have them exhibited at the next meeting of the Peace Crusade.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-52-14

[W. Peace Council]

Mr. DE CHAMBRUN (FRANCE)

S P E E C H delivered

at the VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

November 23rd-28th, 1953

Published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace.

The World Peace Movement has often repeated that the most effective method of lessening and putting an end to international tension is for the Five Great Powers to meet and discuss. In this way, the road to disarmament would be opened.

This international tension which affects all peoples, is principally apparent in two spheres: the Far East and Europe. At the present time, although the war in Indochine is still, unfortunately, going on, the situation in the Far East is tending to improve, following the ending of hostilities in Korea.

But tension threatens to be carried to an extreme in Europe by the entry of a new factor, the rearmament of Germany.

I shall endeavour, firstly, to examine critically the two schemes now proposed by the different Governments for solving the German problem.

Secondly, I shall show that the rearmament of Germany is on the eve of becoming a fait accompli, but can still be averted.

Thirdly, I shall underline the determining role which the activity of the World Peace Movement and the National Committees can play in these circumstances.

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The proposals of the three Western Governments begin with the fait accompli of German rearmament. This rearmament, debarred up till 1950 according to statements by French politicians and those of other countries, was suddenly described as a necessity at that time, on the demand of the United States Government.

The Bonn and Paris agreements, signed in May, 1952, would have two results - they would give a free hand to Chancellor Adenauer or his successor and create a German army within the framework of a European army,

itself part of the Atlantic coalition. They are intended to apply automatically to Eastern Germany, if the unification of Germany is attained, which purely and simply means annexation.

Once a rearmed Germany is in the Western camp a new Locarno could be proposed to the Soviet Union, but we do not yet know which frontier would be guaranteed, since Chancellor Adenauer does not recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier.

Such is the system proposed by the three Western Governments.

The Soviet Government, for its part, has proposed the following system of security. It is based, in the first place, on the Potsdam agreement, signed by President Roosevelt, Mr. Winston Churchill and Marshal Stalin, which provided that the Allies would together take all measures necessary to prevent the remilitarisation of Germany.

It is also based on the Franco-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet pacts which were concluded at the end of the war to forestall any future threat from Germany.

Within the framework of these guarantees, the Soviet Government has proposed that Germany be unified within its existing frontiers, on the understanding that she should not enter any coalition or alliance directed against any one of the former Allies.

Let us first of all examine the system proposed by the Western Governments. These proposals cannot be considered as likely to ensure the safety of Europe, because they in fact provide for the rearming of one half of Germany against the Power which, in accordance with international agreements, is now occupying the other half.

In these circumstances, the unification of Germany by peaceful means is made impossible. On the other hand, the Adenauer Government does not hide its territorial claims, and the possibility is put into its hands of unleashing a world war in an attempt to make them good.

Lastly, they make further negotiation impossible for the very reason that the rearmament of Germany is

posed not only as a pre-condition, but as a fait accompli.

As to the guarantee they talk about, it would place Germany, with whom as yet no peace treaty has been signed, on the same footing as the Soviet Union, a former ally. They would say to the Soviet Union: "We will defend you if Germany attacks you, and we will defend Germany if you attack her". But, as M. Leon Noel, a former French Ambassador, pointed out in the French National Assembly the other day, there is a danger that the guarantee will only operate one way, and he recalled the events which started off the last world war: a fake attack on German units by Polish officers who, in reality, were Hitler's officers in Polish uniform.

This scheme is no less specious for Germany, for the German people would then lose all hope of reunification other than by force, and well they know that a world war would put the very existence of their country at stake. This is proved by their reaction to the arrival on German territory of the famous atomic artillery. On the other hand, the political division would be accompanied by the maintenance of obstacles to East-West trade, and over-industrialised Western Germany would be unable to trade with Eastern Germany, its economic complement, nor with the countries of the East.

Furthermore, the revival of German armed forces in this atmosphere of territorial claims will, in the very nature of things, place essential power in the hands of the militarists. They will therefore have the means of smashing the forces for Peace in Western Germany, and they will do it brutally. However, these forces for Peace in Germany are by no means negligable; they have the future on their side, if only Germany, instead of being the stake in an armaments race, can be assured of a peaceful future. One must not forget that at the last elections, in which Chancellor Adenauer was victorious, the electors who voted for him are far from being supporters of German remilitarisation. Whilst the 9 million electors who voted against him voted for parties or groups which had opposed the ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements.

The European Community and a European army would establish the predominance of German militarism in Europe. Any countries associated with Germany in these units would not only risk being dragged into a

third world war, following in Germany's steps, but at the same time would be in danger of having to withstand the pressure of German militarism along their frontiers.

I think I have shown the fallacious character of these ideas, which, far from ensuring the security of Europe, would in reality create a new hotbed of war in the heart of Europe.

In my country, a large number of people who accepted the Atlantic Pact because they considered it was a defensive measure, today feel that the entry of Germany into the European Army, under the orders of an Atlantic chief, would give this Pact an aggressive character because of the territorial ambitions of the Bonn Government.

If we now examine the Soviet proposals, we have to admit that they are based neither upon preconceived conditions nor upon faits accomplis: in fact these proposals alone are based upon existing international agreements -Potsdam, the Anglo-Soviet Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact.

They are a compromise because both sides would renounce the idea of a divided world gambling over Germany.

Germany could be quickly reunified following a Four Power Agreement aimed at finding a peaceful solution of the German problem. The only limitations imposed upon Germany would be in order to prevent the rebirth of militarism, which is a threat both to Germany's neighbours and to the German people themselves.

There are objections to these proposals; I shall deal with two of them. The first is that a neutral Germany would run the risk one day of falling an easy prey to the Soviet Union. Note that this objection is made by those who, by unilaterally rearming Western Germany, are creating an immediate werdanger. The answer is that this objection is without foundation. Everyone agrees that the Soviet Government does not act lightly. Again, everyone realises that an attack of this kind, from whatever side, would unleash a Third World War. On the other hand, we all know that the Soviet peoples have in front of them immense tasks which will last for many years, perhaps centuries, in tapping the wealth of their huge territories and their national resources.

At the same time Germany would have nothing to fear from France who has no frontier problems and who would herself have a big task to accomplish. There are many Frenchmen who think that the best interests of my country would be served by proposing a genuine federation with those African peoples who yesterday formed part of the French Empire. This federation would be based upon equality and mutual consent. Indeed, without mutual consent and equality, the ties that bind France and the overseas territories can only be of a precarious kind.

Thus Germany would not be threatened by any of her neighbours and could carry on her peaceful activities in freedom.

The second objection which has been brought up is that a great nation like Germany would not tolerate limitations in the military sphere. Frankly, it is hard to see why, considering that Germany would be given an international guarantee against any attack. All that it would prevent is the rebirth of the militarism which after 1918 succeeded within 15 years in bringing Hitler to power in elections which had every appearance of being free, to employ the language of the present proposals of the three Western Governments.

Those who make this objection add a corollary. They say: "A Germany lacking her freedom of action in the military sphere would not have the same burdens as the Powers which are arming unrestrainedly".

In the first place, we can reply that this would be precisely an incentive to the Great Powers to reach an early agreement on general, progressive disarmament, simultaneous and controlled, instead of an arms drive, accompanied by a German arms race. This would be a peaceful solution to the German problem opening the way to the disarmament of other countries.

While waiting for agreement upon general disarmament, Germany, not having the same burdens as other countries, could make a much greater contribution to the fund proposed to UNO for increasing the productivity of those parts of the world which are still under-developed. This proposal was made by India and supported by other countries. Only good could result from aid of this kind, it being understood that the aid given should be administered exclusively by the country receiving it in order to obviate any bonds of subjection.

Having examined the two proposed systems for the settlement of the German problem, we are led to the following conclusion: the Peace Movement should not adopt the proposals made by one Government or another, but only look to see which proposals conform to the interests of Peace. We must eliminate the scheme proposed in the name of the three Western Governments because it is based on the fait accompli of German rearmament. On the other hand, the Soviet proposals which are only presented as a basis for discussion, can, in our opinion, lead to an agreement acceptable to all. This agreement will be reached without any doubt as soon as the Four Powers have, as their sole aim, the security of Europe and the easing of international tension.

Unfortunately - and this brings me to the second part of my report - the fait accompli is, as you know, in the process of being realised. The procedure of ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements has been started in the six countries and external pressure is being exerted on their Governments to hasten this ratification. The question we must ask therefore, is: Who can check this and how?

As far as Western Germany is concerned, the last election gave Chancellor Adenauer the majority he wanted. Even if the Court of Karlsruhe declared these agreements to be contrary to the Constitution, the Chancellor could get an amendment passed modifying the Constitution. Further, the two Houses have already voted once for ratification.

In spite of the opposition of the Peace forces, the Chancellor has, therefore, the means of ratifying the treaty.

As far as Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg are concerned the procedure of ratification has started. In spite of an important trend of opinion, it is to be presumed that, if there is no sudden change in the international set-up, these countries will also ratify it.

This leaves Italy and France.

With the sole aim of bringing about ratification by the Italian Parliament, the US and British Governments took a unilateral decision to restore to Italy the zone which they occupy in Trieste. But, following lively Yugoslav reactions they postponed fulfilment of

their promise and we may take it that in Italy, their position is now less favourable than before this act of diplomacy.

It is also probable that the Italian Parliament - as our friend Nenni has just pointed out - will not take any decision before the French Parliament has done so. This is natural since Italy has not, like France, been invaded three times in 75 years by German troops.

Of the six countries it is thus France which today holds the key to the problem. In fact, according to the terms of existing international agreements, France can oppose the rearmament of Germany no matter what form it may take and cannot be confronted with a fait accompli.

As far as the European army is concerned, she can block this by refusing to ratify the Bonn and Paris agreements.

What about the entry of Western Germany directly into the Atlantic Pact? The Atlantic Pact demands a unanimous vote of its signatories for the admission of a new member. Therefore, Germany can only join the Atlantic Pact with the consent of France and this consent can only be given by a law passed by the French Parliament.

What about a direct agreement between the United States and Germany, such as that which the Government of the United States has recently concluded with General Franco? What remains of the occupation statutes after the agreements in Washington of April 8th, 1949 and the revision of March 1951 give reserve powers in matters of disarmament and demilitarisation to the occupying powers. The French High Commissioner in Western Germany thus possesses a suspending veto until an eventual agreement is reached between the three Governments. The French Government is therefore in a position to oppose this third and last form of the remilitarisation of Germany.

You know, through the Press, the great movement of opinion which expresses the national indignation of France against the Bonn and Paris agreements. The Peace movement has played its role in this campaign which has had such deep repercussions in France. The Peace movement was the first to insist on the necessity for all those

who oppose the revival of German militarism, to demonstrate this opposition together and publicly, whatever their past or present differences might be. And its appeal was heard.

In all political parties voices are being raised against ratification. Men of all parliamentary groups have made a common stand, in the course of the great debate which is taking place at this moment in the French Parliament and which is being followed with deep attention by the whole country.

We can say, at the present time, that the greater part of public opinion is hostile to these agreements and favours a peaceful solution, a negotiated solution, of the German problem. In Parliament, which has the power of decision, things are now in the balance and nobody can predict yet with any certainty the result of the vote.

A great many people who are with us in this struggle are not opposed to the Atlantic Pact, considering it as a means of defence; it was, moreover, ratified by the French Parliament in 1949. I note, in passing, that the text of the Pact did not provide for the leasing, of bases on French soil, either by a foreign Power or by an international General Staff. But such people oppose the Bonn and Paris Agreements for the same reasons as ourselves, because they think, as we do, that they carry the risk of war.

International conferences are to take place at The Hague, to examine the eventual constitution of the European Community, and at Bermuda for a Big Three Meeting. But it seems clear that, before the debate on ratification which will take place at the beginning of next year, the present Government will not be able to take decisions at these two conferences committing itself for the future. Thus at the beginning of next year a choice will be made of great importance for the ultimate course of events.

The third part of my report will deal with the activity of the World Council. It has, I think, already achieved much and can do much more.

At the present time, public opinion in the various countries is attentively watching events in

other lands. This is all the more noticeable at the present time because each country has a decisive choice to make. I took the liberty of emphasizing the role of France, but the role of our British friends is far from insignificant. The Labour party does not have a majority of seats, but it obtained the majority of votes at the last election. At its recent Conference it made clear its opposition to the rearming of Germany, at any rate before a serious attempt had been made to clear up the problem through negotiation. A certain number of British Conservatives hold the same opinion.

Therefore Churchill's attempt to persuade France to create this European army, in which, moreover, his own country has no intention of participating, does not represent the wishes of the majority of the British people.

It is important that the real desire of the British people should be as widely understood in France and Germany as are the invitations of Sir Winston Churchill.

Not a voice raised in any part of the world is without influence in the discussion opened before international public opinion.

I would particularly like to speak to our friends of the Soviet Peace Committee. I do this because our two countries have a common interest in averting the revival of German militarism. This treaty, sealed by our common sufferings, is once again the order of the day in France.

A few days ago M. Edouard Daladier, former President of the Council, reminded the National Assembly that since the duel between Alexander III and Napoleon no Russian soldier has set foot on our soil as an enemy.

A great number of my countrymen consider that two points which do not depend solely on them are necessary in the struggle they are conducting in their country in the national interest.

The first of these points is the firmness the Soviet Government shows in frustrating, in not tolerating, the fait accompli of German rearmament. This firmness helps us all the more because we too are working to make the French Government show an equal strength in face of the same danger.

The second point is the full implementation of the Franco-Soviet Pact which, in spite of the vicissitudes of the last few years, is legally still in force, since it was drawn up on a twenty-year basis. The Franco-Soviet Pact provides for consultation between the two Governments in the event of a new threat from Germany. The threat is there. The great majority of the French people want these consultations to take place.

Finally, it seems to me that the World Council of Peace, during this Session, must clearly show world public opinion that immediate negotiation is possible on the German problem, so long as it is genuine negotiation aimed at reaching an agreement acceptable to all.

The rejection of the Bonn and Paris treaties would by no means have a negative effect. It would, in fact, have a positive effect for the whole world, that of avoiding war.

Another effect, as positive as the first, would be to force the Governments to reach, at last, a negotiated solution, which alone can give security to Europe.

There is a lot of talk about building Europe. They use this fine expression to cover the revival of the Wehrmacht.

To build Europe is to encourage all the peoples of this continent to live in co-operation with one another. It means developing between them commercial and cultural relations. It means securing the great German nation against the return of militarism which has been the cause of so much unhappiness in Europe, thus helping it back into the peaceful community of nations.

§

25-55-71

[W. Peace Council]

Mr. HAN SUL YA (KOREA)

S P E E C H delivered

at the VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

November 23rd-28th, 1953

Published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace.

The bloodshed in Korea, which has resulted in tens of thousands of victims and was menacing the world with the danger of serious international complications, has at last been stopped. The American invaders, for more than three years, made every effort to subjugate the freedom-loving people of Korea. With this end in view they used an enormous quantity of war material and manpower against our little country. However, as we can now see, they did not succeed in carrying out their plan of enslaving our people and the peoples of Asia.

In a bitter struggle our people managed to defend their country and compelled the US strategists to sign an armistice agreement in Korea - an agreement which was signed precisely where, three years ago, the aggressors started their war against our people. Today the cannon are silent on Korean soil. The sun of Peace shines with new strength in the Korean sky. The Korean people, helped by the gallant Chinese People's Volunteers, won a glorious victory which is also a great victory for the whole camp of Peace and democracy, a great success for all progressive mankind and for all who ardently desire Peace between the peoples.

The victory of the Korean people, gained after a three-year struggle for the freedom and independence of their country, for Peace and civilisation throughout the world, was obtained thanks to the great support given by the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the People's Democracies and millions of defenders of Peace throughout the world.

Allow me, in the name of the Korean people, to express to you, and through you to the Soviet and Chinese people, the People's Democracies and all men of goodwill throughout the world, their profound gratitude for the help and support rendered them in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

The Korean people and the glorious Chinese People's Volunteers have, by their selfless struggle and inflexible determination, defended the sacred cause of Peace in the East and inflicted a decisive blow on the forces trying to unleash a new world war.

The sacred struggle of our people has clearly shown that, in these times, it is impossible to suppress by force of arms the national liberation movement of the peoples of the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. At the same time it has shown to the whole world that devotion to one s country and the noble cause of Peace arouses heroism and daring among the masses of the people, and that if a people has taken the destiny of its country into its own hands, if it realises the justice of its cause and if it relies upon the help and support of the whole of progressive mankind, it is invincible and cannot be subjugated, either by bombs and shells, or by plague, cholera and typhoid bacteria.

The reactionary circles in the United States, in attempting to achieve their aggressive aims, tried in every possible way to break the unity of the Asian peoples, following the principle "Asians versus Asians". However, the Korean war has demonstrated that the unity of the Asian peoples is strengthened in their common struggle against imperialist aggressors for their national independence.

The great Chinese people, whose best sons and daughters fought on our soil in the common cause of Peace, shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People s Army, has given a shining example of the solidarity of the Asian peoples in their joint struggle for Peace. The time when the imperialists could wage aggression against the Asian peoples with impunity and make of Asia a starting point of a world war, has long passed. We have entered a new era, that of the rebirth of the peoples of the East. Since the creation of the Chinese People s Republic the East has become a powerful bastion, which will be a permanent obstacle to the reactionary plans of the aggressors who are trying to unleash another war.

Everyone now sees that the armistice in Korea has contributed to the easing of international tension. It has fortified the hope for peace of all men of goodwill and shown that it is possible to settle international conflicts and other outstanding issues through understanding between the countries concerned.

That is why the Korean people, despite the machinations of the reactionary circles of the USA and the treacherous clique of Syngman Rhee, is making every effort to achieve a final, peaceful settlement of the

Korean question.

The Korean question can and must be solved at the Political Conference which, we may surmise, will be called in the very near future. Based upon the principle of the settlement of the Korean question by the Koreans themselves, the Political Conference must solve the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful unification of Korea. Further, we declare that the Korean question must be solved by the Koreans themselves without any interference by foreign States in the internal affairs of Korea.

Our people know well that the settlement of the Korean question will strengthen the cause of Peace in the Far East and throughout the world. To the extent that neutral States of Asia are concerned in the solution of the Korean question, we consider that countries with such a great interest in it as the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma must be invited to take part in the Political Conference. We do not doubt that the participation of these countries in the Political Conference will have a favourable influence on its work and will help to settle successfully the questions with which the Conference will have to deal.

The US side, however, which rejects without any reason the participation of neutral States in the Political Conference, is trying in every possible way to break the armistice in Korea by systematic violations of the agreement and by provocative actions. The aggressive acts of the United States in South Korea show that US reactionary circles, displeased with the armistice in Korea, are urging the supporters of Syngman Rhee to start a new slaughter. They want to aggravate the international situation, not only in the Far East and the Pacific Ocean, but throughout the world.

Despite the fact that the armistice agreement clearly states that the main aim of the Political Conference is the settlement of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, the US Government has concluded with Syngman Rhee the so-called treaty of "Mutual Security", according to which the aggressive troops of the USA will occupy South Korea indefinitely and may restart the criminal war in case of "necessity". The manoeuvres of the aggressive forces, trying to hinder the settlement of the Korean question, are illustrated

in the well-known declaration of the 16 countries taking part in the Korean war, in the preparation of the so-called "Mutual Security Treaty", signed by Dulles and Syngman Rhee. The closest attention is being given to these facts by all honest people the world over.

Moreover, the South Koreans, on the orders of the US military command, are sending into the POW camps special agents who terrorise those prisoners who want to return home. The point has been reached where those agents do not hesitate to go into the tents where the work of explanation is going on and openly use force and beat up the prisoners.

All these facts and others like them show that, while the US representatives are willing to talk about peace and negotiations, they are in fact opposing by all means the peaceful solution of the Korean question. It goes without saying that our people will reply to these machinations of the aggressors by continuing firmly to defend the just cause of Peace and by striving resolutely for the peaceful unification of their motherland.

The Koreans are deeply convinced that in this just struggle they will receive the help and support of all honest people throughout the world.

Dear delegates,

Our people, having defended their country against the assaults of the US interventionists, have started the reconstruction of their economy which was destroyed in three cruel years of war. The destruction inflicted by the US invaders was incalculably great. Factories and workshops were destroyed, hundreds of towns and thousands of villages wiped out. There is not a single part of Korea that does not bear the marks of the invaders.

In order to stanch the terrible wounds inflicted by the war as quickly as possible, our people have risen as one man to reconstruct our country. Constructive work is in full swing in every corner of Korea; new factories, villages, schools, hospitals and dwelling houses are arising on the ruins.

The vast scope of the reconstruction calls for the maximum exertion on the part of our people. The

great Soviet Union, our Chinese brothers and the countries of People's Democracy are giving us disinterested aid in this task. The decision of the Soviet Government to make our people a gift of one thousand million roubles has aroused an unshakeable conviction in their hearts and encouraged them to further efforts on behalf of Peace. The 500 million Chinese people are once again stretching out their hands to help the Korean people, and their gallant People's Volunteers together with the soldiers of our Peoples' Army have now exchanged their guns for spades and are selflessly helping to restore our ruined factories and workshops.

The Governments of the People's Democracies have also decided to give material aid to our people, who suffered so much in the war.

There is no doubt that our people will win as gallant a victory in peaceful constructive labour as in the war which was imposed on them by the US aggressors.

Dear Friends,

On behalf of my people, who have suffered the horrors of war, I call upon all people of goodwill throughout the world:

1/ To rally closer in the struggle for Peace around the World Council of Peace and to unmask and bring to naught the perfidious plans of the war-makers, who are trying to spread discord among the peoples and thus unleash another world war.

2/ To exert every effort in order that all outstanding international questions should be settled by peaceful negotiations between the countries, on a footing of equality.

3/ To ensure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, which is of great importance for the elimination of international tension.

4/ To put an end to the arms drive, to ban atomic weapons and the hydrogen bomb - weapons of mass destruction - and to reduce the level of armaments of all types.

Only Peace throughout the world will save mankind from destructive wars, only Peace will prevent the recurrence of "Islands of Death" like Koje and Pongam.

We must struggle unceasingly for this noble aim. Let us multiply our efforts to defend Peace.

Long live Peace on Earth!

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[W. Peace Council]

Mr. M A O D U N (China)

S P E E C H
DELIVERED AT THE VIENNA SESSION
of the
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

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Many important changes have taken place in the international situation since the meeting of the World Peace Council on the 20th June.

For the first time since the Second World War, we see some relaxation in the international situation. This has come about because of the active participation of millions of people in the struggle for peace and against war, and because of the enormous efforts on the part of the World Council of Peace and the peace organisations of the various countries as well as those governments that pursue a policy of peace. All of them are working for the relaxation of international tension and the prevention of a new world war.

The Korean war which lasted for three years, involving many countries and several million troops and constantly threatening to spread to other countries, even to the whole world, has come to an end with the signing of the Armistice Agreement.

At the time when the United States Government launched the aggressive war in Korea, its original intention was to conquer Korea, then invade the People s Republic of China and enslave the peoples of Asia. It also meant to take advantage of the tense situation created by the war to put the capitalist countries in military, political and economic subordination so as to realise its aim of world domination. However, the heroic resistance of the Korean and Chinese peoples smashed the designs of the American war-makers and disrupted their plan and preparation for another world war.

When the Armistice Agreement was signed the American troops were held at the line where they first started. They suffered enormous losses in material and man-power. This ought to be a lesson of great significance to the aggressors. It eloquently proves that liberated peoples do have the determination and the strength to defend their independence, freedom and security.

All the peoples of the world rejoice over the Armistice in Korea and regard it as a great victory of the Peace forces. This armistice proves that the only possible

and right way for the settlement of international disputes is peaceful negotiation between the countries concerned. Any person with common sense and a clear conscience cannot but admit that if the Korean war could be ended through negotiation, there is no reason why other pending international disputes cannot likewise be settled.

It is for this reason that President Joliot-Curie referred to the Armistice in Korea as a "powerful stimulus for the campaign of negotiation launched by the appeal of the World Peace Council".

Under this stimulus, the campaign carried out by the peoples of various countries for settlement of disputes through negotiations between the Great Powers is gaining momentum day by day.

However, we must be ever more vigilant against the warmongers in their new attempts to create international tension.

The war camp headed by the United States monopolies is resorting to all sorts of means to obstruct the efforts to settle disputes through negotiations. They are afraid that, if negotiation prevails, their maximum profits will be affected.

Nowadays, in the face of increasing opposition and pressure of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the United States war clique finds it increasingly difficult to ignore the people s powerful movement for negotiation. They have begun to make certain manoeuvres and talk about their willingness to negotiate peacefully. As a matter of fact, what the United States war clique is set to pursue under cover of false words of peace is still the so-called "policy of strength" and "cold war". They continuously create new disputes in order to keep the international situation in a state of tension.

Let us take the armistice in Korea as an example. Although the United States Government was compelled to accept the Armistice Agreement, they have always deliberately kept the Korean armistice in an unstable condition. Immediately after the signing of the Armistice Agreement,

the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique signed a so-called "Mutual Defence Treaty" giving the United States the right to station troops indefinitely in South Korea.

United States military aircraft and military personnel have constantly violated the Armistice Agreement and invaded the demilitarised zone. The United States is repeatedly obstructing and sabotaging the realisation of the Armistice Agreement, while Syngman Rhee almost every day threatens to "march to the North", "unify Korea by unilateral military actions", "drive the Indian custodian troops out of Korea by force".

On the question of the repatriation of POWs, the United States Government has repeatedly violated the Terms of Reference for the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, preventing the POWs from listening to explanations and using special agents to keep a terrorist control over them. The statement by the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission on October 2, 1953, has clearly proven these facts. In order to hide the presence of these special agents the United States side, up to date, has not even submitted to the Indian custodian troops in charge of the camps the complete name list of POWs. The POWs who expressed their wish to return home are savagely tortured, flogged and even murdered.

The repatriation of POWs, which occupies a very important part in the realisation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, has been viciously sabotaged and disrupted. The United States Government acted thus because it has for its purpose the obstruction of the complete carrying out of the Armistice Agreement and the wrecking of the Korean Political Conference which the entire world is so very much concerned with.

Although the discussion on questions of the Political Conference between the two sides in the Korean war began in Panmunjom on 26th October, it has shown that, in the course of these discussions, the policy of the United States Government is still procrastination and obstruction.

Even Marquis Childs, columnist of the "Washington Post", has said that the United States agreed to the meeting in Panmunjom merely to "allay the doubts of Asian and European representatives at the United Nations who were

beginning to feel that the United States did not want the Conference".

The United States Government had consistently refused to discuss the composition of the Political Conference, because it stubbornly opposed the proposal of the Chinese and Korean Governments to invite neutral countries, especially India and other neutral countries in Asia, to take part in the conference. But the United States Government could give no reason whatsoever for its opposition.

Since the task of the Political Conference is to settle peacefully the Korean question, which is also a question relating to peace in Asia and the world, to discuss such an important question without permitting the participation of the neutral countries concerned, especially the neutral countries in Asia, is, we believe, entirely devoid of reason.

Consistent with their sincerity in continuous endeavours to solve the Korean question peacefully, the Korean-Chinese side has again made a new move on November 17th, proposing that the composition of the political conference should include the belligerent countries and 5 other neutral countries; namely, the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan. Friends, is this not a reasonable and positive proposal? If the United States Government does have any sincerity in solving the Korean question, it should accept the new proposal. But it is still obstructing and delaying.

Anyone can see that the United States Government has not made any genuine effort to promote peaceful negotiations but is, on the contrary, interested in continually bringing up new disputes. For example, the United States Government recently brought up again at the United Nations the alleged stories of "atrocities", slandering the Korean-Chinese side with the charge of maltreating war prisoners. It has also fabricated, with the intention of covering up its crime of germ warfare, the counter-deposition of the captured United States airmen, released by the Korean-Chinese side. These lies deceive nobody. The peaceloving peoples must, however, increase their vigilance, expose the lies of the war instigators and make sure that the atmosphere of relaxation created by the Korean armistice will not be replaced by another atmosphere of war.

With the ending of the Korean war, the remaining large-scale war in the world is now going on in Viet-Nam. This war has continued for about eight years and is called by the French people "the dirty war". This war has not only inflicted prolonged calamities upon the Viet-Namese people, but has also brought countless miseries to the French people. No matter how desperately the French colonialists struggle, they cannot crush the valiant resistance of the Viet-Namese people, because there is no force on earth that can crush a nation which has already taken its destiny in its own hands.

The time has come for the French ruling bloc to learn the necessary lesson through its defeat in the eight years of aggressive war in Viet-Nam.

Though the calls for the end of the war in Viet-Nam are being more and more echoed by people of all sections of French society, the United States Government is resorting to all sorts of means to exert pressure on the French Government to drag on the war in Viet-Nam. The aim of the United States Government, in addition to keeping the Far Eastern situation in a state of tension after the cease-fire in Korea, is to take over Indo-China for itself. At the same time, it is also trying to weaken the French position in Europe, so as to facilitate the rearming of West Germany. For this reason, the Viet-Namese war has not only brought about the determined resistance of the Viet-Namese people but has also aroused the increasing opposition of the French people.

The Chinese people extend their boundless sympathy to the heroic Viet-Namese people who are suffering from the calamities of war. We whole-heartedly support the proposal made yesterday by Mr. Le Dinh Tham, the delegate from Viet-Nam. His proposal serves the interest of Peace. We hope that all peace-loving peoples the world over will take immediate action to call for an armistice in Viet-Nam and the peaceful settlement of the Viet-Namese question. Since an armistice has been achieved in Korea through negotiation, we believe that the Viet-Namese war can also be stopped in the same way.

In order to further consolidate peace and security in the Far East, it is necessary that the question of Japan be settled reasonably and her normal relations with other nations be resumed as soon as possible.

Disregarding the opposition of the Asian peoples, including that of the Japanese people, the United States Government is tightening its military occupation and political control over Japan, transforming it into a United States base for aggression, preventing the resumption of commercial and cultural relations between the Japanese and Chinese people and forcing the Yoshida Government to continue a policy hostile to the People's Republic of China. It is speeding up the revival of Japanese militarism with the intention of converting her once more into a hotbed of plans for another war in the East. It is by no means accidental that the recent talks between the United States and Japan on rearmament have aroused widespread opposition and uneasiness in Manila, Jakarta, Singapore, Rangoon, Melbourne, Wellington and other capitals.

Today two different roads lie before the Japanese people. One will lead Japan to becoming a dependent of the United States, a militarist nation and a menace to Peace in the Pacific. The other will enable Japan to become an independent, democratic, peaceful and free nation - only such a Japan will be able to establish normal relations with other countries of the Far East on the basis of non-aggression and co-existence.

The United States war clique is now also reviving militarism in West Germany. We oppose the revival of Japanese militarism and we also oppose the revival of West German militarism. Similarly, just as all peace-loving peoples ardently desire an independent, democratic, peaceful and free Japan, so they desire a unified, peaceful and democratic Germany. The reunification of Germany on the basis of peace and democracy not only conforms with the interests of the peoples of Europe, especially those of the German people, but also with the interests of the peoples of the East.

Ladies and gentlemen, the armistice in Korea has already created very favourable conditions for the further easing of international tension. It has proved in Korea that the American "policy of strength" has gone bankrupt, its "cold war" strategy has aroused universal opposition, especially in Western Europe, and its atomic and hydrogen bombs can no longer be used as a means of blackmailing. All peace-loving peoples should demand at this time that the Big Powers agree on general disarmament, the prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen

bombs, germ weapons, as well as other weapons of large-scale slaughter, the abolition of military bases on the soil of foreign countries serving as spring-boards of aggression, and the withdrawal of troops stationed in foreign lands, which infringes on the sovereignty of those countries. In order to make a comprehensive examination of possible measures that will work toward the relaxation of international tension, it is reasonable and imperative at this time to call a Five Power Conference in which the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will take part. Peace-loving persons in many countries have repeatedly proposed that the People's Republic of China must be a member of this Five Power Conference. But the United States Government has continually barred the People's Republic of China from assuming its legal status in the United Nations and its right to take part in international conferences. This is not only unfair and unreasonable, it entirely ignores the need of the present international situation. The United States Government has not only denied China her rightful place in international affairs but has invaded Taiwan, which is Chinese territory, and encircled China with military bases established in South Korea, Japan, the Ryukus, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and many other places. It has also forced other countries to place embargoes and economic blockades against China. All these measures prove that it is the United States Government which creates international tension.

The United States Government should not indulge any more in empty talk of peaceful negotiation but has to prove its words by action. It should agree to the calling of the long-awaited Five Power Conference so as to further ease the international situation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this Council meeting is our first since the cease-fire in Korea. As a result of the three-year struggle on the part of the Chinese and Korean peoples and the efforts of peace-loving peoples throughout the world, the wild ambition of the forces of war has been frustrated, and the tense international situation which lasted for several years has begun to show some relaxation. But the forces of war have by no means abandoned their war plans and they are persisting in endless provocations. Hence, we still have before us a tremendous task in defence of world peace. All peace-loving peoples must be ever more vigilant, must continue to work tirelessly, mobilise more broadly, and unite more closely in our common endeavour to strive for the early convening of the Five Power Conference, the solution of all international disputes through negotiation and to achieve a further relaxation of the international situation.

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[W. Peace Council]

Mr. NESMEYANOV (U.S.S.R.)

25-55-42

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Science and art unite the human race as no other field of culture can do. But whereas true art, universal art, is national and popular in its origins, science, and more particularly the natural sciences, have different characteristics. To keep physics or mathematics within national limits is impossible. The essential feature of science, properly so-called, is that it is international. Science, therefore, by definition, is a means of bringing the peoples together. Further, the international organisation of science is necessary for the sound development of science itself. How, for example, can we imagine the development of astronomy without harmonious international co-operation, since we of the North cannot observe the sky of the Southern hemisphere? A rational division of work in the scientific field could strengthen and multiply the progress of science and could be a source of well-being and health for the population of the world. Personal contacts between scientists and discussion of controversial scientific problems would unquestionably help in eliminating errors and in finding the most correct views and the best methods for the development of science. In the same way, contact and mutual understanding between scientists, who represent, both in number and importance, a rapidly growing force in the world, would, without doubt, greatly further the attainment of the goal for which the World Council of Peace exists and works.

The closer the bonds between scientists, the more difficult it will be to use science for negative ends: for the purpose of destroying men and eternal values, for the purpose of political blackmail. Yet it would be hard to say that all is going well in the field of international scientific co-operation. We are very far from the idyllic picture of the 19th century. International contacts between scientists have deteriorated in general, particularly East-West contacts. The frequent personal contacts between scientists in the same field, which were the rule in other times, have greatly diminished. The most important scientific research and discoveries are kept in the secret archives of scientific organisations belonging to the big trusts, even if they are of great scientific value. This was what happened to the remarkable work of Reppe in the field of the chemistry of acetylene and

carbon oxide, carried on for many years in Germany for the benefit of I.G. Farben Industrie.

Entire fields of vital importance in physics, mechanics, chemistry and biology are kept in the dark because they are destined, directly or indirectly, to enrich the monopolies in another war. Science has reached a degree of development which makes perfectly feasible the sending of an interplanetary rocket to the moon or the creation of an artificial satellite of the Earth. Successful methods of healing diseases which are the scourge of humanity, have been discovered. New horizons have been opened in the various fields of energy. But, too often, important applications of science are used against humanity, too often do scientists allow themselves to work against mankind.

The positive results obtained by science in any one country too often fail to become a universal possession and are only gained in another country by repeated research. Yet it is not only the 19th century - the century of Pasteur, of Libich, of Faraday and of Mendeleyev - which gives us examples of scientific discoveries of great benefit to the whole of humanity.

We may cite, with feelings of profound gratitude, the discovery of penicillin by an Oxford scientist - penicillin, which became the property of our country, too, and which has saved many lives there.

We rejoice that the discoveries of the Soviet scientist Filatov for curing the blind, through which many blind people have regained their sight, have been widely applied elsewhere. We are happy that Soviet methods of medical assistance in childbirth and for the preventive treatment of diseases are widely used throughout the world. I think that we must put the maximum effort into the struggle for such a life-giving science and for such international scientific co-operation.

Soviet scientists are eager to organise this international scientific and technical co-operation. At the present time there is very successful scientific and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, China and the People's Democracies of Europe. The Soviet Union freely gives its scientific and technical experience to these countries. There is no doubt that this co-operation will

grow and expand. More and more scientists from Europe and Asia are visiting the Soviet Union and becoming acquainted with its scientific institutions and the direction given to scientific research. Many individual visitors came to the Soviet Union this year on the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and, in addition, delegations of scientists from China, Great Britain, Italy, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Korea and Finland. These delegations included scientists of various political views.

Altogether, in the last few years we have had the pleasure of receiving delegations of scientists and visits of individual scientists from 30 different countries.

The year 1953 has been particularly fruitful from this point of view. We are also awaiting the arrival of a delegation of Japanese scientists who, up till now, have not been able to get permission to leave Japan. Some delegations which visited us this year spent nearly a month in our country and were able to make a serious study, not only of the work of the scientific institutes of Moscow and Leningrad, but also of the research being carried on in the Ukraine, in Armenia, Uzbekistan and other national republics of the Soviet Union.

At this point I may mention the delegation of Italian scientists, the delegation of British scientists led by Professor Bernal and the delegation of Chinese scientists whose chairman was Professor Tsan-Sang Tsian. Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and eminent fighter for Peace, was also a member of this delegation. I would also like to mention the delegation of German scientists led by Professor Friedrich, President of the Berlin Academy of Sciences and member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, who is present here. A delegation of Polish Scientists led by Professor Dembowsky, President of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of Poland and member of the World Council of Peace, also made a long stay in the Soviet Union to carry out studies. We have done our best to give our guests a very complete idea of the orientation of our scientific work, of the condition of scientific institutes in the Soviet Union, of the way in which the plans for scientific research are established, how Soviet scientist co-ordinate their activity and of

the role science plays in the development of the national economy. In this way the joint efforts of scientists of different countries, many of whom are active members of the Peace Movement, have, beyond question, made an advance in the field of relations with Soviet scientists and, I am sure, have created a better mutual understanding. In the future, too, we shall be happy to receive even bigger delegations of foreign scientists, whatever their opinions, and to send Soviet scientists to foreign countries. I note that this year we have sent more delegations of scientists abroad than ever before to take part in scientific Congresses and Conferences and for the more specific purpose of study visits. The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, alone, sent 18 delegations of scientists in 10 months to China, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Japan, Hungary, Poland, Holland, France, Canada, Sweden, Italy and Denmark.

I note too that our scientist have often taken an active part in the work of international conferences. There were, for example, the Congress of Astronomers in Rome, that of the Microbiologists, also in Rome, and the Congress of Biochemists in Paris.

My own personal impression of this experience of international scientific co-operation is a very positive one and I am sure that it is shared by all scientists who have gone as guests to my country.

Moscow University's great new group of buildings with a volume of more than two million cubic metres, was built in three years and opened last Autumn. As Rector of the University at that time I took part in the construction; it has opened up new possibilities of scientific contacts. At the present time the student body of the University of Moscow includes not only young people of a large number of the nationalities of the Soviet Union but also many young people from other countries.

We feel that exchanges of students and young scientists would be useful and desirable and would be an important and successful form of international scientific co-operation. Exchange of publications and, in particular, of periodicals is an extremely important part of scientific co-operation. Under this head all is far from being well. We do not, for example, receive all the American publications we need, since it is not permitted to send them out of the country. We know that, often, reviews sent from our

country do not reach their destination - Great Britain for example. On the other hand, we must obviously increase the size of the editions of certain of our scientific reviews because they are hardly sufficient to meet the home demand. The scientific publications of the Soviet Union, particularly those of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, are sent by way of exchange to 73 countries; the Academy of Sciences spends several million rubles per annum for this purpose. Although books-exchange is being expanded, I must stress that it is altogether insufficient. We must make every effort to put scientific literature at the disposal of scientists.

Everything I have said proves that a certain amount of progress has been made in scientific exchange between East and West, especially in 1953. But all this has not yet attained a level corresponding to the needs of the Peace Movement and of scientific development.

I would ask this authoritative assembly to follow me for a moment into a world of the imagination, a world where negative science, the science that works for destructive ends, no longer exists; a world in which all scientists unite and co-ordinate their efforts to solve the most important and most burning problems of science and its practical application; in which the problems of the elimination of disease, of the conquest of deserts and the waste expanses of the North are being speedily solved; where new, powerful sources of energy are being put at the service of mankind; where the widespread development of automatic processes is freeing man from hard and tiring labour; where underground work is becoming a thing of the past; where automatic factories produce goods without human participation; and where rationally organised agriculture and modern chemistry produce everything needed by the population of the earth. What is this? A page from a novel about the future? The future, yes, if we think of the world as a whole. But that is the reality which Soviet Science is working intensively to achieve. These are the main outlines of the plan of work of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and of the twelve Academies of Science of the Federated Republics. Soviet scientists would be only too happy and ready to join their efforts to those of all scientists working towards the same goal.

The strength of the Peace Movement lies in its breadth. Wide contacts between scientists and co-operation in scientific research are also important factors in the struggle for Peace and must also be developed to the greatest possible extent.

Soviet scientists want to strengthen international scientific co-operation by putting scientific literature at the disposal of all the scientists in the world, by organising scientific collaboration and especially by multiplying personal contacts between scientists, exchanges of delegations, individual visits of scientists and exchanges of young people; in short, by using every method which results in successful contacts in the field of science. We are sure that successful efforts in all these domains would greatly serve the cause of Peace but we are forced to take note of the fact that scientific contacts between East and West are still quite insufficient. This is a vast field of activity for us. The World Council of Peace must not overlook this important part of the struggle for Peace. True, the Council itself is not in a position to go into detail on this question. But it can and must make use of international organisations which are ready to collaborate with it, the World Federation of Scientific Workers for example. The Council must think carefully on concrete ways of improving international scientific contacts, thereby creating a vast front of scientists in opposition to the efforts of the war-mongers.

We Russians have a tender affection for our language and we are proud of its richness. However, in its word treasure there is no special word for the universe. This, in Russian, is synonymous with the words "Peace" and "Light". May these words - "Universe", "Peace" and "Light" - assume one single meaning, not only in the Russian language, but in the life of the peoples.

ILYA EHRENBURG

SPEECH

DELIVERED TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

VIENNA SESSION, NOVEMBER 23rd-28th, 1953

A year ago, in this city, a Congress of the Peoples took place. Much has changed since that time. The forces of Peace have grown but it is too early to celebrate victory; the threat of war has not yet disappeared.

The voices of those who call for another blood-bath have not yet fallen silent. Mr. Dean, the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a statement which the *Daily Herald* described as a piece of criminal folly, proposed to use the atomic weapon against the Soviet Union. The "Commonwealth Club," which is an organisation of American businessmen, approved the idea of "preventive war" and Mr. Wiley, President of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, confirmed that similar views are held by business circles in his country. I wouldn't stress this if Mr. Dean and

these war-minded businessmen were only a small group of fanatics. However, mass circulation newspapers not only publish calls for war but often accompany them with favourable comments. Responsible persons in the USA do not condemn the declarations of Mr. Dean and his ilk; the only reproach they have to make is that these declarations are too vehement. When we compare the behaviour of responsible people in certain States with the seemingly irresponsible appeals to which I have just referred, we have every right to say that here we have a difference of temperament rather than a difference of intention. There is a Russian proverb which says: "*What a wise man keeps in his head, the drunkard has on his tongue.*" I fear that Mr. Dean's militant calls will not hurt Mr. Dulles' feelings.

There is no doubt that of late Mr. Dulles himself and other statesmen have altered their tone. They must have remembered that the English language is rightly considered to be one of the richest and that, as well as the words in which they have too freely indulged such as "containment," "ousting," "cold war," "preventive war," "crusade," atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb, there exist more pleasant ones such as "proposal," "conference" and "negotiation."

How are we to explain such a change of vocabulary? Above all it is due to our joint efforts. The appeal launched at the Budapest session of the World Council of Peace has found support throughout the world and this has caused certain statesmen to alter their tone. Mr. Hamilton writes in the *New York Times*, and I quote: "*The growing neutralism in Western Europe and the demands in the United States for lower taxes, that come very near to being the same thing, seem to leave no alternative but to negotiate with both of the Communist giants.*" This changed tone on the part of certain statesmen would have brought us relief if it had indicated a change in their approach to the problem of Peace and war. However, the New York Times journalist didn't think it necessary to say that those statesmen who, without giving up their former views, are nowadays forced to take public opinion into account, have found another way out by saying one thing and doing another.

Of course we prefer people to be polite and the word "negotiations" sounds much more decent than misplaced praise of different types of bombs. As a writer I am very strict about style but I am not a pedant where words are concerned. Pondering over the chances of war and Peace I take into consider-

ation not only the declaration of this or that statesman, but also the actions that accompany these declarations.

What, then, are the aims of the statesmen who, while extending preparations for another war, setting up new military bases and enlarging their armies, repeat again and again the words: "proposal," "conference," "negotiation," "guarantee?"

In Perrault's fairy tale, known to every child, the wolf, eager to devour the little girl, puts on her grandmother's bonnet. Everyone knows that the Soviet people, although very fond of the colour red, are not at all like the naive Little Red Riding Hood. It is not for the purpose of deceiving the Soviet Union that certain statesmen deliver peaceful tirades—their aim is to calm their own citizens, to prove to the people of Western Europe and America that the increase in taxes, the arms drive and the various military pacts are necessary because of the unwillingness of the other side to respond to their friendly overtures. In other words there is no wolf at all; there is only a patient, kind grandmother and a very naughty Red Riding Hood.

The fact that certain statesmen must now resort to camouflage is eloquent testimony to the strength of the defenders of Peace. But it

would be a great tragedy for all peoples if this camouflage were to weaken their vigilance.

We have in the past supported, and we continue to support the idea of negotiation, for without negotiation no agreement is possible. But if there cannot be agreement without negotiation there can, on the other hand, be negotiation without agreement; there can be proposals for negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of agreement; there can be talks on negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of negotiation. We are now confronted with desperate attempts to deceive millions of Peace-loving people and to veil the feverish preparation for a terrible war with words dear to all friends of Peace.

Everyone agrees that it is necessary to lessen international tension and that there is only one way to do it: negotiations between the Great Powers. Everyone knows, too, that according to the charter of UNO these Great Powers are the United States of America, the USSR, Great Britain, China and France. Who is it then, whilst saying that negotiations are necessary, makes negotiations impossible? Let us take a calm look at the situation. One of the Great Powers, I mean the United States, refuses to negotiate with another Great Power, China. How do American statesmen, who,

while extolling the principle of negotiation, refuse to talk with the Government of the People's Republic of China, justify their position? They say that when the United Nations was founded there was a different Government in China. But can it be said that China has become a less important country than it was under Chiang Kai-shek? No, no one says so. The Americans say that they do not like the Government of Mao Tse Tung, and that's why a conference of the Five Great Powers is impossible. Does the Chinese Government refuse to negotiate, saying that Eisenhower's Government is not to their liking? The Americans say that, since the San Francisco Conference, there has been a change of Government in China. That is true. But do the Chinese refuse to negotiate on the pretext that the Republicans have replaced the Democrats? The Americans stress the fact that the new regime in China was born in battle. But was it not out of battle that the United States itself was born? The Americans refuse to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China, calling it aggressive! As far as I can remember US bombs have often fallen on Chinese towns, but not a single Chinese bomb has fallen upon American towns. Let us however suppose that for many Americans the Chinese

are aggressors. For many others—among them the fairly large population of China—it is the Americans who are the aggressors. Nevertheless the Chinese people do not say that they refuse to negotiate with US representatives because they are aggressors.

Perhaps I shall be accused of being biased. I should like to quote statements emanating from circles which no one could suspect of sympathy for the Soviet Union or for Communism. I shall start with the French Press. "*L'Aurore*" writes: "*Can one speak seriously of peace in Asia without listening to the voice of China?*" "*Paris-Presse l'Intransigeant*" and "*La Croix*" also declare themselves in favour of the participation of the People's Republic of China in negotiations. Several Labour M.P.s, criticising the Government in the House of Commons, stated that without China it would be difficult to lessen international tension. Krishna Menon, India's delegate to the United Nations, has said: "*We must recognise that the Peking Government represents China. It is the real Government of China whether we like it or not. If you want to open talks on disarmament it is no good talking to the Taiwan people. We must talk with people whose words carry weight.*"*

* Retranslation.

Mr. Hatsiro Arita, former Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, says that if the USA wants Peace in Asia, she must reconsider her attitude to the real Government of China.

Similar views are expressed by reasonable people in the USA itself. For example, Mr. Hamilton writes in the *New York Times: "The Western Powers can no longer put off negotiations with Communist China."* *

Nevertheless, the statesmen of the US, although they ceaselessly talk of their peaceful intentions and declare themselves ready to settle all questions at issue by means of negotiation, obstinately refuse to open negotiations between the Five Great Powers. Moreover, these statesmen use all the means at their disposal to prevent the lawful representatives of China from taking their place in the United Nations and hinder the establishment of peaceful relations between China and the countries of Europe, America and Asia.

Let us take another question, for the settlement of which Four Great Powers bear the responsibility: the USA, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. Everyone understands how important it is that the German question be settled if we are to establish a last-

* Retranslation.

ing Peace. Everyone knows that so long as there exists in the heart of Europe a great people split in two—a people who have contributed much to civilisation but who have several times fallen under the influence of warlike ideologies—so long as this situation exists there can be no guarantee of security, either for Germany's neighbours or for the world as a whole. Everyone declares that a united, democratic and Peace-loving Germany must be created. The defenders of Peace have said so many times. Nowadays it is taken up by statesmen who try to pose as adepts in negotiation. Well, what prevents them from negotiating? Perhaps they want to find a picturesque setting for negotiations, or perhaps once more to protest their love for Peace somewhere between Greece and Spain. No, there is something else in question; the desire to reach agreement. You cannot speak of negotiation and at the same time commit acts which render negotiation barren and even deprive it of meaning. You cannot at one and the same time propose agreement on the unification of Germany and then do everything to deepen the division in the country and even to legalise it.

I ask this authoritative gathering to examine impartially the events of recent months. The Soviet Union has concluded no agreement

with the Government of the German Democratic Republic directed against the security of France, Great Britain or the USA. There is no military agreement between the Soviet Union and the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union has not revived a German Army to increase its power, nor has it used German territory to instal either atomic or other types of aggressive bases. For its part, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has carried out a series of political and economic measures which can facilitate the unification of Germany. This Government has never declared that its aim is to liberate the people of Frankfurt-on-Main or of Munich. Its Ministers do not say that they want to change the political or social systems of Denmark or Belgium and that when such changes have taken place they will be ready to discuss the question of the joint administration of the Danish part of Schleswig or the district of Malmédy.

What has the behaviour of the other side been like? It has in every way supported the revenge-seeking elements in Western Germany. It has helped to revive military and paramilitary organisations run by Nazis. It proposed that the Government of West Germany conclude a military treaty directed against one of

the Great Powers which, together with other Great Powers, won the victory over fascism. This other side has turned the territory of Western Germany into an aggressive bridgehead, into an arsenal of atomic and other weapons. The Government of Western Germany, for its part, has openly launched slogans of revenge. It has laid down claims to the territories of States who were allies of the USA, Great Britain and France. The leader of the West German Government has rejected the idea of negotiating with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and has declared that one of his aims is the *"Liberation of the inhabitants of Dresden and of Weimar."* The Ministers of this Government speak of the need to change the political system of Poland and Czechoslovakia. With the tacit approval of the representatives of Great Britain and France, they call upon the citizens of West Germany to recreate divisions which will make it possible to alter existing frontiers. Yet agreements exist between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and between France and the Soviet Union, which can prevent any possible repetition of German aggression. The three occupying Powers and the Government of West Germany are striving to deepen the division between the two parts of Germany thereby mak-

ing impossible the unification of the country.

I shall quote politicians and newspapers whose views usually differ greatly from those of the Soviet Union. The Labour M. P., Gordon Walker, says: *"To persist in organising the European Community and rearming Germany while trying simultaneously to organise talks with Russia is the gravest of errors."** A similar declaration was recently made by Edouard Herriot, the eminent French statesman. Another French politician, M. Daladier, declared that to propose to the Russians the unification of Germany together with the formation of the European Army, means asking them to forget the sacrifices they made in the struggle against invasion. In the United States itself, many people feel embarrassed by this crude camouflage. *"The Wall Street Journal"* writes: *"The creation of the European Army is incompatible with the reunification of Germany. The last thing the Russians would agree to would be the inclusion of East Germany, as well, in a defensive alliance directed against the Soviet Union."**

I shall also quote the words of Mr. Warberg, an American banker, as given in the *"New York Times."* He declared: *"It is quite useless saying that we want to unite Germany while at*

* Retranslation.

*the same time we insist on a German military contribution to Western defence . . . It is absurd to believe that Russia would give up East Germany only to see it swallowed up in the Western Alliance."**

Thus the duplicity of certain statesmen who propose negotiations on the German question, while insisting on the speedy ratification of the Bonn and Paris Agreements, is clear to everyone.

I want to dwell on another question, that of disarmament and the prohibition of those weapons which represent the greatest threat to civilian populations. As is known the Soviet Union has submitted to the United Nations a proposal for a reduction of armaments by the Great Powers, for the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and for the creation of a system of international control to ensure the application of these agreements. By refusing to examine this problem—the most important for all peoples—the representatives of the United States not only oppose public opinion in Western Europe, but also in their own country. When, contrary to what they have been told by their leaders, the citizens of the United States learned that their country did not have a monopoly of the hydrogen

* Retranslation.

bomb, more and more insistent became the voices raised in favour of negotiation with the Soviet Union to ban this weapon of mass extermination. This issue, says the *New York Times*, has become critical since the discovery that the Soviet Union has broken the US monopoly on the production of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Mr. Walter Lippmann wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* that the resistance of the countries of Western Europe to United States policy is completely justified because Europeans fear atomic war, while Washington does nothing to avoid it. "*There*," says Mr. Lippmann, "*is the main reason for the continual growth of anti-American feeling in the world.*"*

Now look at Korea. Here we find the same statesmen using the word negotiation on every occasion, while themselves putting obstacles in the way of negotiations. After having concluded a military treaty with Syngman Rhee on the eve of the armistice they did, and continue to do, everything to prevent the armistice from becoming Peace. They refuse to allow the presence at the Political Conference of a State which has done so much to stop the bloodshed. I mean India, that great Asian State which is directly interested in a peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

* Retranslation.

At the beginning of my speech I pointed out that many statesmen have changed their vocabulary and have begun to speak as if they had studied, or even learned by heart, the Budapest Appeal issued by the World Council of Peace. Since our last Session these statesmen have made a whole series of declarations on the need to lessen international tension. During the same period, however, they have taken measures that can only aggravate international tension. They declared that the time was ripe to conclude agreements but the one they concluded was with the spiritual heir and former ally of Hitler, making of unhappy Spain an armed base for future aggression. They spoke of the need for negotiation while negotiating the transformation into military bases of Scandinavia and various countries of the Near and Middle East. They declared that they were animated by a sincere desire for Peace while they revived the Wehrmacht and brought very strong pressure to bear on the States of Western Europe in order to accelerate the creation of the "European Army."

The British people do not approve of the support given to the revenge-seeking elements of Western Germany nor the conclusion of military agreements with Chiang Kai-shek or

Syngman Rhee. Taking the aspirations of their people into account, certain British statesmen have tried to put forward conciliatory proposals. The leaders of the United States have done everything to prevent these overtures from being followed up and have put forth all their strength to contradict the calendar so that the month of May should usher in Winter instead of Summer. Furthermore, the US leaders constrain their British partners to support the idea of the "European Army." We have even heard a responsible representative of Great Britain trying to convince the French that they should put their faith in the Generals of the Wehrmacht. Certain British Conservatives probably still put their faith in the Channel and while they ask the French to open their door to German divisions, they prefer to keep the Channel to themselves. I must not omit the following avowal made by the *Daily Express:*

"If the French want to ratify the Agreement on the rearmament of Germany, it is their business. It will probably be their funeral too. As for Great Britain, she must not take part in such a mad adventure." * Yet the existence of the Channel is not enough to calm the fears of all the British. *The Evening Standard* writes:

* Retranslation.

*"There are many people in France, in Great Britain and other countries, who think with horror of the day when the desire to reconquer the lost territories in the East will become so strong in Germany as to provoke war."**

In France, the movement of opposition to the ratification of the Agreement, which would mean suicide for the country, has become so broad that we can really call it a national movement. It embraces all social strata and all political groups.

Allow me to make a brief digression of a personal nature. I have lived in France for many years and I love the country. I love her people, her traditions, her literature and her art. She is a country dear to me, and I share her fears. Have I not twice lived through the hours of invasion with her? That is why I would like to remind all Frenchmen — not only those in our movement but all who are haunted by the thought of the ratification of documents which would have terrible consequences for their country — that the history, the traditions and the geographical location of my people have twice brought them to fight alongside the French people against the armies which had invaded our countries. I would also

* Retranslation.

like to remind them that the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which was concluded to prevent a third invasion from ever happening, was ratified in the blood of the best sons of our two countries who fell in the struggle for independance and Peace. I listened with great attention to M. de Chambrun's speech and I can make him the reply that the Soviet people are not in the habit of going back on engagements to which they have pledged themselves. If the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance is observed by the two parties it can become a guarantee of security for our two countries and for the whole of Europe.

The States with an interest in the preservation of Peace are today much stronger than they were nine years ago. They can cause revenge-seekers and aggressors to think again. I believe in France. The people who fought at Valmy and Verdun, the people of the Maquis, will find a way out which is consonant with their traditions and their good sense. Let my words be understood aright; they have their source not in political considerations but in the heart.

Five years ago, a certain French newspaper put the following questions to a number of public figures:

"*What will you do when the Red Army occupies Paris?*" Nowadays some of them who, at that time, took this frivolous question seriously, ask themselves in horror: "*What shall we do when the Wehrmacht occupies Paris again?*" No one, either in France or in the other countries of Western Europe, dares any longer speak of a Soviet threat. Even the US General Gruenther, Commander-in-Chief of the NATO Forces, publicly admitted that, in his opinion, a Soviet attack on Western Europe or on America had no basis in reality. It is a curious admission because General Gruenther's Army was created solely because certain statesmen are, day in and day out, frightening the citizens of many countries by talk of an imminent "Red" attack. Now, all of a sudden, the Supreme Commander of this allegedly defensive army no longer knows against what enemy he is supposed to be defending himself. "Why then," the Italians, the Norwegians, the Icelanders and the Greeks will ask, "must our cities be used as bases by a foreign Power?" "Why then," the French will ask, "must we put ourselves at the mercy of the gentlemen of the Oberkommando?" "Why then," the British will say with a sigh, "should we deprive ourselves of everything

in order to spend our money on Atlantic defence?"

Certain statesmen say that increasing armaments consolidates Peace. But the peoples are not scatter-brained; they have a memory. They know that an armaments drive, the monstrous stock-piling of lethal devices, and sabre rattling have invariably led to catastrophe. Every country still has its eye-witnesses of the First World War, that deadly apotheosis of the "Armed Peace." The number of simpletons is decreasing as rapidly as armaments are increasing. The American paper, the "*Christian Science Monitor*," admits: "*There is a tendency in Europe to explain America's lack of enthusiasm for negotiation by her desire to unleash war.*"*

That is why certain statesmen hypocritically declare their desire for talks while they go on increasing armaments. That is why the wolf in Perrault's tale starches up Granny's bonnet every day.

Realising the need of reassuring public opinion, certain statesmen have begun to speak of "guarantees". One of them had recourse to history and declared himself in favour of "a

* Retranslation.

new Locarno." Locarno is a picturesque place and many tourists retain pleasant memories of it. But the pacts concluded at Locarno have not left happy memories in the minds of the peoples of Europe. Indeed, they helped the German revenge-seekers to rearm, to violate existing agreements with impunity, to annex neighbouring States and to unleash the Second World War.

Can the Atlantic Military bloc guarantee the security of Europe? Would not the renunciation of all military blocs provide a more real guarantee of the security of Europe? Can the European Army guarantee the security of Europe? Would not a Great Power agreement on progressive disarmament provide a more real guarantee of security? Can a European Community, one of whose members is to be a rearmed Western Germany, openly declaring its aims of revenge, give a guarantee of security? Would not the creation of a Government for a united Germany so that there might be no revival of militarism in the country and so that it could not enter into any military coalition—would not this provide a more real guarantee of the security of Europe? Lastly, has a State which has set up a number of military bases in foreign countries and on distant continents,

any right to speak of guarantees of security? Would not an end of the Cold War and the opening of negotiations between the Five Great Powers, sincerely desirous of reaching, on every point, a solution acceptable to all—and without this there can be no settlement of differences, either between individuals or between States—would not this provide a more real guarantee of the security of the whole world? The Soviet Union is ready to open negotiations between the Five Great Powers immediately and to discuss any question whatsoever, raised by any one of the participants in the conference.

We consider that the best guarantee of the security of all States is honest adherence to the principle and the spirit of the United Nations and its Charter. The Soviet Union will do all in its power to diminish international tension.

It is because our task is noble and arduous that I have taken the liberty of claiming so much of this authoritative assembly's time. We are witnessing an attempt to deceive the peoples, to increase international tension once again under cover of the word "negotiation." Once, when we spoke of Peace, the enemies of Peace spoke of war. When we demanded the

prohibition of atomic weapons, they extolled them. When we emphasised the necessity of putting an end to the war in Korea, they replied that they would fight it to the end. When we proposed a pact of Peace, they rejected any suggestion of negotiation. At that time they had as yet no need of camouflage. Now, they speak of negotiation. They hope to gain time, to lull public opinion and then, at the desired moment, breaking off a tirade on Peace in the middle of a word, to recommence openly their Atom Bomb diplomacy and their Hydrogen Bomb policy. They have learned nothing—and forgotten nothing. They have admitted that in the peaceful Isles of Bermuda they will discuss new methods of conducting the Cold War. This will not, of course, prevent them from speaking warmly of Peace. It will not prevent the Three Occupying Powers, who intend to settle the question of Germany's future over the head of the fourth, from still speaking of the unification of that country. It will not prevent the rulers of the USA, who are busy extending their military power and transporting atomic weapons to other continents, from swearing that no one desires Peace as much as they.

The decisions that this Council will take must

shed clarity on the problem of negotiations and agreements. They must contribute to the easing of international tension and must be acceptable to all Peace-loving men whatever their views, to the patriots of all nations, be they American or Chinese, British or Russian, German or French. The peoples await our decisions; they know that to-day the statesmen of all countries must reckon with us.

We have already caused many of them to alter their talk and to speak of Peace. We shall likewise cause them to act in a new way —to make Peace.

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PROFESSOR
FREDERIC
JOLIOT-CURIE

OPENING ADDRESS

VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD
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I should like to begin by thanking President Brandweiner for his greetings addressed to us on behalf of the Austrian Peace Committee, and I also take this occasion to thank our Austrian friends and the staff of the World Council who have again zealously devoted themselves to the technical preparation of our work.

I greet the personalities who have responded to our invitation as well as all the World Council members who have come from so many countries to take part in the work of this session. I would also like to thank the many gentlemen of the Press who have come here.

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Friends, we are met once again to examine the development of the struggle for Peace in all countries and to find, by a study of the pre-

sent situation, new means of making this struggle still more successful and unanimous.

In opening this session I am profoundly conscious of the value of the ties uniting us, ties which have their origin in a unanimous desire for Peace and which are being constantly strengthened in the course of a struggle which is often hard but always inspiring. We have always striven, with a deep sense of our responsibilities to the noblest aspirations of the peoples, to develop, by correct and effective action, a great world movement to ensure Peace.

The hopes for Peace of the most diverse social strata throughout the world are expressed in all sincerity and with all clarity from the platform of the World Council and from that of the great congresses called by the Council. Thus we become acquainted with the difficulties encountered and the victories won in each country by all those who fight for Peace, and it is during these meetings that the close relationship which exists between the problems peculiar to the nations and to the great regions of the world appears most clearly. During these meetings the exact line of action emerges, a realistic line evolving in relation to present world conditions.

All peoples are faced with common responsibilities for changing the trend of international events in a direction favourable to Peace, while certain peoples are faced with particular responsibilities. These common responsibilities lead to common action, the purpose of which is to tackle the general causes of the situation which are the link between the specific problems confronting various parts of the world.

Our great campaigns around the Stockholm Appeal, the Appeal for negotiation between the Five Great Powers, our resolution on disarmament and, most recently, around the Budapest Appeal for settling differences by genuine negotiation, are actions of this kind. The international situation, following upon the events of the past few months, has made it plain that in addition to common responsibilities certain nations and their national movements have special responsibilities of great importance. These require immediate action, the success of which can be decisive for the maintenance and consolidation of Peace. The activity of the countries bordering on Germany against the European Defence Community or any other method of rearming a militarist Germany, the activity in the countries of Asia and lands that have an interest in the solution of

the Korean problem, the end of the war in Viet-Nam, all these are activities which, in the struggle for Peace, place special national responsibilities in the forefront of the situation. But how encouraging it is for those who thus find themselves at the crucial points of the struggle to have the knowledge that they are not alone and that their efforts are followed and supported by all who fight in the same great cause in every country in the world. This solidarity, which we have cemented between men and women of widely differing opinions and which we must continually strengthen, is the guarantee of our success.

We have in the past co-operated—and we intend to continue in this way—with all organised forces working for Peace. We want to extend our activity and multiply our contacts. The vital importance of the problems at stake demands that we do not go into the struggle with our ranks thinned.

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It is a fact recognised by everyone today that public opinion is a dominant factor in the conduct of international affairs. This extremely important fact is, for the most part, the result of our action. Has not the aim of this

action been, since the inception of the World Peace Movement, to arouse in every human being a keener and more effective realisation of the problems of Peace? This in order to create a universal awareness powerful enough to put up a vigorous opposition to war.

This places a great responsibility upon us because as soon as public opinion becomes a dominant factor it is besieged from all quarters—sometimes with the object of dragging it along the most dangerous courses. Indeed, it is often difficult for many honest people—engrossed in the work and worry of daily life—to make a correct analysis of the international situation, to see where the responsibility lies and to work out their own line of action. Those seeking to carry out a policy of strength exploit these difficulties in order to mislead the public. One of our principal tasks is to enlighten opinion by correct and convincing arguments based on an objective study of the facts.

We have to deal with a strong opponent, with the perfected weapons of the cold war of the kind used with consummate skill by the "Psychological Strategic Office." We must erect a permanent wall against the lies and the manoeuvres.

Recent events provide good examples of the

nature and variety of the manoeuvres set afoot to delay and prevent negotiation. They enable us to perceive that certain proposals for negotiation can be put forward with aims that are very different from those which the peoples so ardently desire—that is to say, a sincere search for agreed solutions acceptable to all. As we see it, the only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace.

The aim of dividing the world permanently into two hostile blocs tied to the arms race which is ruining the peoples, is today clashing with the desire for negotiation. It is therefore convenient for those who find the fulfilment of their ambition to dominate obstructed by this desire for negotiation, not to make a frontal attack but, by exploiting this desire, to try and show that negotiation is impossible. They claim that they want to negotiate, but do not wish to carry this negotiation through except under conditions which make failure inevitable, thereby creating a situation more conducive to the use of force. The peoples see in negotiation a means of reducing and, later, of eliminating international tension, a means of stopping armed conflicts, of settling differences and of making possible the organisation of disarmament. There are others who wish,

through negotiations undertaken with the deliberate intention of wrecking them, to dash the hopes of the peoples and remove the last obstacles which prevent them from cutting the world in two and thereby engendering war.

The main object of the manoeuvres carried out over the last months is to create utter disillusionment among the people who, since the Korean armistice, placed such high hopes on the success of future negotiation. Furthermore, knowing and fearing the great forces which the Budapest Appeal can bring into action, those who oppose an easing of international tension aimed at making the disillusioned public place responsibility for the failure. These manœuvres, which are—to put it briefly—intended to gain wide support for a tough policy, will disappoint those who instigated them. The hopes born of the successful action to stop the war in Korea cannot easily be destroyed. Aware of the dangers, have we not already put people on their guard against such manoeuvres by making known the resolution passed by our Bureau here in Vienna last September? By perservering in this way, so that none may fall into the dangerous traps which have in the past been set and which will continue to be set for the people, we shall succeed

in making this great hope—honest negotiation —a reality. Negotiation undertaken in good faith should permit successful settlement of the main differences. All the problems cannot be studied simultaneously, but it must be clearly understood that the solutions adopted for each one of them are not independent of each other and that, in consequence, it is inadmissible that, prior to the consideration of a question, a predetermined solution to another question should have been arrived at by an intransigent group of Powers.

It is nevertheless in such a manner that we have seen the Western Powers proposing a Conference for the solution of the German problem after prior tri-partite conferences had laid down conditions accepted by Chancellor Adenauer and which envisaged, in one way or another, a rearmed Germany which would be drawn into the Atlantic coalition.

The problems of the Political Conference in Korea and those relative to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament are the object of similar manoeuvres.

A menace well-known to Germany's neighbours is reappearing in Central Europe, the menace of German militarism.

All the renewed assertions of the "defens-

ive" character of the coalition in which they want the German militarists to participate, crumble before the fact that the present rulers of Bonn Germany, upheld and encouraged by the US Government, have already put forward territorial claims. The Bonn Parliament, on December 6th 1952, passed the following resolution:

"The Government is instructed to inform the parties to the European Army Treaty that the present frontiers of Germany, both in the East and in the West, in no way satisfy the Federal Republic."

Shortly after the elections, Chancellor Adenauer stated:

"This Europe will come about. When we have achieved it, then we shall give our young people what they need—more room for their expansion."

It is clear that the rearmament of militarist Germany is a part of the United States' policy of peripheral strategy. A rearmed Western Germany, out for revenge, is regarded as a first class strategic base. It becomes increasingly evident to the people of the Western countries bordering on Germany, that their own safety will be jeopardised if these projects are carried through, for such a Germany may well

be tempted, as in the past, to start expanding in their direction. This whole aggressive policy is put forward under the cover of defence, whereas actually it compromises the security of the world. It attempts to ignore the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties. It wipes out the Potsdam Agreement of which the fundamental principles would permit the conclusion of a treaty between the Four Great Powers creating a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. All peoples have some responsibility for eliminating the danger of a rearmed, militarist Germany, but Germany's neighbour States bear a particularly heavy responsibility.

Never, perhaps, have so many dishonest tricks been employed to sow confusion in the minds of the people. For example, relative to the proposal of the Soviet Union for a Four Power Conference, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressing the Council of the Republic on October 29th 1953, declared:

"We are still hoping for this Conference in which the Soviet Union can raise all the problems she wishes, in particular, the question of security. She will speak of hers. We shall speak of ours."

We should agree if, in the sentence just before, he had not spoilt in advance all the hopes

placed in such a conference, by declaring emphatically:

"The European Defence Community and the Big Four Conference are complementary."

How can one qualify as complementary a Conference in which everyone may raise all the problems they wish, and a Treaty which sets up an armed force which cannot but be aggressive since it has already, in advance, been associated with territorial demands which, as everyone knows, can only be met through war —a Treaty rendering impossible the unification of Germany?

Addressing my fellow-countrymen, as President of the World Council of Peace, during the session of the National Council of the French Peace Movement, and sure that I was expressing your sentiments, I declared:

"At the present time, it is within the power of the French people to change the course of events in favour of Peace. And this is understood in all countries. The campaign which you are undertaking will be followed throughout the world with interest and hope . . . Be confident, we are not alone—the peoples of all countries expect much from the French people and are putting their confidence in us."

I have dealt at length with the rôle of

France because circumstances, recent history and treaties in force place her in a strong position to put a decisive check on the race to war. But a great responsibility in this matter is also borne by the other neighbours of Germany; we follow their activities with the same attention and support them with the same strength and confidence.

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The events in Asia, and particularly those in Korea, are a source of deep concern to the people of the whole world. An analysis of these events since hostilities broke out reveals that those who deemed it necessary to intervene in the internal affairs of the Korean people, believed themselves strong enough to impose victory by force of arms.

First of all they opposed the ending of hostilities and refused to allow the United Nations to examine the situation with the two Korean sides present. It was a great victory for the forces of Peace that they succeeded at last in bringing hostilities to an end by making the spirit of negotiation prevail.

Negotiation between Americans, Chinese and Koreans was proved to be possible and resulted in an armistice agreement. This is a fact

of very great significance and it made a big contribution to the relaxation of international tension. But other facts—such as the behaviour of Syngman Rhee during the armistice talks and the conclusion of separate agreements between him and the United States and the sixteen Powers who took part in the Korean war under US Command—were fraught with future difficulties. These acts could only impede the future negotiations and in point of fact we have since seen manoeuvres similar to those we condemned in relation to the German problem.

The forces that fear the relaxation of international tension use the most diverse methods to prevent the holding of the Political Conference. The preliminary conference is continually coming up against difficulties.

The Korean and Chinese delegates have just proposed a new plan which tends to avoid "tough" policies at the conference table by bringing into the Political Conference neutral countries like the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma. This plan corresponds to the peoples' conception of negotiations and should be accepted by all the parties; pressure is being exerted to wreck it.

Does not Dulles threaten to disregard the

armistice agreements regarding the liberation of prisoners if, after a certain date, the proposals of the mechanical majority at UNO for the composition of the Political Conference are not accepted as they stand by the Koreans and Chinese?

Those opposed to the relaxation of international tension act in a similar way wherever there is a question of negotiation involved. Though they are in a minority, they are still supported by many honest people and manage, what is more, to create confusion in others, thus rendering them powerless to act. It is all these honest people that we must convince. It would be vain to approach the minority directing this policy.

It is in striving to convince the honest people who support this "tough" policy, that we shall help to throw it overboard. Our immediate task is to call on the people to be vigilant so that hostilities may not be renewed in Korea and that the Political Conference may find a peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

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There is another problem, of vital importance for the whole of humanity. It is the prob-

lem of the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and disarmament. Few questions have been the subject of so much discussion and negotiation since the end of the Second World War.

On each occasion the World Council has considered the problem with the greatest attention and we know the impressive demonstration of approval given to the Stockholm Appeal by the people of the whole world. The desire to ban weapons of mass extermination has become even stronger since then.

We know the great response that was given by public opinion to our proposals on the disarmament problem, and also by certain delegations to the General Assembly of UNO in 1950 and 1951.

While certain progress has been made towards the solution of this problem it must be recognised that today there is still a clash of ideas and that no effective decision has been reached up to now by the UN Disarmament Commission.

The same arguments are always put forward in order to make banning of atomic weapons impossible. In the most recent proposals put forward at UNO—those of the former French

Minister Jules Moch—is repeated the fundamental contradiction of the Baruch Plan which stipulates that agreement on the ban should be preceded by a disclosure of all military forces and all atomic installations.

How can we believe in the sincerity of those who ask nations to reveal their defences and industrial structure in their entirety, without the others and themselves having first renounced the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons? The only measure of this kind put forward in the French representative's plan is the prior banning of the use of chemical and biological weapons, though this ban, as laid down in the Geneva Protocol, has already been accepted by all the Powers, so far as chemical weapons are concerned, and by all the Powers except the United States, in the case of biological weapons.

Why not put forward the same proposal of prior banning in the case of atomic weapons? At the time of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, I tried to give an argument for it derived from the United States' stubborness in upholding the article in the Baruch plan which provides for the creation of an international authority which would own uranium deposits and atomic installations.

Confident of a mechanical majority in their favour, the proponents of this plan insist that the decisions of this authority be taken by a simple majority vote; this would mean giving them a *de facto* monopoly of all atomic, industrial and economic activity in the world. Opposed to these designs are the proposals which demand a convention forbidding the use of these weapons and enjoining the organisation of an efficient system of control.

To object to these latter proposals would mean supposing that the signatories to the convention are not sincere in their desire to prohibit these weapons.

It would amount to an *a priori* decision that the signatures of States are worthless. So why should we attach so much importance to the signature by States of agreements, protocols or treaties?

The Baruch Plan or any similar plan, when dealing both with weapons of mass destruction and disarmament, provides, as I have just said, for a prior census and control without the nations pledging to reduce their armaments. Let us take a census, let us control, and then we shall see! That is the meaning of this plan. It is clear that in this taut international situation such a disclosure, without any other undertak-

ing, is unacceptable, as it might increase the feeling of insecurity and would, in any case, be an encouragement for the policy of strength.

In this matter, I am, unfortunately, not sure that sufficient men and women are aware of the dangers threatening them. How can one be indifferent to the dangers of the atom bomb and the H-bomb? How can one work peacefully and draw up plans for the future without anxiety when around us pile up weapons capable of killing scores of millions of people in a few hours? I whole-heartedly support the proposal made to you to re-examine this problem, largely perhaps, because I am a scientist and realise the terrible dangers threatening humanity.

It is because, like most of my colleagues, I love science and know that it may bring happiness to mankind, that I would like, as soon as possible, to abolish the saying—"Science is leading us to destruction with its A-bombs and H-bombs"—so that we may work without fear and regain the pleasure of giving the world the inestimable benefits of science. I shall never weary of repeating it.

An analysis of the principal events characterising the world situation tends to show how difficult it is to obtain solutions to particular

problems in an atmosphere of great international tension.

There are a number of reasons for this tension. I will raise here one which is I think important and which is the result of the frequently incorrect ideas held by certain people concerning the intentions of those whom they call "the enemy."

In order to carry out a policy which will protect their privileges, they deliberately attribute to this "enemy" intentions which they know to be false, in the hope that they will be accepted as true by many honest people. This policy leads large sections of the peoples to permit manoeuvres which, by all the evidence, cannot lead to any peaceful solution but will only increase international tension.

We must make it understood that it is as vain and dangerous to base judgements on intentions which are usually imaginary as it is wise to base them on facts. The scattering of strategic bases throughout the world, the supremacy which has been given back to the most aggressive forces in Germany and Japan, the support given to adventurers like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, are facts which enable all honest, sensible men to judge and decide on the proper course to take.

For decades people have been kept in a state of confusion and there is a danger that they may allow themselves to be carried away by the "crusading spirit." I should like to be able to speak directly to all these people and to say to them: "*You support such and such a regime; you believe—so often has it been dinned into you—that someone wants to conquer you and force you to give up your way of life; that negotiation with the Russians will only be possible if they change their regime; and with the Chinese, only if they call back the Marshal of Formosa.*"

Do you think it would be reasonable to say that there can be no negotiation with the Americans unless they abolish capitalism? Do you think that Peace will only be established when all men have adopted your convictions? If this is not so, then should we not seek the means of bringing about a relaxation of international tension together with people as they are and in the world as it is today?

Is not a meeting between the representatives of the Five Great Powers (USA, USSR, Great Britain, People's Republic of China and France), since they bear the heaviest responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation

of Peace, the best way of bringing about an easing of international tension?

Let the representatives of the Great Powers meet, let them exchange views on their interests, their fears and the problems which divide the world in general, thereby dispelling mistrust and clearing the atmosphere.

Though such a meeting might not necessarily reach definite solutions on any particular problem, it would have the great advantage of creating conditions favourable to successful negotiations on particular problems. Seen in this light, a meeting between the Five Great Powers would have, as we know, the support of many millions of men. It would restore to UNO the possibility of fulfilling its mission and of successfully bringing about disarmament.

In my opinion one of the essential tasks of our session will be to find the best way of bringing about this very necessary meeting.

In this *exposé* I have tried, by an examination of the most important immediate problems, to show that the objective we must attain in order to solve these and many other problems is the relaxation of international tension.

Further, do you not think that during the

Session we should examine the best way of bringing about a world gathering for Peace in 1954 and the measures and steps to be taken? It would bring together qualified representatives of the most diverse political trends and religious creeds, from all walks of life and from every country. This gathering should have a single aim and, for myself, I would propose that it should be the relaxation of international tension.

We are aware that at this point in the evolution of the international situation the present session of the World Council of Peace assumes especially great importance. I am certain that our work and the conclusions we shall reach will have outstanding results commensurate with the events preoccupying the whole of mankind.

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SPEECH OF METROPOLITAN NIKOLAI of USSR

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Nov. 23-28, 1953 Vienna, Austria

Dear Friends, defenders of peace:

We have again arrived at this large gathering of the World Council of Peace to discuss what future action must be taken for reaching a peaceful settlement of those international questions which are causing universal anxiety.

Before making my contribution in defence of peace, I would like to give you the warmest greetings of the Russian Orthodox Church. This church, together with all our peoples, is striving for universal peace and firmly believes that there will not be a single Christian who would ignore his duty of reconciling the peoples to serve the glory of this ideal of our religion.

It is with great satisfaction that we can say that the blood-shed in Korea, which for three years has caused world wide indignation, has stopped. This was not fortuitous nor because the adversaries were exhausted; it was because millions of decent people willed it.

For the first time for many years, the idea of negotiation, of agreement, was borne on wings through the world like a refreshing wind, everywhere inspiring men to hope for peace.

And now, when the armistice in Korea has been signed, we can rejoice at the calmness of the Korean sky. We are glad to see that at last the Korean people can heave a sign, bringing relief to the tortured souls of those people who have suffered so much.

We Christians, as well as all other peace-loving peoples of the world, are greatly inspired by this important international event, since it is the first and the most significant result of the struggle of the peoples for peace, the first and eloquent proof of the strength of world public opinion when it becomes a weapon of moral value.

Now the whole world with unceasing attention waits for the conditions of the armistice to be carried out and for the opening of the negotiations for a stable peace in Korea.

Everybody knows the difficulties and the obstacles which are being put in the way of these negotiations. Evil forces continue their destructive work. Their aim is to insure that negotiations are not successful, and to break up the armistice talks.

But we, dear friends, see the danger, and we never relax in our efforts to struggle against it. In the course of the world campaign which sprang up on the basis of the Budapest Appeal of the World Council of Peace, our forces are growing in number as well as in the understanding of the vital necessity of the negotiations on the Korean, as well as on other questions. They must condemn all violations of the armistice conditions and demand the opening of negotiations capable of insuring a lasting peace in the Far East and throughout Asia.

We must do everything possible to see that world public opinion plays an active part in these negotiations by demanding a peaceful reunification of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country. It is necessary that all Christian churches and religious organizations in the U.S.A. express their attitude on this question and thus help the American people to make their Government accept the principle that the Korean people have the right of self-determination.

While striving for the opening of negotiations on the Korean question, we must also bear in mind that there is still another unsolved question, the division of Germany.

It goes without saying that there cannot be two decisions for the settlement of the German problem, both equally correct and equally useful for peace in Europe. There is only one way possible to settle the German question and it must be in the interests of the German people, as well as for security of her neighbors.

The vital interests of the German people are obvious to everybody--they are the unity of Germany and the possibility of free cultural and economic development. And the interests of Germany's neighbors are that she should not be rearmed and that she should live with her neighbors in peace.

As a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, I cannot keep silent about the great responsibility which Western Christians bear as far as the state of affairs in Europe is concerned. The participation of Christian political parties in the governments of France, Western Germany and other countries only makes this responsibility greater. We must frankly say: if the Catholics and Protestants of West European countries understand the seriousness of the situation--and we sincerely call upon them to understand it--they may bring about a complete change in public opinion in favor of impartial negotiation on the German question, of a meeting of the heads of the Five Great Powers, which is essential for easing international tension and about which our dear President spoke so forcefully.

Dear friends, the task of our movement at the present time is to make the Governments of the interested countries undertake negotiations, and this may be achieved by moral, political and economic arguments on the part of public opinion.

If war is really to be avoided it is possible to settle any international problem through negotiation, including that of Austria, Trieste and a number of others. But it is necessary that this readiness to negotiate should be the reflection of good intentions, not an attempt to gain time for the preparation of a new war. Otherwise, any international dispute, no matter how small, may be the cause of a third world war.

World War "...In our days"! Our imagination reels at the thought of its horror and devastation. The swiftness of supersonic plans, the power of hydrogen bombs destroying everything over vast areas. What a wretched fate man is preparing for himself! What will be his future if he brings into operation all these fantastic weapons of mass destruction? Only one thing is clear--that in our time, war is not a contest, a duel which ends in the victory of one side, but total annihilation. The physical and moral results of this destruction will leave on the earth only a few miserable individuals plunged into the darkness of a new barbarity and a return to savagery.

We must not lose sight of this for a moment if we want to overcome the threat of war. The frightful cruelty of war must be one of our principal arguments against that dangerous game the armaments race. Its senselessness must provide us with arguments for refuting the arguments of the supporters of the policy of force.

I cannot be silent about another common duty--that of indefatigably and despite all difficulties and obstacles--struggling against the idea of hydrogen, atomic and other weapons of mass destruction being used, the duty of drawing the peoples into the struggle against this nightmare, and encouraging them to resist those aggressive circles which are rattling their sabres.

Only by unanimous pressure of the peoples upon their Governments is it possible to prevent the catastrophe right away and start negotiations immediately on the controlled prohibition of the hydrogent bomb and other means of mass destruction and on the reduction of armaments.

The first step in this respect will at once ease world tension and make our future brighter.

Let the protests and demands, efforts and prayers, appeals and hopes of all decent people assault the fortress of war in wave after wave and undermine its strength. The success of this assault will become evident at the moment when the Governments of the Great Powers find themselves confronted with the necessity of embarking upon the path of the peaceful settlement of international disputes!

Everybody must take part in the struggle for this great cause and especially Christians.

Speaking here as a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, I want to focus your attention on the task of drawing religious people into our common cause.

Many representatives of different religious were present at the Vienna Congress of the Peoples and the Budapest Session. The innumerable people present at the Vienna Congress and the speeches made there proved that the camp of Peace is becoming ever stronger with the growing activity of religious denominations and organisations. By taking part in the struggle for peace, the fo l-lowers of Islam, Buddha and other religions of Asia and Africa constitute an enormous force of resistance to war.

The Christian movement in defense of peace is also growing. More and more Christians holding different opinions are coming to the only correct conclusion--the necessity to struggle for international peace, together with all peoples and not alongside the partisans of war.

Mr. Garbett, Archbishop of York--influential representative of the Anglican Church--has expressed his Christian solidarity concerning the main questions of war and peace. In his September message "War Or Peace" he pointed to the necessity of finding a modus vivendi among the peoples of different ideologies and declared that China's admission to UNO would ease world tension. He also supported the idea of co-existence.

There is no doubt that in the urgent solution of the Korean and German problems and in the struggle against weapons of mass destruction, great influence

can be exercised by those Christian circles which have not yet been active in the defense of peace. Many Western Christians are still suspicious or even hostile with regard to this problem and we have to work very hard to stir their Christian conscience.

I am inspired by this thought as a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, which has many times appealed to Western Christians. And now, once again I offer them the hand of friendship and plead with them. In the face of this terrible danger we must try to understand each other as well as we can and paint a picture worthy of our faith, a picture of love, of Peace and the image of Christ.

We must prove our Christian belief by deeds and, of course, by defending peace, which is simple and can be won by the peoples of the world.

Our faith and our duty oblige us to be the first builders of peace and at present our main task is to confront the Governments of the Great Powers with the fact of Christian unity as far as the condemnation of war is concerned and the causes of war.

35-55.12

We must not distort the idea of peace by our fears and suspicions. We must/become discouraged by having doubts in the possibility of this peace! not

Quite the contrary, in the peace for which we are struggling today, there must be no disbelief, no insincerity; we must strengthen it by mutual understanding and friendship, and give it the warmth of our Christian feelings, so that it may be the continuation of the Peace of Christ, which we Christians preach.

I want to say that my Western brothers must broaden their views concerning the possibility of the peoples becoming reconciled and I sincerely call upon them to strengthen this possibility by their faith, their sermons, their influence!

We Christians, all believe in Peace eternal, but at the same time we want to live in peace here on earth--and not only within our countries but to enjoy social and international peace as well.

Why is it that some of us still continue to delay the possibility of reconciliation between opposing sides? Why do they consider this to be some unrealizable and utopian dream?

This is first of all because they themselves hinder reconciliation, being in practice adherents of the policy of force and intimidation, the very policy which leads to a war.

Fear and misbelief lead them to think that peace will not be possible until one side voluntarily surrenders to the other, or is forced to do so.

What weakness and despair is inherent in this concept of international peace, which leads us to X "peace through war." Can religious conscience agree with this old pagan principle?

We, Christians, believe that the question of war and peace is in the hands of God. But as there is no war, peace in a sense is in our hands. That means that we may keep, strengthen and preserve peace and as far as we can serve this sacred cause.

We Christians are children of freedom and that is why we cannot preach peace dictated by the will of the conqueror as such peace means physical and spiritual slavery.

Neither can we see peace worthy of us in the so-called balance of power as it is always violated by the desire for domination. Such a peace means the armaments drive which is ruining people.

Conscious of our moral dignity we must improve and perfect international peace and raise it to a higher level. That is why we want peace based upon the friendship between peoples, on the mutual respect of each others freedom, on the recognition of national sovereignty.

The Vienna Congress has shown that such peace is possible between the peoples living under the most varied of human organisations of the family of mankind. It is really for this peace that we, the defenders of peace, are striving at the present time. That is why Christianity marches shoulder to shoulder with the movement of the peoples in defense of peace.

We consider our participation in the struggle for peace is our Christian mission. We believe that the participation of Christians in the struggle for peace is a pledge of better times; it is a search for Christ; it is our Christian duty.

25-55/3

Such is the position of the Russian Orthodox Church as well as all other Christian churches, groups and individuals who are joining their efforts and prayers for the defense of international peace. This is a position of solidarity with all the peoples who are hungering for peace, and those Western Christians who consider the participation of our church in the struggle for peace to be participation in political actions are absolutely wrong.

Defending peace together with the peoples we defend not a certain political line or system, but the right of the people for life and the possibility of peaceful co-existence of the peoples, no matter to what system they belong.

In the struggle for peace the precepts of the gospel are above all political convictions and by our unity we try to secure the continuation of Christ's cause among the peaceful peoples. We want to ensure that the voice of the gospel which exposes the evil doers and encourages the good to reach out to the hearts and minds of the greatest number of people possible. To be brief the Christian Church in no way justifies the refusal to take part in our struggle for peace. And faithful to Christian ideals we must all unite in this conviction to help humanity out of the vicious circle of tragic contradictions and embark upon a straight and morally clear path of friendship and mutual help. The way of it lies in the peaceful settlement by all possible means of the international questions at issue which today give rise to tension in the relations between different countries; it lies in negotiations to achieve this settlement; in a meeting of the Five Great Powers.

While negotiating it will be easier to find out the needs and goodwill of each party. Negotiations may result in mutual understanding and they may show the need of mutual concessions.

The idea of negotiations is in complete harmony with the Christian conscience, although it is a political idea. But if our religion keeps apart from politics, it cannot be morally indifferent to politics. Such is the situation

in this case. We see in it the free recognition of the moral value of international peace.

The idea of negotiation corresponds to the Christian idea according to which war can neither be a means of obtaining justice nor can it be a means of proving the right of this or that system.

We see in negotiations a synthesis of political and moral expediency, a reliable regulator of international relations, a guarantee of the security of the peoples, respect for their full freedom and independence.

The Russian Orthodox Church, which I represent here, wholeheartedly approves and supports with all our people the idea of peaceful settlement of all international problems, the idea of impartial negotiations, the idea of a meeting between the representatives of the Five Great Powers. I call upon my brother Christians, of Europe, America and of the whole world; Brother Christians: We are capable of helping the peoples and the governments by our unity and our solidarity, of taking further steps for better understanding, of trusting each other, of trying to accept our mutual interests!

Brother Christians, let us set aside all doubts, let us organize a holy union of all Christian forces so that thanks to our joint action the spirit of peace may triumph over the spirit of force.

For this purpose we, the Christian member of the movement, must persistently unite our brothers in the West and convince them that our religion by raising man to a higher moral level will not lead the people along a road strewn with corpses. Let Christianity oppose the betrayal of confidence between the people, oppose the murder of innocent old men, women and children, oppose wars of aggression, oppose hydrogen and atomic bombs, which would destroy people, cities, fields and civilisation.

This of course is only part of a broader task of the movement--that is to establish and enlarge our ties, but this is a very important and difficult task. To this is linked the success of the future enlargement of the ranks of peace supporters to include broad masses of all followers of religion throughout the world. This will enable a new spirit to be spread abroad in the human family.

It is impossible to forget that the solidarity of hundreds of millions of Christians, in the cause of defending peace, is not a moral abstraction but a huge force of moral resistance to war, and it would be difficult not reckon with such a fact. Moreover, many millions of Moslems, Buddhists, and Jews march shoulder to shoulder with Christians.

I ardently call upon all Christians and people of all other religions: Let us be united in the sacred cause of defending peace and in the struggle against the aggressive actions of the enemies of peace.

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Dear friends, no matter how difficult is the task with which we are confronted, the task of struggling against the spirit of violence and hatred, we shall not cease to call upon the people to be confident, to reach mutual understanding, to prevent the bitter cry of Jeremiah from again being heard in our towns and villages, and to prevent our land from becoming a desert.

25-55-141

The mountain avalanch will destroy all obstacles. The storm sinks ships of all nations. The wood-fire destroys everything in its way. The flood submerges the low-laying lands irrespective of borders. We must close and wall-up the opening to the cave from which the terrible monster of war glowers at the world, ready to spring.

I believe that we shall make good decisions, since to understand the situation clearly means to act correctly.

Dear friends, dear brothers, as a servant of the Church I call for God's blessing on our efforts and I believe that God, as the God of Truth and Peace will crown our efforts with the victory of peace over the forces of war and destruction.

During the whole history of mankind great minds and noble hearts have sought ways to human happiness. Let us once again repeat their motto without which all the ways to happiness are closed.

LONG LIVE PEACE!

25-55, 15

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
(Vienna Session, 23rd-28th November 1953)

STATEMENT BY THE SCIENTISTS AT THE MEETING OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The scientists present at this session of the World Council of Peace, knowing the terrible power of destruction of weapons of mass extermination, call upon their colleagues throughout the world to take energetic action for the prohibition of these weapons.

They call upon them to support the effortsof all those who want science no longer to be used for destructive ends but put at the service of mankind.

Vienna, 28th November 1953

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
(Vienna Session, 23rd-28th November 1953)

RECOMMENDATION OF THE CULTURAL COMMISSION.

The last session of the World Council of Peace correctly demonstrated the need and the possibility of widely developing cultural exchanges, a valuable factor in achieving and consolidating a relaxation of international tension.

We are happy to see that in spite of the still too numerous obstacles, appreciable results have been obtained since then.

At the same time, we repeat that many greater successes could be achieved at present. Vast prospects will open up if every organisation and every human being interested in the culture of their own country, as well as world culture, decide to enter into contact and work for fruitful international relations on the basis of reciprocity.

The full support of the Peace Movement is assured for the various activities already achieved or planned, such as : visits ; exchanges of delegations, works of art, literary and scientific publications ; international exhibitions, congresses and the meetings and interchange of scientists, intellectuals, artists and sportsmen.

We call on every organisation and person interested in the development of cultural relations between the peoples. We appeal to them to increase such activities and to secure co-operation on a still wider basis so that this work will be even more effective.

Vienna, November 28th 1953

[World Peace Council]

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHO DESIRE A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent scientific, religious and political authorities are condemning the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All people of good sense realise that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee fulfilment of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most West European countries have made a public stand against the rebirth of German militarism in any form.

In these conditions, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. The resolution, passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953 is an expression of our point of view on this matter.

The joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the examination of possible solutions is now necessary.

A meeting of this nature, to be held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

World Council of Peace

(Vienna Session, 23rd—28th November 1953)

The General Resolution of the World Council of Peace

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

The end of hostilities in Korea was a victory for the cause of Peace.

The latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding in the near future of a Four Power Conference on the German question is possible.

The idea of ending hostilities and reaching a peaceful solution in Indochina is making progress both in France and in Viet-Nam.

But forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. Negotiations cannot be realised if one party is confronted by the other with accomplished facts; the desire for negotiation cannot be present if conditions are created to make if fail.

In Asia and in Europe, there are situations and conflicts which are especially endangering World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The intention to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests, could cause the failure of negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the quickest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers — the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into the war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the Treaties concerning the European Army and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to agreement on the German problem between the Four Powers, thereby offering the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and giving to all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

For the last seven years there has been war between France and Viet Nam which can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegazion made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for a settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always affirmed that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitutes a threat both to the peoples independence and to Peace.

Such a policy is also being developed in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. It shows itself in Europe, particularly by the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain, in Asia by the foreign occupation and the intensification of the rearmament of Japan, and in Pakistan where the United States is trying to set up military bases. This latest effort threatens to create a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments race and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction impose an intolerable burden on the world and constitute a frightful menace.

The World Council of Peace, has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters, and hopes that steps will be taken to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control.

The World Council of Peace finally emphasises that, whilst negotiation is necessary on each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

This Conference would be able, on the initiative of each of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension, and could seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference This refusal is contrary to the interests of all states and is judged more and more severely by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about lasting peace. The peoples should strive to ensure respect for the Charter. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations to develop their economic resources, their wellbeing and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the poverty and the difficulties of everyday life imposed upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments race, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

World Council of Peace

(Vienna Session, 23rd-28th November 1953).

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION CULTUREL

EDITE PAR LE SECRETARIAT DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

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Pour aider à établir et à renforcer la détente internationale

Les peuples veulent développer et élargir les échanges culturels

Ces derniers mois, un symptôme prometteur et encourageant s'est peu à peu affirmé: les relations culturelles à l'échelle internationale commencent à se rétablir, par-dessus les frontières géographiques et idéologiques. Il est certain qu'il ne s'agit toutefois que de quelques signes seulement, de pas timides, si l'on tient compte des véritables besoins de la culture mondiale et de l'intérêt croissant — l'avidité, dirions-nous — des peuples à se connaître et à se comprendre mutuellement. C'est encore peu. Mais c'est un début. Il y a peu de temps encore, la liaison entre les savants de l'Est et de l'Ouest était presque inexistante. Mais voilà qu'ils se sont rencontrés récemment dans plusieurs congrès scientifiques, comme celui de microbiologie qui a eu lieu à Rome, et celui de physique au Japon. L'Inde et la Chine ont échangé des ensembles de danse et de chant. Le nombre des délégations étrangères en URSS et dans les démocraties populaires a augmenté, et à leur tour, plusieurs intellectuels soviétiques sont allés en France, en Grande-Bretagne, en Autriche, en Suède et dans d'autres pays européens. Pour la première fois depuis plusieurs années, des représentants de la Chine et de la Pologne ont assité à un congrès culturel au Chili. Justement ces jours-ci se trouve en Grande Bretagne une importante délégation soviétique composée de personnalités éminentes dans le domaine des sciences, du cinéma, de la danse, et de la musique. Tandis que plusieurs musiciens norvégiens et un compositeur britannique se produisent en URSS, des interprètes soviétiques ont été applaudis à Paris et dans d'autres villes de France.

Nous ne citons naturellement que quelques exemples. Il y en a d'autres, qui démontrent les progrès des échanges culturels. Mais, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, ils ne sont pas encore nombreux. L'influence négative qu'exerce la tension internationale sur le développement de la culture se fait encore lourdement sentir. On refuse encore des visas, et on empêche la diffusion des livres et des revues. On conserve encore cette méfiance qui a porté gravement atteinte à l'unité internationale de la science affaiblissant et détruisant la collaboration et les relations scientifiques et techniques.

Mais ceci a déjà trop duré. Les hommes en ont assez de cette division artificielle dont souffre le monde, ils veulent que les paroles de paix qu'ils aiment se transforment en actes de paix. Ils veulent que disparaissent les absurdes barrières dressées par l'ignorance, la haine ou l'incompréhension. Ils veulent partager dans la paix le bénéfice de leurs différentes cultures.

Ce rapprochement cordial, sur un pied d'égalité et sur la base d'un respect mutuel est une exigence impérieuse de notre époque. Chaque peuple possède ses modes typiques d'expression, conformes à ses caractéristiques nationales, à sa réalité historique, géographique et sociale, à ses traditions et à ses habitudes. Quand ces diverses caractéristiques nationales se rencontrent, elles s'enrichissent mutuellement. Il est certain que pour cela il faut que la négociation et l'entente remplacent l'hystérie belliciste; mais à leur tour les liens culturels favorisent la diminution de la tension internationale.

Les intérêts les plus légitimes des intellectuels du monde entier les obligent à unir leurs efforts afin de rétablir les dialogues internationaux. Mais il ne s'agit pas d'un objectif concernant les seuls intellectuels. En aucune manière. Les peuples ont un intérêt vital dans les conséquences de cet échange. Quand les écrivains ou les hommes de science se réunissent pour se communiquer leurs expériences, quand les fruits de la science et de l'art se répandent par le monde comme une bonne semence, les ouvriers de Détroit et les cultivateurs italiens, les mineurs polonais et les étudiants de la Sorbonne ont d'égales raisons de se réjouir. Car la culture est un pain précieux et indispensable qui ne se multiplie que lorsque les peuples se le partagent fraternellement.

Il s'agit donc d'aider, de favoriser et d'impulser toutes sortes de relations et de rencontres culturelles. Mais serait-ce seulement entre ce qu'on a coutume d'appeler l'«Est» et l'«Ouest»? Il est certain que la rupture la plus profonde est celle qui s'était établie entre pays de différents régimes sociaux. Il est donc légitime de se hâter de franchir ce fossé, car l'ignorance des progrès obtenus dans l'un ou l'autre camp, que ce soit dans les domaines de la science, de la technique ou de l'art, a causé d'immenses préjudices. Mais il est clair que les échanges ne peuvent pas s'arrêter là. Il est nécessaire qu'ils s'élargissent et qu'ils embrassent tous les pays, tous les points cardinaux de la terre et de l'esprit.

C'est ce que le Mouvement mondial de la paix n'a cessé de réclamer avec insistance depuis sa création. Durant toutes ces années, il a montré non seulement la nécessité mais la possibilité de surmonter l'isolement culturel. Son action a créé peu à peu des liens, abattu des craintes, établi des ententes. C'est

(voir fin de cet article en p. 6)

DANS CE BULLETIN

Les grands anniversaires culturels ont été célébrés.

Exposition des Prix de la Paix à Vienne.

Les intellectuels de l'Inde veulent nouer des liens avec ceux de tous les pays.

Pour mieux se connaître: échange de délégations entre l'Est et l'Ouest.

Activités culturelles dans les différents pays.

Une déclaration du grand acteur Gérard Philippe.

LA PEINTURE INDIENNE *parcourra le monde*

Connaissez-vous la peinture indienne moderne?

Ils ne sont pas nombreux, les habitants de l'Europe ou d'autres régions éloignées de l'Inde, qui pourraient répondre affirmativement.

Eh bien, cela sera possible à présent, grâce à une brillante initiative des amis indiens de la paix.

En quoi consiste-t-elle?

La Section Culturelle du Conseil Pan-Indien de la Paix s'est mise en contact avec des peintres connus et avec des sociétés artistiques qui comptent parmi les plus importantes du pays. D'un commun accord, et avec l'aide et la collaboration des uns et des autres, il fut décidé d'organiser une Exposition de la Peinture des Artistes Indiens en l'honneur de la Paix, qui sera inaugurée en Janvier 1954, à la Nouvelle-Delhi. *(Parmi ces peintres figurent les plus connus le l'Inde comme Jamini Roy, Nandlal Bose, Ara, Gade, Ram Kinkar Baiji, B. Sangal, Sudhir Khastigir et autres.)*

En même temps, la Section Culturelle Indienne s'est adressée directement ou par l'intermédiaire du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, aux comités de la Paix de différents pays, surtout ceux d'Europe, ainsi qu'à différentes sociétés d'arts plastiques, leur proposant de leur envoyer cette exposition.

L'idée a été accueillie avec un grand intérêt. A tel point, que presque immédiatement des réponses favorables sont arrivées de trois pays: Suède, Italie et Brésil. A leur tour, les artistes de ce dernier pays ont envoyé aux artistes indiens un ensemble de gravures brésiliennes, en leur proposant de les présenter en Inde.

Il est fort possible que cette initiative soit accueillie dans les autres pays avec une égale faveur.

Et ainsi, grâce aux amis de la Paix, la peinture indienne parcourra le monde...

Les grands anniversaires culturels ont été célébrés dans le monde entier

La décision du Conseil Mondial de la Paix de proposer et de recommander la célébration d'anniversaires culturels, n'est pas une proposition académique. C'est, au contraire, une façon active, positive et efficace de consolider l'amitié entre les peuples, que seule l'ignorance peut diviser. Et c'est dans l'ignorance seule que peuvent fructifier les semences de la méfiance et de la haine. Pour que les peuples se connaissent vraiment, pour qu'ils puissent s'unir et s'aimer, quoi de mieux que de leur déléguer ces hommes qui, par leur savoir, leur art et leur générosité représentent le mieux chaque race ou nation tout en étant les types les plus parfaits d'humanité? Si, grâce au Conseil Mondial de la Paix, on connait et on célébre à Moscou et à Pékin la lutte de José Marti pour l'émancipation de son peuple; si à Londres et à Buenos-Aires on sait quel grand poète patriote fut Tchu Yuan; si en Australie et dans l'Inde on se souvient de ce qu'a apporté au progrès humain Copernic; si le monde entier entend de nouveau les admonitions joyeuses de Rabelais, — ne se crée-t-il pas des liens indestructibles de compréhension et d'estime réciproque? Est-ce que par hasard les peuples qui célèbrent ces anniversaires ne vont pas justement se rendre compte que, par dessus le temps et l'espace, le poète chinois, le savant polonais, l'homme politique cubain et l'écrivain français poursuivent un même objectif? Libérer l'homme de l'ignorance, de la crainte que l'ignorance engendre, et de la haine qui naît de la crainte.

COPERNIC

D'importantes manifestations ont eu lieu dans différentes parties du monde, à l'occasion des célébrations des grandes personnalités culturelles dont le Conseil Mondial avait recommandé la commémoration en 1953: Copernic, José Marti, Rabelais et Tchu Yuan. Les nouvelles que nous donnons sur les célébrations des anniversaires ne sont qu'un bref aperçu des manifestations qui se sont déroulées autour des quatre grandes figures du monde culturel, dans les différentes parties du monde.

Pour Copernic, les manifestations principales ont eu lieu en Pologne, patrie du grand savant et en Italie où il a fait ses études.

En Pologne en effet, un Comité d'Honneur le l'«Année Copernic» a été élu sous le patronage du Président du Conseil des Ministres et du Président de l'Académie des sciences polonaise. Une session de l'Académie des sciences polonaise a eu lieu en septembre, avec la participation de nombreux représentants des pays étrangers.

De nombreuses autres initiatives ont été prises par ce Comité d'Honneur, notamment la publication de plusieurs travaux scientifiques sur Copernic, l'attribution de prix à des jeunes travailleurs scientifiques pour leurs meilleurs travaux dans le domaine de l'astronomie, des mathématiques, de la physique, etc, l'organisation d'une fête au pays d'origine de Copernic, la préparation d'expositions consacrées au grand savant et la reconstruction de la maison historique de Torun destinée à devenir le Musée Copernic ainsi que la tour Copernic à Frombork.

En Italie, le centre des célébrations de Copernic a été Ferrare, ville où le savant prit son doctorat. Font partie du Comité d'honneur qui a été organisé, entre autres, le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et le Président de l'Académie «de Lincei». Une exposition particulièrement interessante a été inaugurée au mois d'octobre au Palais de Ludovico il Moro. L'exposition retrace le développement de l'astronomie au cours des siècles. Elle a été préparée avec l'aide du directeur de l'Observatoire astronomique de Bologne, prof. Guido Horn. Au succès des différentes manifestations ont collaboré d'une façon efficace les Recteurs des Universités de Bologne, Rome, Padoue et Ferrare, ainsi que de nombreuses personnalités du monde scientifique. Les célébrations comprenaient tout un cycle de conférences.

Le Comité Soviétique de la Paix et l'Académie des sciences de l'URSS ont organisé une réunion où plusieurs rapports ont été présentés. A. Mikhailov, membre-correspondant de l'Académie des sciences de l'URSS a parlé de la vie et de l'activité de Nicolas Copernic. F. Porchnev, docteur es sciences historiques, a parlé de l'époque où vécut le grand savant. L'académicien Fok a dressé un parallèle entre le système de Copernic et celui de Ptolémée sous le jour de la théorie moderne de la pesanteur. A. Nesmeianov, président de l'Académie des sciences, a inauguré la séance en soulignant l'importance de Copernic pour l'humanité progressiste.

Les éditions de l'Académie des sciences de l'URSS ont mis sous presse le «Traité sur les révolutions des mondes célestes», principal ouvrage de Copernic.

Des célébrations de Copernic ont eu lieu également en Chine, Islande, Tchécoslovaquie, Argentine, Allemagne, Bulgarie, Albanie etc.

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Une conférence pour la commémoration des Quatres Géants du monde culturel a eu lieu le 27 Septembre à Pékin sous le parrainage du Comité du Peuple Chinois pour la Défense de la Paix Mondiale, de la Fédération Chinoise des cercles de Littérature et d'Art, de l'Association Chinoise des Ecrivains, de la Fédération Chinoise des Associations Scientifiques et de l'Association Chinoise pour la diffusion des Connaissances Scientifiques et Techniques.

Plus de 1200 délégués de différents cercles y ont participé. Parmi les invités de l'étranger se trouvaient les délégués polonais Prof. Witold Jablonski et l'écrivain Wôjciech Zukrowski; le délégué français Vercors et le délégué de Cuba Nicolas Guillen.

M. Kuo Mo Jo, président de la conférence, a prononcé le discours d'ouverture: pour la victoire de la Paix Mondiale et pour un épanouissement de la Culture Populaire.

M. Mao Dun, le Prof. Chu Ke-Chen, M. Cheng Chen-To et M. Hung Shen ont prononcé des discours respectivement sur Tchu Yuan, Copernic, Rabelais et José Marti.

M. M. Zukrowski, Vercors, et Nicolas Guillen ont parlé respectivement sur Copernic, Rabelais et Marti.

L'ensemble des associations qui ont préparé les manifestations pour les célébrations, ont également présenté une «Exposition des Quatre Géants du Monde Culturel» sur la vie et l'oeuvre ainsi que sur la contribution éminente de ces hommes à la culture humaine.

CHU YUAN

Dans de nombreux pays, les manifestations en l'honneur de l'anniversaire du poète Chu Yuan ont permis de faire connaître certaines caractéristiques de la culture chinoise, et se sont souvent transformées en manifestations d'amitié envers la Chine. En Inde eurent lieu plusieurs réunions. La plus importante fut la réunion de New-Delhi, organisée sous les auspices de l'Association pour l'amitié entre l'Inde et la Chine, et à laquelle participèrent le célèbre auteur indien Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi, le professeur Hiren Mukherjee et le poète Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya qui récita un poème de Chu Yuan et une de ses nouvelles compositions sur l'amitié entre l'Inde et la Chine.

A Moscou, on a donné une soirée spéciale au cours de laquelle prit la parole le Docteur en Philologie N. Fedorenko; en Albanie fut organisée une conférence commémorative. En Bulgarie, ce fut sous les auspices du Comité Bulgare de la Paix et de l'Union des Ecrivains qu'eut lieu la manifestation. En Roumanie, une adaptation de la pièce «Chu Yuan», écrite par Kuo-Mo-Jo, fut transmise par radio.

De même, différentes manifestations en hommage au grand poète chinois ont eu lieu en Grande-Bretagne, France, Argentine, Allemagne et autres pays.

MARTI

De grandes manifestations nationales ont eu lieu à Cuba depuis le début de 1953 en l'honneur du centenaire de la naissance de Marti. Il y eut des manifestations spéciales dans toutes les villes de Cuba, en particulier à la Havane. Les journaux, les revues et la radiodiffusion ont consacré une grande place à rappeler la mémoire du martyr de la liberté, et à reproduire tout ce qui est publié à l'étranger sur Marti. Les maisons d'édition ont publié des éditions spéciales des oeuvres complètes du grand écrivain.

Cet anniversaire fut également célébré dans les autres pays d'Amérique latine, comme le Chili, l'Argentine, le Guatémala et le Mexique. Dans ce dernier pays, des commissions spéciales ont été créées, avec l'appui du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et du Syndicat National des Enseignants, pour développer un large programme de

(voir fin de cet article en p. 3)

Au cours de cérémonies solennelles les lauréats de 1952 reçoivent LES PRIX de la Paix

Dans la grande salle des Fêtes du Palais des Ministères de Berlin, l'écrivain Arnold Zweig a ouvert, le 22 Septembre dernier, la IIIème Assemblée Plénière du Conseil Allemand de la Paix. Au cours de cette réunion du Conseil de la paix, s'est effectuée la remise solennelle du Prix International de la Paix, attribué par le Conseil Mondial aux cinéastes Martin Hellberg et Kurt et Jeanne Stern. Représentant le Conseil Mondial, l'écrivain brésilien Jorge Amado a remis aux réalisateurs du film remarquable «Le Village Condamné» les Diplômes d'Honneur et les médailles d'Or correspondantes. Toute la presse allemande se fit l'écho de cette cérémonie, dans laquelle a été soulignée une fois de plus l'importance de la collaboration des artistes et des intellectuels dans la lutte pour la Paix.

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Dans le Curtiss Hall de Chicago, et au cours de la conférence tenue vers la mi-Octobre sur le thème «la Paix par la Négociation» a eu lieu la remise solennelle du Prix International de la Paix à l'éminent savant nord-américain, le professeur William E. B. Dubois. Mr. Robert Morss Lovett, ancien gouverneur des Iles Vierges, a remis le prix au Professeur Du Bois, en en commentant la signification en ces termes: *«vous avez été le défenseur des droits de votre peuple selon la grande tradition de Frédéric Douglass. L'un de vos livres, «l'Ame du Peuple Noir» est un classique américain. Et vouz avez étendu à votre peuple et à toute l'humanité votre appel en faveur de la grande cause de la paix internationale. En cette période d'épreuve et de persécution vous êtes resté franc et courageux. Plus que tout autre, vous méritez cette récompense du Conseil Mondial de la Paix que j'ai l'honneur de vous remettre.»*

Répondant à Mr. Morss Lovett, le Professeur a dit notamment: *«La réunion des Partisans de la Paix, à Paris, au printemps 1949, connue maintenant sous le nom de Conseil Mondial de la Paix fut la plus impressionnante rencontre d'êtres humains que j'aie vue. Après deux guerres mondiales dévastatrices et sous la menace d'une troisième, le haut idéal de la paix s'exprimait par les voix des centaines de milliers de personnes qui se pressaient dans le Stade Buffalo et résonnait de la lointaine Prague, où l'Asie s'était assemblée pour nous saluer. Les réunions suivantes dans toute l'Europe, en Asie et en Afrique, dont l'apogée fut l'inoubliable Appel de Stockholm contre l'horreur de la bombe atomique, ont fait de ce mouvement l'une des plus hautes instances humaines, portant très haut l'idéal ayant pour but de libérer la civilisation de la pire menace de notre époque.»*

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Sous la présidense du Ministre de la Culture, dans la grande salle Carolinum de l'Université de Prague, s'est tenue, le 20 Novembre, une séance solennelle pour célébrer la remise de la Médaille d'Or de la Paix, attribuée par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix au poete tchécoslovaque Vitezslav Nezval. Représentant le Conseil M. M. Mukarovsky (Tchécoslovaquie) et Varela (Argentine) remirent au poète Nezval le Diplôme d'Honneur et la Médaille d'Or du Conseil Mondial de la Paix. A cette cérémonie, assistaient de nombreux lauréats des Prix d'Etat de Tchécoslovaquie et les représentants les plus autorisés des arts, des lettres et des sciences de ce pays.

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Le 30 Novembre aura lieu à Sao Paolo une cérémonie pour la remise au compositeur brésilien Claudio Santoro de la Médaille d'Or attribuée par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix au cours de sa Session de Budapest. Parmi les différents invités étrangers est annoncée également la participation à la cérémonie, du célèbre compositeur tchécoslovaque Vaclav Dobias, Médaille d'Or de la Paix en 1950, chargé de représenter le Conseil Mondial de la Paix.

Prochainement auront lieu également des cérémonies semblables à Paris, Mexico, Delhi, Buenos Aires, Bucarest, Caracas, Londres, Bogota, Reykjavik et Helsinki, pour honorer les Lauréats de 1952.

LES GRANDS ANNIVERSAIRES CULTURELS ONT ETE CELEBRES DANS LE MONDE ENTIER

(Suite de la p. 2.)

diffusion de l'oeuvre et des idées du leader cubain. Au Guatémala, le «Comité pour la célébration du centenaire de Marti» réunissait de hauts fonctionnaires du gouvernement et d'autres personnalités marquantes. Les manifestations comprenaient des conférences, des défilés, des concerts, des réunions dans les écoles, les facultés et les syndicats, des expositions des oeuvres de Marti, des concours de musique et de littérature, etc.

A Moscou, a eu lieu une soirée parrainée par l'Union des Ecrivains Soviétiques et par l'Institut de Littérature Mondiale de Gorki. Parmi les orateurs figuraient Ilya Ehrenbourg et Juan Marinello, écrivain et homme politique cubain. Le poète soviétique Gaevork Emine a lu des vers de José Marti qu'il avait lui-même traduits en arménien. Des manifestations en hommage à José Marti eurent lieu également en Tchécoslovaquie, en Chine, en Hongrie, en Albanie, et dans d'autres pays.

RABELAIS

La commémoration de Rabelais a eu un éclat tout particulier en France, où de nombreuses réunions et conférences ont été organisées. En Allemagne, le professeur Klemperer de l'Université Humboldt s'est chargé du discours principal à la réunion de Berlin. De même, des soirées commémoratives ont été organisées à Leipzig, Halle, Dresde, Iéna, Magdebourg, Erfurt, Weimar, Schwerin et Francfort sur l'Oder. Parmi les réunions qui eurent lieu en URSS, citons tout particulièrement la cérémonie solennelle au Conservatoire de Moscou, au cours de laquelle le poète Nicolas Tikhonov prit la parole. En Roumanie, l'académicien Georges Galinesco et l'écrivain Lucia Demetrius, lauréate du Prix d'Etat, donnèrent des conférences sur Rabelais. En Albanie, en Pologne et dans d'autres pays également, on a célébré le fécond auteur de Gargantua.

EXPOSITION A VIENNE SUR LES PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

Le Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, réuni à Paris, prit, le 25 Avril 1949, la décision de créer les Prix Internationaux de la Paix pour encourager les artistes, écrivains et hommes de science qui ont su faire de leurs activités créatrices des liens d'amitié entre les peuples et des bastions de la paix. En même temps, le Conseil Mondial se proposait de manifester sous cette forme la grande valeur que le Mouvement Mondial de la Paix accorde à la collaboration des intellectuels de tous les pays, quelles que soient leurs opinions religieuses, politiques ou philosophiques, pourvu qu'ils soient des défenseurs de la paix mondiale.

Le 22 novembre 1950, les Prix Internationaux ont été attribués pour la première fois, au cours d'une cérémonie solennelle au théâtre Polski de Varsovie et dans le cadre du IIème Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Le 19 Juin 1953, le Conseil Mondial, réuni à Budapest, fit connaître les noms des lauréats des Prix Internationaux et des Médailles d'Or 1952.

Bien que de création très récente, les Prix Internationaux de la Paix ont déjà récompensé 34 artistes et écrivains. Cet illustre palmarès rassemble vingt pays différents et symbolise l'effort de vingt peuples pour la défense de la Paix.

Pour exalter l'oeuvre de ces illustres serviteurs des meilleures causes humaines, le Conseil Mondial organise une première exposition des Prix Internationaux de la Paix qui sera inaugurée à Vienne. Y seront présentés quelques-unes des peintures et sculptures primées, les éditions et les manuscrits des écrivains lauréats, et de nombreux documents sur la vie et l'oeuvre des titulaires actuels des Prix Internationaux de la Paix.

Par la suite, cette exposition sera présentée dans différents pays, et permettra d'attirer partout l'attention sur la campagne pour les échanges culturels.

EXPOSITIONS ARTISTIQUES AU NEPAL

Le Comité de la Paix du Népal a convoqué une réunion d'artistes et écrivains pour un débat sur les échanges culturels internationaux. Une exposition de littérature, une exposition de tableaux et d'art pour la paix, des représentations culturelles, des collectes de signatures et des conférences littéraires sur la paix ont été organisées à l'occasion de la célébration d'une Semaine de la Paix qui a eu lieu dans la première quinzaine d'octobre.

En plus des anniversaires recommandés spécialement par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix, on a commémoré avec éclat, dans différents pays, d'autres grandes figures de la culture mondiale. La Tchécoslovaquie a honoré son héros national, l'écrivain Julius Fucik, Prix d'Honneur de la Paix à titre exceptionnel, en organisant différentes manifestations auxquelles participèrent des écrivains étrangers. On rappela le souvenir du peintre hollandais Van Gogh par des conférences et des expositions en Autriche, Argentine, Italie, en Inde, en Roumanie etc. Les Etats-Unis et la République Démocratique Allemande ont célébré l'écrivain et philosophe nord-américain, Emerson.

LES INTELLECTUELS DE L'INDE

veulent nouer des liens avec ceux du monde entier

En avril 1952, une Conférence culturelle pan-indienne et un Festival de la Paix ont eu lieu à Calcutta. Les discussions et les représentations se sont déroulées sept jours durant. Les pièces, les chants et les danses, les récitals de poésies ont vu affluer des milliers de spectateurs tous les soirs. Le jour de la clôture, plus de cent mille habitants de Calcutta ont assisté à un programme comprenant les thèmes les meilleurs et les plus populaires.

Plusieurs des intellectuels les plus éminents de l'Inde — écrivains et artistes, travailleurs de la scène et du cinéma, poètes, musiciens et danseurs — se sont joints à ce Festival et ont exprimé dans un Manifeste adopté à l'unanimité leur détermination de se consacrer à la cause de la Paix.

Après le Festival, également, les commissions culturelles pour la Paix ont poursuivi dans certaines régions du pays l'oeuvre commencée à Calcutta.

A la Conférence de la Paix des Pays d'Asie et du Pacifique, à Pékin, et au Congrès des Peuples pour la Paix à Vienne, des intellectuels éminents faisaient partie, en nombre important, des délégations indiennes et ont joué un rôle important dans les travaux des commissions et les rencontres sur les échanges culturels.

Tous ces intellectuels sont revenus en Inde, après la Conférence de Pékin et le Congrès de Vienne et une tournée en Union Soviétique ou en Chine, pleins d'enthousiasme et résolus à agir pour le Mouvement de la Paix.

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On a pu voir une manifestation de cette influence croissante du Conseil de la Paix parmi les intellectuels dans la présence à la session de Budapest du Conseil Mondial de la Paix de deux des plus grands savants de l'Inde — le général-major Sir Sahib Sing Sokhey et le Professeur S. N. Bose — *(désignés tous deux par le Président de la République pour représenter la science au Parlement indien)*, et de deux des plus fameux musiciens de l'Inde: le Pandit Onkar Nath Thakur *(si justement honoré du titre de «Roi du Chant»)* et M. Anil Biswas, compositeur.

Au cours des mois qui se sont écoulés depuis la session de Budapest, le Mouvement Indien de la Paix a pris un certain nombre de mesures qui ont déjà eu pour résultat de faire participer au travail de la Paix beaucoup plus de travailleurs intellectuels de tout premier ordre.

Une délégation de musiciens et danseurs indiens a visité la Chine en qualité d'invitée du Comité Chinois de la Paix, recevant partout un accueil chaleureux.

Parmi les nouvelles personnalités venues au Mouvement de la Paix, on trouve des idoles des mélomanes comme Vilayant Khan *(qui joue sur le sitar, ce magnifique instrument à cordes indien)*, Mme Hirabai Barodkar, Mme Joytsna Bhole et Maître Krishna Rao *(chanteur réputé de Mobosashka)*, M. Devendvappa *(qui joue sur une demi-douzaine d'instruments et est un expert renommé de la musique Karnatak)*, la danseuse Damayanti Joshi et d'autres.

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Au moment de la session de Patna du Conseil Pan-Indien de la Paix, en Juillet, une rencontre spéciale d'écrivains, d'artistes et d'autres travailleurs intellectuels a eu lieu pour discuter et organiser le travail du Conseil de la Paix dans le domaine de la culture. Cette rencontre, à laquelle ont participé des écrivains venus de nombreuses régions du pays, a salué et approuvé la résolution sur les échanges culturels adoptée par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix à Budapest.

L'Inde est l'un des pays qui se distinguent le plus dans la noble tâche de relier les activités culturelles à la cause de la Paix, et de développer par différents moyens les relations et les échanges avec les autres pays du monde, quel que soit leur régime social. Considérant que ces expériences pourront être utiles à tous ceux qui poursuivent les mêmes buts généreux, nous avons cru intéressant de faire connaître le travail fructueux des artistes, des hommes de science, et des écrivains indiens. C'est ce que l'on trouvera dans l'article suivant, écrit par le secrétaire général du Conseil Pan-Indien de la Paix, Mr. Romesh Chandra.

Il a été décidé d'établir une Section Culturelle du Conseil Pan Indien de la Paix, ayant son propre secrétariat, dirigée par huit des Vice-Présidents du Conseil, chacun d'eux étant une personnalité éminente dans son propre domaine. — le Dr. Mulk Raj Anand (romancier), Sardur Gur Baksh Singh (écrivain), M. Prithvi Raj Kapur (acteur), le Professeur D. D. Kosambi (scientifique), le Major Général Sokhey (scientifique), le Pandit Onkar Nath Thakur (musicien), M. K. Supramaniam (metteur en scène) et M. K. Mukherji (journaliste).

Des sections culturelles semblables sont aussi établies dans les différentes provinces et les principales villes. Un programme immédiat de travail a été préparé, qui comprend: l'envoi de musiciens dans différents pays d'Europe, l'invitation d'une délégation de danseurs et musiciens de Chine; l'organisation et l'envoi à l'étranger d'une exposition artistique; la mise sur pied d'un organisme destiné à recueillir et échanger avec d'autres pays les traductions en anglais d'oeuvres représentatives d'auteurs contemporains venant de tout les pays; l'organisation en Inde d'un Festival international de la Culture; l'échange de délégations avec le Pakistan.

CONCOURS D'ARTS PLASTIQUES EN ARGENTINE

Le comité des Artistes des Arts Plastiques pour la Paix organise un Salon de peinture, de sculpture et de gravure. Le thème exclusif, librement interprété, sera celui de la paix et du refus de la guerre. N'y seront pas admises les oeuvres où l'on fera allusion, d'une façon symbolique ou directe, à la politique intérieure ou extérieure. A ce Salon peuvent participer tout artiste ou étudiant des Beaux Arts, argentin ou étranger, résidant dans le pays.

Dans plusieurs provinces, on prépare des Festivals culturels. Pendant ces derniers temps, à Madras, Bombay, Patna et Delhi, des concerts et des spectacles ont eu lieu en faveur du mouvement de la Paix auxquels ont participé les plus fameux musiciens et artistes.

Vingt-deux de nos plus grands écrivains dans les différentes langues de l'Inde ont demandé la tenue de rassemblements d'écrivains sur les thèmes de la paix et de la négociation.

Des artistes et des critiques d'art de premier rang parrainent une exposition panindienne en honneur de la paix, et nous pensons envoyer cette exposition dans d'autres pays, comme partie de notre programme d'échanges culturels.

Pour cette prochaine Conférence Musicale Pan-indienne *(un évènement musical indien patronné par le Gouvernement lui-même)*, des invitations ont été envoyées à des musiciens d'Union Soviétique, Grande-Bretagne, France, Chine Populaire, Etats-Unis, Italie, Hongrie et Tchécoslovaquie. Cette grande réunion musicale peut bien devenir un festival d'amitié entre les nations et peut-être le point de départ d'un plus grand Festival Mondial de Musique l'année prochaine.

La délégation des peintres indiens en Union Soviétique et leur Exposition d'Art ont eu une chaleureuse réception et ont ainsi contribué à renforcer l'amitié Indo-Soviétique.

Pendant les mois d'hiver on espére beaucoup recevoir en Inde des délégations culturelles d'Union Soviétique, de Chine et des autres pays.

Ces derniers temps, le Conseil de la Paix a organisé quatre concerts pour l'aide au Mouvement de la Paix. Et il y eut parmi le public rassemblé plusieurs amateurs de musique qui vinrent dire: «Le Conseil de la Paix est maintenant le promoteur de la meilleure musique dans notre pays.»

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Les 26 et 27 septembre derniers s'est tenue la réunion de la Commission Culturelle du Conseil Pan-Indien de la Paix. A cette réunion étaient présentes, entre autres, plusieurs personnalités distinguées du monde du cinéma, dont le directeur K. Subramaniam, de Madras; le directeur Ramesh Saigal; les actrices Nalini Jaywant et Achla Sachdev; le directeur musical Anil Biswas, le metteur en scène et écrivain K. A. Abbas, des scénaristes comme Rajendra Singh Bedi et Ramanand Sagar, l'acteur-directeur Romesh Thapar, et plusieurs autres. Il fut décidé d'organiser des festivals du film dans les principales provinces.

A cette réunion il fut également décidé qu'un magazine, intitulé «Echanges Culturels», serait lancé par la Section culturelle avec l'aide d'un fond donné par le Dr. Mulk Raj Anand sur le Prix International de la Paix qu'il a obtenu récemment.

Un prix spécial pour la meilleure nouvelle ou le meilleur roman sur le thème de la paix sera attribué par la Section culturelle.

La Section culturelle étudie sérieusement les possibilités d'envoyer des délégations de travailleurs intellectuels à l'étranger et de recevoir des délégations semblables d'autres pays, sur la base de la réciprocité.

Il ne saurait faire de doute que les manifestations culturelles sont déjà devenues un des moyens les plus importants de populariser la cause de la paix en Inde. Et plus elles seront utilisées, plus le message du Mouvement de la Paix atteindra des secteurs toujours plus larges de notre population.

Une déclaration du grand acteur Gérard Philippe:

ÉCHANGES DANS LE DOMAINE DES SPECTACLES

«Je me souviendrai longtemps du Festival de la Ruhr.

C'est un Festival qui a été institué spécialement à l'intention des ouvriers et des mineurs de la Ruhr.

En 1947, le théatre de Hambourg se vit dans l'obligation d'arrêter ses représentations à cause du froid qui régnait dans la salle et dans les coulisses. Le charbon manquait, il était impossible de se chauffer...

Le directeur s'adressa aux mineurs de la Ruhr. Les ouvriers consentirent à faire don au théâtre d'un temps de travail supplémentaire et le théâtre de Hambourg eut du charbon et put rejouer.

En remerciement a lieu depuis, tous les ans, dans la Ruhr, un Festival qui, pendant un mois, présente dans une salle des fêtes des spectacles de qualité...

J'ai rarement vu, pour ma part, quelque chose d'aussi émouvant que les explications données par un présentateur allemand avant chaque acte joué en français; combien il était écouté par un public composé par 60 pour 100 de mineurs et d'ouvriers.

J'ai vu ce public réagir devant «l'Avare» de Molière dont il comprenait l'humanité profonde, cela d'autant plus que Molière exprime dans son théâtre des sentiments et des passions que tous les hommes connaissent et dans une forme directe, simple, où l'on sent l'homme de théâtre ayant une profonde connaissance des ressorts dramatiques fondamentaux dont il avait pu voir les effets sur les tréteaux, là où les ressorts dramatiques et les gestes gardaient toute leur fraicheur et leur santé.

J'ai compris particulièrement à quel point pendant un tel festival le théâtre pouvait aider les peuples à se comprendre, à s'estimer.

Je voyais là combien il contribuait à la compréhension, par le peuple allemand, de ce qu'il y avait de meilleur dans la culture française.

Cette expérience m'a renforcé dans la conviction que de tels échanges ne doivent pas se faire seulement entre quelques pays, mais entre tous les pays et cela sur le pied de la réciprocité la plus totale.

De même que je me suis félicité de voir à Paris les ballets de Bali, de même que je me suis réjoui de l'exposition d'art mexicain, de même je souhaite voir en France des troupes étrangères, des peintres, des ballets, des musiciens de tous les pays.

Et je souhaite que nous, Français, nous ne nous heurtions pas à à des vétos politiques lorsque nous parlons d'extension d'échanges culturels.

Je pense d'ailleurs que cette extension des échanges culturels, des échanges de spectacles, peut avoir un effet très bienfaisant sur la politique, mais cela dans la mesure où les souhaits et les aspirations des spectateurs sont pris en considération.»

(Déclaration faite par Gérard Philippe à la publication „Le Combat pour la Paix".)

ALBANIE

Au cours des derniers mois, l'«Union des Ecrivains» d'Albanie a publié en français un volume de poésie et de prose choisie de différents écrivains albanais, afin de faire connaître la littérature de ce pays à l'étranger. Du matériel culturel traduit a été envoyé aux organisations d'écrivains dans différents pays. Un volume de poésies choisies de la littérature contemporaine mondiale, traduites en albanais, est en préparation.

Pour mieux se connaître...
ECHANGE DE DELEGATIONS EST-OUEST

Au cours de l'année 1953, on a pu constater un accroissement de l'échange de visites individuelles et collectives entre pays de régimes sociaux différents. Dans de nombreux cas, ces voyages ont été effectués par des artistes, des écrivains, des hommes de science ou des éducateurs.

Voici quelques références — nécessairement incomplètes — aux visites de délégations culturelles réalisées ces derniers temps:

Parmi celles qui ont visité l'URSS, on compte: 10 architectes britanniques, une délégation culturelle britannique conduite par Mr. Walter Hyman, le compositeur anglais Ian Hamilton; 7 musiciens norvégiens, dont le pianiste célèbre Kjell Bakkelund et le compositeur connu Finn Ludt; une délégation suédoise, composée entre autres de Victor Svamberg, professeur de littérature, Brynolf Hellenr, du Musée Nordique, Bengt Gate, architecte, et Maj Hirdmann, écrivain; une délégation d'éducateurs d'Amérique Latine, d'Australie, de Birmanie, de l'Inde, etc.; une délégation constituée par les correspondants sportifs des principaux journaux italiens, comme le «Corriere della Sera», le «Giornale d'Italia», «Corriere dello Sport» et «La Stampa», tous journaux de tendance gouvernementale. D'autre part, à l'occasion de la célébration du 7 Novembre, sont arrivées en Union Soviétique de nombreuses délégations culturelles étrangères qui visitent maintenant ce pays.

En ce moment se trouve en Grande-Bretagne une large délégation soviétique comprenant entre autres, le cinéaste Georgi Alexandrov, la première danseuse Alla Shellest, le violoniste Oistrakh, le directeur artistique du théâtre de marionnettes de Moscou, Sergei Obraztsov, la danseuse folklorique Galya Izmailova et d'autres personnalités marquantes de l'art soviétique, ainsi que l'ensemble de danse et de chant Piatnisky. Cette délégation visite de nombreuses villes de Grande-Bretagne, présentant un vaste programme artistique.

D'autres intellectuels soviétiques ont visité la France, — comme l'académicien Nicolaev, directeur de l'Institut d'Obstétrique et de Gynécologie de Léningrad, et le professeur Khilov, le violoniste David Oistrakh, et le pianiste Oborine, ainsi que des étudiants invités au Congrès annuel de l'Union des Etudiants de France —, l'Autriche, — qui a reçu au début de novembre une large délégation, dont faisait partie le biochimiste Alexandre Palladin, président de l'Académie des Sciences d'Ukraine —, ainsi que la Suède, la Norvège, la Finlande, l'Allemagne...

Des musiciens polonais ont participé au concours international de violon et piano «Marguerite Long-Jacques Thibaud», réalisé comme d'habitude à Paris. A son tour la Pologne a reçu la visite de nombreux écrivains et artistes étrangers, dont le chef d'orchestre finlandais Nils-Eric Fougsted, qui y dirigea quatre concerts.

Nous devrions parler encore des visiteurs qui sont allés cette année en Chine venant de pays parfois très éloignés; ou des visites faites dans d'autres pays, surtout en Europe. Mais nous avons voulu ne citer que quelques exemples qui révèlent le désir croissant des peuples de mieux se connaître par l'intermédiaire de leurs délégations culturelles.

Un grand évènement culturel:
LE FESTIVAL DE LA JEUNESSE

Au cours de la première quinzaine d'Août, a eu lieu à Bucarest ce que sans aucune exagération on peut considérer comme un évènement artistique, culturel et sportif sans précédent. Nous parlons du IVème Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour la Paix et l'Amitié, auquel ont participé 30.000 jeunes gens et jeunes filles venant de 111 pays. La France avait envoyé 3.500 délégués, l'Italie 1.500, la Finlande 2.400, l'Autriche 1.700, le Danemark 1.300, la Grande-Bretagne 1.100, la Norvège 800. De leur côté, l'Algérie, l'Inde, l'Indonésie, le Brésil, le Chili, l'Argentine, le Liban, l'Egypte ont envoyé plus de 100 délégués chacun. Parmi les autres pays représentés, figuraient aussi le Népal, la Turquie, le Honduras, la Martinique, l'Irak, etc....

Pendant deux semaines s'est déroulé un important programme culturel d'une richesse et d'une variéte peu communes. Environ deux millions et demi de spectateurs ont assisté à des centaines de représentations offertes par les ensembles artistiques et les solistes de 65 pays *(sans compter plus de 1.500 séances de cinéma au cours desquelles furent projetés des films de 33 pays)*.

Les représentations offertes, dans la majorité des cas, étaient d'une grande qualité, mettant en évidence l'élévation de la valeur artistique des jeunes. Pratiquement, aucun des aspects de l'art ne fut absent: théâtre, danse, musique, chansons par des choeurs et des solistes, pantomime, cirque, marionettes, expositions de peinture et de sculpture, ont permis aux délégués d'assister, pendant quinze jours à un défilé incessant de grâce, de génie, de beauté.

D'autre part, les concours organisés avant le Festival, sous le patronage de la Revue «Jeunesse du Monde», ont reçu 1.357 oeuvres *(littérature, musique, arts plastiques et cinéma)* de 50 pays. Les concours culturels du Festival ont eu lieu pour les danses populaires, choeurs, chant, solo, piano, violon, violoncelle, instruments à vent, instruments populaires, orchestres symphoniques, orchestres d'instruments populaires, avec la participation de plus de 3.700 personnes de 32 pays. Plus de 200 jeunes ont reçu le titre de Lauréat du IVème Festival.

LE GRAND FESTIVAL d'art cinématographique A VENISE

Au mois d'Août, les drapeaux de 16 nations flottaient sur le Palais de l'Exposition du Film, à Venise, pour l'inauguration du XIVe Festival International de l'art cinématographique.

Les nations qui ont participé au Festival sont les suivantes: Etats Unis, Union Soviétique, Grande Bretagne, France, Italie, Allemagne, Japon, Inde, Hongrie, Argentine, Suède, Pologne, Tchécoslovaquie, Brésil, Espagne et Suède.

Les films français, présentés avec les films tchécoslovaques, les films soviétiques à côté de ceux des Etats Unis symbolisaient cette amitié, cette détente qui est dans les voeux de tous les peuples; cette manifestation, grâce au cinéma, ouvrait à nouveau le dialogue entre les deux mondes.

Fructueuse rencontre internationale à Lisbonne: LE CONGRES DE L'U. I. A.

31 pays de l'Est et de l'Ouest ont envoyé des représentants au troisième Congrès de l'Union Internationale des Architectes, congrès d'une grande importance qui a tenu ses travaux au mois de Septembre à Lisbonne.

Parmi les délégués figuraient des représentants de quelques pays qui n'entretiennent pas de relations diplomatiques avec le Portugal comme l'URSS, la Bulgarie, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne.

Au cours de la dernière réunion, les délégués ont procédé à l'élection du nouveau Bureau de l'Union Internationale des Architectes. La présidence a été confiée au professeur suisse Jean Tshumi, les deux vice-présidences, à M. Arkadi Mordvinov (URSS) et à G. B. Ceas (Italie), M. Pierre Vago (France) demeure secrétaire Général.

La prochaine réunion de l'UIA aura lieu aux Pays Bas en 1955.

Les savants se sont rencontrés

Il est encourageant de voir qu'au cours de ces derniers mois s'est produite une amélioration dans les relations entre les savants. Les réunions internationales réalisées en 1953 ont permis la confrontation et un dialogue cordial entre des savants venus de Grande-Bretagne, URSS, Etats-Unis, Chine, France, Italie, Pologne, Allemagne, Japon, Tchécoslovaquie et beaucoup d'autres pays. Voici des exemples:

Congrès International sur les Affections Rhumatismales, tenu à Genève au mois d'Août.

Session Annuelle de la Fédération Internationale pour la Défense de la santé Psychique. Vienne, Août.

XIXème Congrès des Physiologues, Canada. Août.

VIème Congrès International de Microbiologie, Rome, Septembre.

Vème Réunion Internationale d'Astro-Physique, Liège, Septembre.

Congrès de Physique au Japon.

Congrès International de Radiologie; Copenhague, Juin.

Conférence de la Société Chimique-Physique — Paris.

LES MICROBIOLOGISTES se sont réunis à Rome

Une des plus intéressantes rencontres réalisées dernièrement, a été sans aucun doute, le VIème Congrès International de Microbiologie qui a tenu ses travaux à Rome, au mois de septembre.

Inauguré par le Haut Commissaire à la Santé publique, Tessitori, le Congrès a eu d'importantes réunions, tant à l'Université qu'à l'Institut Supérieur de Santé publique.

Au Congrès ont participé les représentants et les savants du monde entier. En plus des délégués italiens, les délégués des pays suivants étaient présents: Belgique, Bulgarie, Tchécoslovaquie, Danemark, France, Finlande, Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne, Inde, Hollande, Norvège, Suède, URSS, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Espagne, Portugal, Suisse, Brésil, Argentine, Vénézuela, Canada, Autriche, Yougoslavie, Pologne, Israël, etc.

Parmi les personnalités présentes figuraient de nombreux Prix Nobel.

De particulière importance sont les six relations qui ont été déjà publiées «in extenso» par l'Institut Supérieur de Santé publique.

Une des motions soumises aux congressistes par le Vice-président du Congrès et approuvée par le Congrès, contient le paragraphe suivant:

«Le VIe Congrès International de Microbiologie, certain d'interpréter la pensée de tous les microbiologues, fait des voeux pour que la science microbiologique ait pour seul but le bien-être de l'humanité, que seulement dans ce but soient poursuivies les recherches microbiologiques, et que tous les Etats donnent leur adhésion au protocole de l'année 1925.»

> *«Nous demandons à l'opinion publique d'agir sur les gouvernements afin que soient éliminés les obstacles aux échanges culturels et que les personnes, les livres, les films, les spectacles, les oeuvres d'art puissent être connus des autres peuples.»*
>
> *(de la Recommandation approuvée par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix, Juin 1953)*

Les travailleurs scientifiques ONT PRIS D'IMPORTANTES RESOLUTIONS

Au mois de septembre a eu lieu à Budapest la troisième assemblée de la Fédération Mondiale des Travailleurs scientifiques.

Dans les résolutions qui furent votées à la fin de cette assemblée, on peut lire notamment:

1° — Rôle international de la science. Il faut oeuvrer pour que la science serve la cause du bien-être humain et de la Paix. Les travailleurs scientifiques du monde doivent user de leur influence sur les pouvoirs publics de leur pays pour obtenir la solution pacifique de tous les différends internationaux.

2° — Prise de position contre les armes de destruction massive. Demande de négociations internationales pour aboutir à un accord sur la prohibition de ces armes et la mise en oeuvre de moyens pratiques pour s'assurer que l'interdiction est effective.

3° — Pour assurer les échanges scientifiques et la liberté des savants, réaffirmation de l'opposition aux restrictions apportées aux libertés académiques de n'importe quel pays, aux possibilités internationales d'association, aux restrictions imposées à l'activité scientifique ou technique basées sur des considérations de sexe, de race, de nationalité, d'opinion politique ou religieuse.

L'assemblée demande à ses organisations-membres d'utiliser les moyens mis à leur disposition par la Fédération, pour se tenir mutuellement au courant des activités scientifiques et de la situation des travailleurs scientifiques de leurs pays respectifs.

Elle demande en outre d'améliorer et de faciliter les échanges de livres, de périodiques, de chercheurs, de savants, d'étudiants des différents pays. En améliorant les relations scientifiques internationales et en insistant sur la nécessité urgente de ces améliorations, une contribution pratique au relâchement de la tension internationale est apparue.

L'assemblée a considéré aussi qu'il faudrait faire connaître plus largement la valeur de la science et a décidé de prendre l'initiative d'une campagne d'éclaircissement sur les possibilités de la science en faisant usage de tous les moyens de diffusion.

BULLETIN CULTUREL AU CANADA

Le Canada a commencé à donner une contribution efficace à l'établissement de larges échanges culturels. Cela est à mettre en relation avec les décisions qui ont été prises par le Conseil National du Congrès Canadien de la Paix. La publication d'un bulletin mettant en relief la question des anniversaires culturels et qui sera envoyé à 800 personnalités de la culture canadienne, a été décidée. En même temps, des soirées consacrées à Van Gogh ont été organisées parmi les milieux artistiques de Toronto et Vancouver. M. Aplin est allé en Pologne pour assister aux célébrations de l'anniversaire de Copernic. A son retour au Canada il a fait des compte-rendus des manifestations auxquelles il a assisté à l'occasion de nombreuses assemblées publiques. L'Ordre Uni du Peuple Juif prépare une réunion au cours de laquelle sera également célébré l'anniversaire de Copernic. Une soirée consacrée à Chu Yuan sera prochainement organisée.

LES PEUPLES VEULENT DEVELOPPER ET ELARGIR LES ECHANGES CULTURELS

(Suite de l'article de la p. 1.)

le Conseil Mondial de la Paix qui fut à l'origine d'initiatives à grand retentissement, comme — pour n'en citer qu'une — la célébration des anniversaires des grandes personnalités de la culture mondiale. Dans chaque pays, les amis de la paix ont encouragé ou organisent en ce moment les manifestations culturelles les plus différentes, rassemblant souvent autour d'eux des intellectuels qui ne sont pas liés au Mouvement de la paix. Dans certains cas se sont créés des comités spéciaux qui réalisent un travail efficace; dans d'autres cas, des personnes aux tendances les plus diverses s'assemblent pour donner vie à des groupes qui se consacrent exclusivement à la promotion des échanges culturels. Il est évident que ces activités seront chaque jour plus intenses et qu'elles donneront naissance à des entreprises encore plus larges et ambitieuses.

Naturellement, cette tâche ne peut pas être uniquement celle des amis de la paix. Au contraire, — et comme le Conseil Mondial de la Paix l'a déclaré au cours de sa réunion du mois de juin dernier — *«nous saluons toutes les initiatives d'ou qu'elles viennent allant dans ce sens et qui contribuent à réaliser cet esprit de paix et d'amitié».* Tout ce qui d'une manière ou d'une autre contribue à ouvrir la voie aux délégations culturelles, aux livres et aux peintures, à la musique et aux traités scientifiques, mérite le plus large soutien. Les perspectives sont immenses, si les intellectuels, les organisations et tous les instituts de culture, universités et bibliothèques, les sociétés savantes, littéraires ,artistiques, techniques, professionnelles, etc., prennent entre leurs mains la tâche d'entrer directement en contact et de procéder à un échange fructueux.

Les exemples positifs que nous citons dans ce Bulletin ne sont qu'un début; ce sont les premiers bourgeons d'un arbre qui doit donner des fruits abondants. Que personne ne reste indifférent devant cette très noble tâche, qui contribuera à dissiper l'incompréhension et la méfiance, à cimenter d'une façon durable la paix et la fraternité humaine.

Des réunions culturelles sont préparées dans plusieurs pays

En ce moment, on constate en divers pays une nette intensification des activités qui ont pour but le développement de la culture nationale, l'étude des problèmes qui sont propres à chaque peuple, et la recherche des solutions qui peuvent les résoudre au mieux. Un débat fécond sur ce thème et une large confrontation des différents points de vue, telles sont les caractéristiques communes des diverses réunions ou conférences qui vont avoir lieu prochainement. En outre, on prépare des réunions régionales, où se rencontreront les intellectuels de diverses disciplines dans la recherche de l'union pour une féconde action commune.

Ces rencontres ont encore une autre valeur: par la présence d'invités étrangers, elles mettent en contact des cultures très différentes, et elles permettent de faire entrer une plus grande cordialité dans les relations internationales.

Voici de brèves informations sur les réunions qui se préparent en Amérique Latine:

Brésil: du 15 au 20 Décembre, se tiendra à Goyania, capitale de l'état de Goyaz, le Premier Congrès National des Intellectuels. En plus des nombreuses personnalités qui viendront de tout le pays, des intellectuels de différents pays d'Amérique Latine assisteront à la réunion.

D'autre part, aura lieu prochainement le Congrès des Cinéastes du Brésil.

Argentine: environ 100 peintres, poètes, écrivains, musiciens, acteurs, enseignants, hommes de science et de professions libérales ont signé l'appel de convocation au Congrès Argentin de la Culture, qui doit se tenir à Buenos-Aires du 6 au 8 Mai 1954.

Sao Paolo (Brésil): En Mars 1954, et coïncidant avec le quatrième centenaire de la fondation de Sao Paolo, se tiendra dans cette ville la Conférence des Cinéastes d'Amérique Latine, aux termes d'une résolution adoptée au Congrès Américain de la Culture. Parmi les invités européens, figurent des cinéastes de France, d'Italie et d'Union Soviétique.

La Paz (Bolivie): Dans le courant de 1954, aura lieu à La Paz le Congrès des Ecrivains d'Amérique Latine, dont l'initiative revient également au Congrès Américain de la Culture. Des délégués de nombreux pays du continent y assisteront. Les organisateurs solliciteront la participation d'éminents intellectuels d'Europe et d'Asie.

INVITATION des autrichiens aux MUSICIENS ETRANGERS

Un groupe important de musiciens autrichiens s'est adressé aux organisations de musiciens d'autres pays, à l'Est comme à l'Ouest, et leur a proposé un échange de délégations. Les musiciens autrichiens sont disposés à recevoir à Vienne des interprètes et des compositeurs étrangers, qui donneraient un aperçu de leur talent et présenteraient leurs oeuvres dans des concerts arrangés spécialement pour eux. Naturellement, les musiciens autrichiens voudraient à leur tour et dans le même but, aller en visite dans d'autres pays.

Ce n'est pas tout. Ils suggèrent en outre un échange international d'oeuvres musicales, qui permettrait de connaître et de répandre de nombreuses oeuvres de valeur que, bien souvent, il n'est pas donné d'entendre en dehors du pays d'origine.

Les amis de la paix en Autriche appuient cette initiative, qui mérite de rencontrer un accueil favorable dans les autres pays. Que la musique vole donc de pays en pays, pour aider les hommes à se mieux comprendre...

LARGE ACTIVITE CULTURELLE AU BRESIL

La Section Culturelle du Mouvement de la Paix de l'Etat d'Esperito Santo a récemment présenté une intéressante exposition de littérature pour enfants. Elle montrait comment on inculque l'idée de guerre aux enfants, par des moyens psychologiques, notamment par les bandes illustrées américaines appelées «comics». A côté étaient exposées des oeuvres littéraires de bonne qualité pour enfants.

La Section Culturelle du Mouvement de la Paix de l'Etat de Rio Grande do Sul a organisé un Festival folklorique pour la paix, typique de cette région du Brésil. Ce festival a été un grand évènement dans la région et a obtenu un vif succès. Une initiative semblable est prévue pour le mois de novembre de cette année.

Les initiatives du Mouvement de la Paix Brésilien dans le domaine culturel comprennent, entre autres, la création de prix pour des oeuvres culturelles consacrées à la paix. Un Prix «Pablo Picasso» a été décerné à un album de gravures sur bois présenté par le «Club de Gravuras» de l'Etat de Rio Grande do Sul.

CONFERENCES INTERNATIONALES DES ETUDIANTS

Le IIIème Congrès Mondial des Etudiants, réuni récemment à Varsovie, a adopté à l'unanimité une série de résolutions visant, soit à la tenue de conférences internationales — sur l'agriculture, la médecine, la pédagogie, l'architecture — soit à l'échange de groupes d'étudiants d'art dramatique, d'art chorégraphique, de musique et de chant, etc., soit à l'organisation de concours des Beaux-Arts. Dans le cadre d'un programme très large d'initiatives, les étudiants ont accordé une importance particulière à l'établissement d'un échange permanent et abondant de publications relatives à la vie estudiantine et au développement culturel des différents pays.

Les programmes d'action proposés par le IIIème Congrès Mondial des étudiants à ses organisations nationales seront largement développés au cours de l'année prochaine.

INTERESSANTE INITIATIVE DES ETUDIANTS ITALIENS

Les étudiants des écoles supérieures italiennes ont aussi leur mot à dire sur les grands problèmes qui menacent la paix du monde et leur avenir. Pendant quelques mois ils ont conduit une enquête dans les lycées et dans les écoles techniques pour connaître l'opinion des étudiants en général sur l'actuelle situation mondiale. Après des discussions animées les étudiants aux opinions politiques les plus diverses: libéraux, indépendants, socialistes, monarchistes, démocrates chrétiens et communistes sont tombés d'accord sur 5 points principaux concernant la défense de la Paix dans le monde. Ces jeunes gens sont ensuite allés en délégations à la rédaction de différents journaux en demandant aux directeurs de ceux-ci de les soutenir dans leur campagne, par le moyen de la presse. Parmi les points qui ont fait l'objet des discussions et sur lequel l'accord a été général, figure le suivant: «Conception universelle de la culture, c'est-à-dire se connaître pour s'entendre.»

Campagne en Italie POUR L'AMELIORATION DES ECHANGES

Une vaste campagne a été développée en Italie pour obtenir du gouvernement que cessent les limitations et les restrictions qui existent actuellement dans la délivrance de passeports aux citoyens italiens et la concession de visas aux étrangers qui désirent aller en Italie.

Dans plusieurs villes italiennes, des conférences et des meetings ont eu lieu sur ce thème et pour le développement de libres échanges culturels avec tous les pays. La plus importante de ces réunions a eu lieu à Rome. Le discours du Sénateur Terracini qui parla à cette occasion, a été édité en brochure par le Comité Italien de la Paix et largement diffusé. D'autres réunions du même genre ont eu lieu à Turin, Bergame, Milan, Rovigue, Bologne, Plaisance etc....

Dans ces manifestations, un accent particulier a été mis sur l'importance d'améliorer les rapports italo-asiatiques. La préparation d'une Rencontre sur ce thème est à l'étude à Venise. Une réunion a déjà été tenue vers la moitié du mois d'octobre à Suzzara pour discuter le problème des échanges culturels avec l'Est. Une autre est également en préparation à Plaisance.

Faisons que le dialogue des peuples hâte la négociation et l'accord des gouvernements

La Société de Culture propose un large dialogue culturel

Vers la fin du mois de septembre a eu lieu à Paris la troisième assemblée de la Société Européenne de Culture. Cette association, fondée au mois de Juin 1950, s'est fixée parmi ses buts principaux, celui du rétablissement du dialogue entre l'Est et l'Ouest. Parmi ses adhérents on relève le nom de personnalités connues et d'idéologies, opinions et religions les plus différentes. On peut citer: Arthur Honneger, Giuseppe Ungaretti, Thomas Mann, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, André Maurois, Cesare Zavattini, Louis de Broglie, Gabriela Mistral, J. D. Bernal, Julian Huxley, Jean Cocteau, Pablo Neruda, Umberto Terracini, Edouard Herriot, Alberto Moravia, François Mauriac, Pablo Picasso, Walter Gropius, Thierry Maulnier, Rosamond Lehmann, Laurence Olivier, Henry Wallon etc..

Au cours de sa dernière réunion la Société Européenne de Culture a pris en considération les relations entre la culture européenne et celle des peuples opprimés.

A la fin de ses débats, l'Assemblée de la S. E. C. a adopté une résolution qui proclame entre autre:

«Il est nécessaire que l'Europe comprenne que sa politique à l'égard des peuples de civilisation non européenne, non seulement n'est pas à même de résoudre les graves problèmes auxquels elle doit faire face, mais encore qu'elle se trouve en contradiction avec les principes de sa culture.»

La résolution dit:

«La Société Européenne de Culture adresse un appel pressant aux hommes de culture afin qu'ils dénoncent et combattent toutes formes d'oppression et d'asservissement (politique, économique, financier, militaire ou culturel) dans les relations entre les peuples. Elle se propose d'intensifier ses échanges avec les hommes de culture des autres civilisations pour une meilleure connaissance réciproque, connaissance sur laquelle se fonderont la collaboration el l'amitié qui sont la substance d'une société vraiment humaine dont la culture aspire à être universelle».

LES MÉDECINS DE 31 PAYS POUR DES ÉCHANGES PERMANENTS

Le Congrès Mondial des Médecins pour l'Etude des Conditions Actuelles de vie, réalisé à Vienne à la fin du mois de mai, a eu d'intéressantes répercussions en de nombreux pays. A cette occasion, les médecins des cinq continents, représentants de 31 pays, présentèrent de nombreux et importants travaux, qui démontraient la réalité des relations entre les conditions de vie et la maladie. Les congressistes signalèrent également que l'étude médicale de ces relations est absolument insuffisante et qu'il est nécessaire de la développer dans les différents pays.

Dans les conclusions du Congrès on peut lire:

»La noblesse de sa fonction impose au médecin des devoirs particuliers. Habilité à défendre sans restrictions la vie et la santé, il ne doit sous aucun prétexte en laisser fléchir l'obligation. Son action ne peut distinguer le traitement individuel de la protection sociale. L'action du médecin ne saurait, sous aucun prétexte, être détournée de son objet: la préservation de la vie. Il est donc évident que le maintien de la santé dans le monde exige un courant d'échange libre et permanent des idées, des hommes de science et des moyens thérapeuthiques.

Tous les travaux entrepris dans ce Congrès, qui ne représente qu'une première étape, doivent donc être poursuivis. Il apparait, dans ces conditions, nécessaire de maintenir en activité un Secrétariat international pour:

a) faire connaître les résultats et les travaux de ce Congrès (impression des Actes du Congrès, diffusion, etc.) et les porter à l'attention des organisations médicales internationales existantes.

b) servir de lien entre les différents pays dans leurs travaux et leur apporter toute aide possible, par exemple, dans la création d'associations en rapport avec les activités du Congrès.

c) préparer éventuellement un nouveau Congrès.

Dans les mois qui ont suivi, la presse professionelle de différents pays, s'est occupé avec intérêt du Congrès Mondial des Médecins, des relations qui y avait été présentées et de ses conclusions. Le Secrétariat International désigné, au cours des débats, a reçu plusieurs adhésions. Entre autres, nombreuses sont celles d'importantes personnalités scientifiques des Etats Unis, Grande-Bretagne, Chine, Amérique Latine etc. D'autre part, le livre qui contient les relations et les communications présentées au Congrès, va paraître dans quelques jours.

EXPOSITION ARTISTIQUE EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE

Organisée par l'association «Artists for Peace» a eu lieu au cours de cette année à Londres une exposition de peinture, sculpture, gravure, céramique. Les organisateurs avaient obtenu la collaboration d'artistes de France, Italie, Etats-Unis, Suisse, Norvège, Hongrie, Ceylan, Indonésie, Roumanie etc. Tous ceux qui avaient envoyé leurs oeuvres à l'exposition ont fait don du produit de la vente à des organisations britanniques qui travaillent pour la paix. Cette exposition est la troisième manifestation organisée par les «Artists for Peace» pendant ces trois dernières années. On voit à droite une oeuvre du sculpteur Epstein — le buste du Doyen de Canterbury, à gauche la reproduction d'un tableau de Fernand Léger «Les constructeurs».

Architectes et urbanistes préparent une rencontre

A diverses occasions, les représentants de professions se rattachant à la construction, et en particulier les architectes et les urbanistes avaient manifesté dans de nombreux pays, leur désir de réaliser une rencontre à l'échelle internationale. Leur objectif était d'échanger des idées et des expériences sur tous les progrès techniques réalisés et sur le résultat de l'application des principes théoriques à la pratique de l'urbanisme et de la création architecturale.

Cette initiative a commencé à prendre corps en 1952. Au mois de juillet, les architectes polonais ont organisé une réunion à laquelle ont participé 48 de leurs collègues venus de 22 pays différents. A cette occasion, des visites ont été faites à plusieurs villes et en particulier à Varsovie, dont le plan général de reconstruction fit l'objet d'un examen détaillé. Ainsi les participants à la réunion ont pu mener un débat fructueux des thèmes concrets, faisant connaissance avec le milieu national dans lequel est née, s'est développée et s'exprime actuellement l'architecture polonaise.

Cette rencontre et ses intéressants résultats furent commentés comme il se doit par les revues spécialisées de différents pays, telles que «Architects Journal» et «Town Planning Review» de Grande-Bretagne, «Urbanisme» de France, «Home and Garden» des Etats-Unis, etc. Des conférences furent également données à Rome et Padoue (*par le professeur Piccinato, profeseur à l'Université de Venise, président de l'Institut National d'Urbanisme*), à Paris — où les architectes Lurçat, Pison et Camelot prirent la parole devant la Société d'Urbanisme et à l'Ecole d'Architecture —, aux Etats-Unis *(où l'Association Centrale des Architectes de New York parraina une conférence de l'architecte Thomas Creighton et de sa femme Catherine Ford)*, ainsi qu'en Autriche, en Egypte, en Suède, au Chili, en URSS, en Allemagne et au Danemark.

Se basant sur ces expériences et sur d'autres, un Comité International d'Initiative s'est chargé d'organiser une Conférence Internationale d'Architectes, prévue pour les premiers mois de 1954. Ce Comité — constitué jusqu'à présent par des représentants de la France, de l'Italie, de la Grande-Bretagne, de la Pologne, du Danemark, de la Belgique et de la Hollande, — a déjà reçu de nombreuses adhésions venant de représentants qualifiés d'Europe, d'Amérique, du Proche-Orient, d'Asie, etc.

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, December 7th, 1953.

Dr. W.E.B. DU BOIS
U.S.A.

20-55-14

Dear Friend,

We enclose the various documents adopted by the World Council at its recent Session in Vienna together with a Declaration made by the scientists present at the meeting.

We also enclose, for your personal information, copies of two letters that the Secretariat has just sent to the various national Peace Committees as a follow-up to the Session.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

10th December, 1953

Dear Friends,

The meeting of the World Council of Peace which took place in Vienna from November 23rd-28th brought out the first results of the world campaign for negotiation and agreement and stressed the broad support given by the most diverse circles to the aim of this campaign.

The speeches made by the representatives of the various countries and the exchange of information during the discussion showed that everywhere the campaign is developing around clearly defined objectives and on issues the content of which was specified in the general resolution.

The current international situation and the rapid development of events make the necessity of finding a solution to these problems ever more obvious. On the other hand, public feeling in favour of a meeting of the Five Great Powers has hardened still further during the recent period.

These facts led the World Council to propose a meeting to all who want an easing of international tension. This proposal is in the form of a message to personalities and organisations and is discussed in the accompanying letter.

The work accomplished in all countries in the course of the current campaign has done much to enlighten the public on the possibility of an easing of international tension.

It is therefore apparent that the campaign must everywhere be intensified. Its breadth and its influence are the essential conditions for the preparation and success of the great meeting proposed by the World Council.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO ALL NATIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Dear Friends,

In this letter we would like to draw your attention to the Message from the World Council of Peace to All Organisations and Personalities. This is the first time that the World Council has taken a step of this kind, namely, proposing the joint preparation of a great meeting to all who want an easing of international tension.

This idea, as is made clear in the Message, is based on the fact that there exist important forces who, although they do not have any contact with our Movement and do not even take part in our campaign, are yet becoming increasingly interested in finding a solution to the problems which maintain international tension.

You will note that the World Council, in its desire to remove any obstacles which might hinder the participation of personalities or organisations likely to take part in such a meeting, has refrained from laying down any rules.

The World Council's point of view on the main international issues is expressed in its General Resolution, but the World Council does not subordinate the holding of the meeting to acceptance of its point of view. It would like the meeting to be held in the near future; if possible not later than May 1954. Such a proposal, if it is to succeed, presupposes that in every country immediate steps be taken and consultations held. It devolves upon each National Peace Committee in the first place to perform this task.

We feel that it is necessary to seek, without delay, the personalities and organisations in your country who are likely to take an interest in this meeting.

They are not only to be sought among those who have responded to past overtures of the Movement but in all circles which express a desire for a genuine easing of tension.

An early contact must then be made with these personalities, organisations or representatives of trends of opinion. To this end, it obviously devolves upon you to call upon the personalities in the Movement or the friends of the Movement who command the widest influence in these circles.

The interviews could deal with the issues raised in our Council's General Resolution and also with any points in this resolution in which the personalities and organisations are particularly interested. You could also make them an opportunity for an exchange of views on problems directly affecting your country - problems of which you are the best judge. Such interviews could, as a first step, permit an examination of the possibility of joint preparation of the meeting.

After consultation with a number of Bureau members, and primarily with our President, we feel that these are the first steps to be taken in every country for the preparation of the meeting proposed by the World Council. They also seem to us the most appropriate way of making the idea of the meeting known to those to whom the proposal is addressed.

25-55-19

You will realise that such preliminary contacts and the conclusions arising from them are indispensable to a serious discussion of the preparation of the meeting on an international level. Therefore, we urgently request your Movement to inform us, before the end of the year, of the results of these first steps, however fragmentary.

For our part, we shall send you information from various countries likely to be of assistance to you in the measures you will have to take later on and likely to create favourable conditions for the success of this great meeting. We can tell you that important political figures are already interested in the idea and that, though they have not yet decided on the manner of their participation, they are prepared to make contacts of the kind mentioned above.

Hoping to hear from you and asking you once more to keep us informed of your progress, we are

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

[World Peace Council]

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AWARDS DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZE

Each year the World Council of Peace awards International Peace Prizes to persons whose creative work in the letters, arts or sciences has made an outstanding contribution to world peace and friendship between the peoples. At its meeting last June in Budapest, the World Council awarded one of the International Peace Prizes to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, distinguished Negro American anthropologist, historian, author, editor and civic leader.

The World Council, the President of which is Professor Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize winning French atomic scientist, makes its awards on the basis of the recommendations of an International Jury. President of the Jury is Pietro Nenni, Italian parliamentarian and leader of the Italian Socialist Party. Vice-President is Pierre Cot, deputy in the French Assembly and former Government Minister of Aviation. The Peace Prizes consist of a diploma and a large cash award.

Others receiving an International Peace Prize for 1952 along with Dr. DuBois were: Paul Eluard (awarded post-humously), one of the greatest contemporary French poets; Mulk Raj Anand, noted Indian writer and literary critic; Leopoldo Mendez and his artist collaborators in the "Taller de Grafica Popular" which he founded in Mexico City in 1937; Halldor Laxness, whose epic novels of the life of the people of Iceland have won him wide acclaim; and Martin Hellberg, Kurt Stern and Jeanne Stern, German film directors, for their film "The Condemned Village".

A special Honorary Peace Prize was awarded post-humously to Nikolai Vaptzarov, the Bulgarian poet and national hero who was killed by the Nazis in 1942.

Gold Medal Peace Awards were given to the French newspaper cartoonist Jean Effel; the Czech poet Vitezslav Nezval; the British novelist James Aldridge; the Brazilian composer Claudio Santoro; the Argentine writer Maria Rosa Oliver; the Japanese artists Toshiko Akamatsu and Iri Maruki; the French sculptor Stefan Czorvassy; the Venezuelan poet Carlos Augusto Leon; the Columbian jurist Luis Carlos Perez; and the Finnish sculptor Vaino Aaltonen.

Dr. DuBois, a member of the World Council of Peace and Honorary Co-Chairman of the American Peace Crusade, was awarded an International Peace Prize "in recognition of the accumulated work of this outstanding North American, for the long years that he has devoted to the cause of uniting the peoples and of struggling for the defense of world peace."

[World Peace Council]

Please return to W.E.B DuBois

Proposals submitted to the World Council of Peace by the Jury of the International Peace Prizes for the Year 1 52-1953.

PEACE PRIZE OF HONOUR

To the Bulgarian poet and national hero, VAPTZAROV, who fell in the fight against the Nazis.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZES

1°- To the French poet, Paul ELUARD, for his writings and actions for Peace.

2°- To the American scientist, W.E.B. DU BOIS, for his work for Peace.

3°- To the German film experts, Martin HELLBERG KURT and Jeanne STEN. for their film "The Condemned Village".

4°- To the Icelandic novelist, Hammeder LAXNESS, for his literary work for Peace.

5°- To the Mexican engraver, Leopold MENDEZ and his colleagues in "Taller de Grafica Popular" for their artistic work in the service of Peace.

6°- To the Indian novelist, Mulk RAJ ANAND, for his literary work for Peace.

The amount of each of these six prizes will be two million, five hundred thousand francs (2,500,000)

GOLD MEDALS

- To the French caricaturist, Jean EFFEL, for his drawings in the service of Peace.

- To the Czechoslovak poet, Vitezslav NEZVAL, for his poem "Song of Peace".

- To the British novelist, James ALDRIDGE, for his novel "The Diplomat".

- To the Brazilian musician, Claudio SANTORO, for his symphony "Song of Love and Peace".

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- To the Argentinian writer, Sra. Maria Rosa OLIVER, for her work for Peace.

- To the Japanese painters, Toshika AKAMAKSU and Iri MAKURI, for the series of pictures "Scenes of Atomic Bombing".

- To the French sculptor, Georges SALENDRE, for his artistic work in the service of Peace.

- To the Iranian novelist, BOZORG ALAVI, for his book "Nameha".

- To The Rumanian sculptor, CSORVASY, for his wood carving "Koreans".

- To the Venezuelan poet, Carlos Augusto LEON, for his poems on Peace.

- To the Doctor of Law, Luis Carlos PEREZ, Colombia, for his work for Peace.

- To the Finnish sculptor, Vaino AALTONEN, for his statue "Peace".

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BULLETIN
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

NO 4 DECEMBER 1953

An International Meeting—World Council's Proposal To Organisations and Personalities Desiring An Easing of Tension

The World Council held its session in Vienna on November 23rd-28th. Council members from 59 countries were present and more than 150 personalities took part as guests in the work of the session.

The first results of the current world campaign for negotiation and agreement came out in the discussion which made it clear that the aim of this campaign has met with wide support. It showed, too, that in all countries the campaign is being conducted around precise objectives. The examination of these questions gave rise to a broad exchange of views.

In the debate on the major problems which are responsible for international tension, the World Council paid particular attention to their settlement. Recent developments in the international situation have shown that a settlement can only be reached by means of negotiation and the conclusion of agreements acceptable to all.

This idea, which the World Council has always upheld, is today finding fresh support in all countries and among people in all walks of life. Public opinion is becoming more and more favourable to the peaceful settlement of international differences. The desire to see an end to the Cold War is growing and, at the same time, the idea of the need for a meeting between the Great Powers is gaining ground. As a result, views are being expressed by political, religious, social and cultural organisations and personalities who, while they have no relations with the Peace Movement, give their support—as the Peace Movement does —to solutions which lead to a genuine relaxation of tension.

These facts led the World Council to propose joint preparation of an International Meeting to these organisations and personalities.

Our President, Professor Joliot-Curie, in his opening speech proposed that the session *"examine the best way of bringing about an International Meeting for Peace in 1954 and the measures and steps to be taken."* To make the point clearer, he added:

"The Meeting will bring together qualified representatives of the most diverse political trends and religious creeds, from all walks of life and from every country. It should have a single aim and, for myself, I would propose that it should be the relaxation of international tension."

Many speakers gave their opinion on this proposal during the discussion. Pastor Niemoller stated:

"It has been said here, at this Vienna session, that the horizon of the World Peace Movement should be extended beyond the organisation itself to include all trends near to us, so as to achieve the maximum effect through the participation of the greatest possible number of the forces working for Peace and I believe that the religious communities of the world have a great task to accomplish here."

Snr. Abel Chermont, President of the Brazilian Peace Movement, had this to say:

"In the present world situation, we are convinced that what is called for is a meeting, on an absolutely equal footing, of all forces who have an interest in the relaxation of international tension, whatever may be their views and irrespective of past differences."

Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey said:

"The World Council of Peace will be carrying through a project of great significance for the cause of Peace, by providing a common meeting-place for the representatives of all groups, all organisations and all leading personalities working in their own separate ways for Peace. This pooling of ideas, resources and efforts should prove of the greatest value in bringing respite to a distraught world."

Professor Joliot-Curie's proposal was also discussed at length in the Commissions. The World Council and its guests together adopted the "Message to Organisations and Personalities Desiring A Relaxation of International Tension."

In this Message, the World Council clarifies its attitude to such a Meeting. In its desire to remove any obstacles which might hinder the participation or support of organisations or personalities interested in the meeting, it refrained from laying down any rules. It expressed its point of view on the main problems of the hour in its General Resolution, but it does not subordinate the holding of the Meeting to acceptance of its point of view. It merely desires that a meeting of this nature, which would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension, should be held in the near future.

The unanimous decisions on this point reached by the World Council enabled Signor Pietro Nenni, in his closing speech, to state:

"Our World Council of Peace, fully conscious of its responsibility, has just taken the initiative in calling for an International Meeting of all those desiring to speed negotiation so as to ease international tension."

The Vice-president of the World Council pointed out that the development and influence of the current campaign are the essential conditions for the success of the proposed meeting, and concluded with these words:

"A new vista of work is thereby given to all National Peace Committees. The achievements of each will mark the progress of Peace and enable us to meet again, here or elsewhere, a few months hence with even more confidence in the outcome of the struggle, which is not ours alone but that of all justice and Peaceloving humanity."

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES DESIRING A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. But the negotiations have come up against fresh obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions of vital importance to the Peace of the world.

Yet the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent men of science, religion and politics are raised in condemnation of the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most of the countries of Western Europe have made a public stand against the revival of German militarism in any form.

In these circumstances, we think on opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. Our own viewpoint on the problem is set out in the resolution passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953.

Joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the study of possible solutions is now needed.

An international meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

(Vienna, November 23rd-28th 1953)

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

In Korea, the ending of hostilities was a victory for the cause of Peace.

On Germany, the latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding of a Four Power Conference in the near future is possible.

On Indochina, the idea of a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement is making progress both in France and Viet-Nam.

But the forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. It is not employing negotiation, for one side to confront the other with accomplished facts; it is not desiring negotiation, to seek to create conditions which must make it fail.

In both Asia and Europe there are situations and conflicts which represent a special danger to World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The attempt to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests, can wreck the negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the earliest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers—the United States, the USSR, Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into a war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the "European Army" treaties and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to a Four Power agreement on the German problem—an agreement that would offer the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and give all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

The war between France and Viet-Nam, which has been raging for seven years, can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation and supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegation made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for a settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always maintained that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitute a threat both to the peoples' independence and to Peace.

Such a policy is being extended in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. In Europe it is exemplified particularly in the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain; in Asia, in the shape of foreign occupation, in the intensified rearmament of Japan and in the attempts of the United States to set up military bases in Pakistan. This latest effort threatens to create a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments drive and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction impose an intolerable burden on the world and constitute a terrible menace.

The World Council of Peace has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters and hopes that efforts to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control will continue.

Finally, the World Council of Peace emphasises that, whilst negotiation must be applied to each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

The Conference would be able, on the initiative of any of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension and to seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interests of all States and is judged more and more severaly by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about a lasting Peace and it is for the peoples to see that it is respected. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations in developing their economic resources, their wellbeing and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the poverty and the difficulties of everyday life inflicted upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments drive, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES BY AGREEMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL

The only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

President of the World Council of Peace

"Recent events provide good examples of the nature and variety of the manœuvres set afoot to delay and prevent negotiation. They enable us to perceive that certain proposals for negotiation can be put forward with aims that are very different from those which the peoples so ardently desire—that is to say, a sincere search for agreed solutions acceptable to all. As we see it, the only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace.

"The aim of dividing the world permanently into two hostile blocs tied to the arms drive which is ruining the peoples, is today clashing with the desire for negotiation. It is therefore convenient for those who find the fulfilment of their ambition to dominate obstructed by this desire for negotiation, not to make a frontal attack but, by exploiting this desire, to try and show that negotiation is impossible. They claim that they want to negotiate, but do not wish to carry this negotiation through except under conditions which make failure inevitable, thereby creating a situation more conducive to the use of force. The peoples see in negotiation a means of reducing and, later, of eliminating international tension, a means of stopping armed conflicts, of settling differences and of making possible the organisation of disarmament. There are others who wish, through negotiations undertaken with the deliberate intention of wrecking them, to dash the hopes of the peoples and remove the last obstacles which prevent them from cutting the world in two and thereby engendering war.

"The main object of the manœuvres carried out over the last months is to create utter disillusionment among the people who, since the Korean armistice, placed such high hopes on the success of future negotiation. Furthermore, knowing and fearing the great forces which the Budapest Appeal can bring into action, those who oppose an easing of international tension aimed at making the disillusioned public place responsibility for the failure. These manœuvres, which are—to put it briefly—intended to gain wide support for a tough policy, will disappoint those who instigated them. The hopes born of the successful action to stop the war in Korea cannot easily be destroyed. Aware of the dangers, have we not already put people on their guard against such manœuvres by making known the resolution passed by our Bureau here in Vienna last September? By persevering in this way, so that none may fall into the dangerous traps which have in the past been set and which will continue to be set for the people, we shall succeed in making this great hope—honest negotiation—a reality. Negotiation undertaken in good faith should permit successful settlement of the main differences. All the problems cannot be studied simultaneously, but it must be clearly understood that the solutions adopted for each one of them are not independent of each other and that, in consequence, it is inadmissible that, prior to the consideration of a question, a predetermined solution to another question should have been arrived at by an intransigent group of Powers.

"It is nevertheless in such a manner that we have seen the Western Powers proposing a Conference for the solution of the German problem after prior tri-partite conferences had laid down conditions accepted by Chancellor Adenauer and which envisaged, in one way or another, a rearmed Germany which would be drawn into the Atlantic coalition.

"The problems of the Political Conference in Korea and those relative to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament are the object of similar manœuvres.

"Though they are in a minority, those who conduct this policy are still supported by many honest people and manage, what is more, to create confusion in others, thus rendering them powerless to act. It is all these honest people that we must convince. It would be vain to approach the minority directing this policy.

"It is in striving to convince the honest people who support this 'tough' policy, that we shall help to throw it overboard."

Negotiation for agreement

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

"We have in the past supported, and we continue to support the idea of negotiation, for without negotiation no agreement is possible. But if there cannot be agreement without negotiation there can, on the other hand, be negotiation without agreement; there can be proposals for negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of agreement; there can be talks on negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of negotiation. We are now confronted with desperate attempts to deceive millions of Peace-loving people and to veil the feverish preparation for a terrible war with words dear to all friends of Peace."

Whoever wants Peace must be ready to reach agreement with his opponent

Pastor MARTIN NIEMOLLER (Germany)

"I said in Budapest last June: 'Two things are clear to me—whoever desires Peace, must also be prepared to come to an understanding with his opponent,' and further: 'Whoever desires Peace, that is, whoever is really prepared to come to an understanding with his opponent, must also be prepared to talk with his opponent and must strive for such talks with all the means at his disposal.'"

The method of genuine negotiation will ultimately prevail

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY (India)

Former Assistant Director-General of the World Health Organisation

"When we met in Budapest, the Korean armistice was on the point of being concluded. The universal demand for Peace by the people had its effect and brought about a peaceful end to the war which was threatening to deteriorate into another world war.

"We rightly concluded that if the Korean hostilities could be terminated by a negotiated armistice, so could all other international tensions. A lot of things have happened since we met in Budapest which seem on the whole to worsen the international tensions. But I believe that our conclusion still holds good...

"That the method of genuine negotiation will ultimately prevail, I have little doubt. But we cannot take it as inevitable. We must work for it. What is happening in Korea and elsewhere underlines the call of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to the people to be on the alert."

To lay down conditions before negotiating is to render negotiation meaningless

General HERIBERTO JARA CORONA
(Mexico)

"If we try to arrange a meeting with the precise aim of solving all the existing problems which threaten Peace, but if at the same time one of the Powers starts by laying down conditions and demanding that these be accepted beforehand as a proof of good faith—and these conditions may embrace all the problems that demand an immediate meeting—then such a meeting will no longer have any object, unless it is only wanted in order to ratify what has been laid down in advance. But this would not be possible either, because every Government has the institutions appropriate to this purpose within its own State system.

"In any case, the fact that even the most recalcitrant are now examining the question, shows that it no longer arouses their scorn. This is highly significant for the cause of Peace."

Bulgaria is ready to settle all differences with neighbour States

GEORGI NADYAKOV
(Bulgaria)

"The President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Vulko Chervenkov, in his speech on the foreign and domestic policies of the country, delivered on September 8th last, on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of our liberation from the fascist yoke, expressly stated that our Government has no aggressive intention against Bulgaria's neighbours and that it is ready, through peaceful negotiation, to settle all differences with the neighbouring States of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia.

"The re-establishing of normal diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, the economic talks with Greece which are being carried on at the present time, together with our proposal for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece and the United States—all these concrete facts serve to demonstrate the full support given by our country to the recommendations of the World Council of Peace and the complete unity that exists between the Government and the people on the most important question of today, that of ensuring the safeguarding of world Peace through negotiation."

Small countries have need of Great Power agreement

Professor ANDRE BONNARD
(Switzerland)

"Switzerland is a small country and it is the small countries which have the greatest need of agreement between the Great Powers.

"We Swiss, as much as any other nation and even more than any other nation, are aware of our smallness and need agreement and *détente*. We need genuine negotiation among the Great Powers—negotiation not based upon force, not "negotiation from strength' to use an Anglo-Saxon term, but negotiation without recourse to force."

The relaxation of international tension would open new perspectives for agreements between the peoples of Africa and Europe

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER
(Senegal)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"More than ever before we must exert ourselves to explain to our peoples that, without a relaxation of international tension, there can be no lasting solution to their own particular problems.

"The relaxation of international tension and the possibilities it would offer of disarmament and the resumption of commercial relations between all countries, would open new perspectives for agreements between the people of Africa and Europe which would be acceptable and beneficial to all."

Peaceful co-operation and unity

TSENDIN DAMDIN SUREN
(Mongolia)

"The spirit of our time and the peoples' will demand that the representatives of the USA, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain co-operate in the United Nations in order to safeguard Peace and enjoy its fruits and to prevent the crows from looting them and the ravening wolves from devouring them.

"We have all seen during the last few years that the United Nations, without China, has been bumping along like a cart with a wheel missing. A Mongolian proverb says:

'A flock of birds is worth more than a prowling tiger.'

"We emphatically demand that the representatives of the Governments of the different countries in UNO stop fighting like tigers and that they work together as friends and unite in Peace."

The idea of negotiation has made great progress

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"Examination of the facts leads us to conclude that the idea of direct negotiation has made great headway, not only with public opinion but also with numerous Governments; that there is a certain relaxation of tension and a tendency to consider that the danger of the Cold War being transformed into a hot war is less today than it was two years ago. Yet nothing has happened which can be considered as a reversal of the policy followed since 1947 and which has often led us to the verge of grave conflicts...

"The problem remains that of giving enough cohesion and power of action to world opinion, so that it may expose and defeat the Cold War-mongers for whom the division of the world into opposing blocs is a life and death question.

"Great progress in this direction has been made during recent years. We shall make further progress."

NO RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES IN KOREA

The peoples must be vigilant

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"It was a great victory for the forces of Peace that they succeeded at last in bringing hostilities to an end by making the spirit of negotiation prevail.

"Negotiation between Americans, Chinese and Koreans was proved to be possible and resulted in an armistice agreement. This is a fact of very great significance and it made a big contribution to the relaxation of international tension. But other facts—such as the behaviour of Syngman Rhee during the armistice talks and the conclusion of separate agreements between him and the United States and the sixteen Powers who took part in the Korean war under US command—were fraught with future difficulties. These acts could only impede the future negotiations and in point of fact we have since seen manœuvres similar to those we condemned in relation to the German problem.

"The forces that fear the relaxation of international tension use the most diverse methods to prevent the holding of the Political Conference. The preliminary conference is continually coming up against difficulties.

"The Korean and Chinese delegates have just proposed a new plan which tends to avoid 'tough' policies at the conference table by bringing into the Political Conference neutral countries like the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma. This plan corresponds to the peoples' conception of negotiations and should be accepted by all the parties; pressure is being exerted to wreck it.

"Does not Dulles threaten to disregard the armistice agreements regarding the liberation of prisoners if, after a certain date, the proposals of the mechanical majority at UNO for the composition of the Political Conference are not accepted as they stand by the Koreans and Chinese? . . .

"Our immediate task is to call on the people to be vigilant so that hostilities may not be renewed in Korea and the Political Conference may find a peaceful solution of the Korean problem."

Invite the USSR, India and other neutral Asian countries to the Political Conference

HAN SUL YA (Korea)

"Everyone now sees that the armistice in Korea has contributed to the easing of international tension. It has fortified the hope for Peace of all men of goodwill and shown that it is possible to settle international conflicts and other outstanding issues through understanding between the countries concerned.

"The Korean question can and must be solved at the Political Conference which, we may surmise, will be called in the very near future.

"Our people well know that the settlement of the Korean question will strengthen the cause of Peace in the Far East and throughout the world. To the extent that neutral States of Asia are concerned in the solution of the Korean question, we consider that countries with such a great interest in it as the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma must be invited to take part in the Political Conference. We do not doubt that the participation of these countries will have a favourable influence on its work and will help to settle successfully the questions with which the Conference will have to deal."

MAO DUN (China)

"Although the United States Government was compelled to accept the Armistice Agreement, they have always deliberately kept the Korean armistice in an unstable condition. Immediately after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique signed a so-called 'Mutual Defence Treaty' giving the United States the right to station troops indefinitely in South Korea.

"United States military aircraft and military personnel have constantly violated the Armistice Agreement and invaded the demilitarised zone. The United States is repeatedly obstructing and sabotaging the realisation of the Armistice Agreement, while Syngman Rhee almost every day threatens to 'march to the North', 'unify Korea by unilateral military actions,' 'drive the Indian custodian troops out of Korea by force.'

"On the question of the repatriation of POWs, the United States Government has repeatedly violated the terms of reference for the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, preventing the POWs from listening to explanations and using special agents to keep a terrorist control over them . . .

"The United States Government has consistently refused to discuss the composition of the Political Conference, because it stubbornly opposes the proposal of the Chinese and Korean Governments to invite neutral countries, especially India and other neutral countries in Asia, to take part in the conference. But the United States Government has not been able to give any reason whatsoever for its opposition.

"Since the task of the Political Conference is to settle peacefully the Korean question, which is also a question relating to Peace in Asia and the world, to discuss such an important question without permitting the participation of the neutral countries concerned, especially the neutral countries in Asia, is, we believe, entirely devoid of reason."

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY (India)

"Scarcely had the ink dried on the Armistice Agreement than the Secretary of State of the USA, Mr. John Foster Dulles, publicly condemned the activities of the Repatriation Commission and had the temerity to describe India and other nations working on it as 'so-called' neutral nations! Mr. Syngman Rhee threatened

to attack the Indian Custodian Force and launched a vile campaign of slander against India and our Prime Minister himself. The UN Command handed over the prisoners-of-war to the Indian Custodian Force, obviously after having made the most detailed arrangements to ensure that the proper administration of the prisoners' camps would be made difficult.

"... Peace-loving mankind is at one in demanding that India and other Neutral Asian countries participate in the Korean Political Conference."

Report on Korea at Peace

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"What moved us most was that all the reconstruction and building undertaken after the armistice show that the Korean people count on the possibility of a lasting Peace, although the threat of a new attack has not ceased to exist. In fact, the Koreans are beginning to restore school buildings, hospitals and theatres.

"For example, on the day following the armistice, they began building a large theatre on the beautiful hill of the capital; it will shortly be completed, that is to say, only four months after the cease-fire. What does this prove? It shows that the Koreans have not only the firm intention of defending world Peace side by side with all the Peace-loving peoples of the world, but also that they have profound faith in the power of the forces of Peace to defeat the forces of war."

We must prepare the way for a lasting Peace in the Far East

Dr. JAMES ENDICOTT
(Canada)

"At its meeting in Ottawa, the National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress demanded:

'Strict observance of the Korean Armistice Agreement and a round-table conference on Korea, with neutral participation, to prepare the way for lasting Peace in the Far East'."

Mr. SATTAR
(Iraq)

"The withdrawal of the UN troops and the Chinese Volunteers from Korea and the granting of the right of self-determination to the Korean people are essential prerequisites for reaching a satisfactory settlement of the Korean question. We know, too, that Peace in Korea is closely linked to Peace in Asia, particularly in the Far East. The Political Conference, with the participation of the majority of the representatives of the UN forces; the examination by this Conference of the Korean question only, to the exclusion of the other questions relating to the establishment of Peace in the Far East; the non-participation of representatives of the neutral Asian States which are interested in a general settlement of Asian problems, particularly the Korean and Japanese questions and the wars in South-east Asia; the problem of the admission to UNO and to the Security Council of the representatives of the People's Republic of China—for all these reasons the Political Conference cannot achieve its aim or justify the hopes that it will reach a definite peaceful settlement of the Korean question and establish Peace in the Far East.

"We are therefore faced with the urgent task of doing all we can to prevent a renewal of hostilities in Korea, whether or not the Political Conference obtains any success in this."

Korea shows that negotiation is possible

Pastor MARTIN NIEMOLLER
(Germany)

"The World Council of Peace and its endeavours, the world forces of Peace and public opinion have finally succeeded—and indeed I am convinced that they have succeeded—in bringing the contending parties in the difficult problem of the Korean conflict to the Conference table. This is a good omen for all future efforts.

"I believe that Korea has clearly shown that they are obliged to negotiate even if they do not really want to."

The world wants a genuine Peace

Metropolitan NIKOLAI
(USSR)

Examining the effects of the Korean armistice, the Metropolitan stated:

"We Christians, like all other Peace-loving people on Earth, are greatly inspired by this important international event because it is the first significant result of the struggle of the peoples for Peace, a first convincing demonstration of the strength of public opinion when the latter is the weapon of a moral evaluation of things.

"Now, the whole world is following with sustained attention the observation of the clauses of the armistice and is awaiting the opening of negotiations for a stable Peace in Korea ...

"We must do everything possible to see that world public opinion plays an active part in these talks by demanding the peaceful unification of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. It is necessary that all Christian churches and religious organisations in the USA take a stand on this question and help the American people to make their Government recognise the Korean people's right to self-determination."

Foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea

Professor
FELIPE SALAZAR SANTOS
(Colombia)

"Quite a few Latin American countries have already begun to move. In various ways public opinion is demanding that the Governments embark on a new political course at UNO and that they instruct their delegates to vote more in accordance with the ideas they represent. In Colombia, for example, the President of the Republic received many petitions, signed by people of various trends and from all walks of life, demanding the return of our troops and naval units which are still in Korea."

NO GERMAN REARMAMENT BUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM

German rearmament compromises international security

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

In his opening speech the President dealt in detail with the essential characteristics of the German question as it is to-day:

"It is clear that the rearmament of militarist Germany is a part of the United States policy of peripheral strategy. A rearmed Western Germany, out for revenge, is regarded as a first class strategic base. It becomes increasingly evident to the people of the Western countries bordering on Germany, that their own safety will be jeopardised if these projects are carried through, for such a Germany may well be tempted, as in the past, to start expanding in their direction. This whole aggressive policy is put forward under the cover of defence, whereas actually it compromises the security of the world. It attempts to ignore the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties. It wipes out the Potsdam Agreement of which the fundamental principles would permit the conclusion of a treaty between the Four Great Powers creating a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. All peoples have some responsibility for eliminating the danger of a rearmed, militarist Germany, but Germany's neighbour States bear a particularly heavy responsibility."

The danger is causing fresh voices to speak out for France's national interests

GILBERT DE CHAMBRUN (France)

Secretary of the World Council of Peace

"The European Community and a European army would establish the predominance of German militarism in Europe. Any countries associated with Germany in these units would not only risk being dragged into a third world war, following in Germany's steps, but at the same time would be in danger of having to withstand the pressure of German militarism along their frontiers...

"In my country, a large number of people who accepted the Atlantic Pact because they considered it was a defensive measure, today feel that the entry of Germany into the European Army, under the orders of an Atlantic chief, would give this Pact an aggressive character because of the territorial ambitions of the Bonn Government.

"If we now examine the Soviet proposals, we have to admit that they are based neither upon preconceived conditions nor upon *faits accomplis;* in fact these proposals alone are based upon existing international agreements: Potsdam, the Anglo-Soviet Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact.

"They are a compromise because both sides would renounce the idea of a divided world gambling over Germany.

"Germany could be quickly reunified following a Four Power Agreement aimed at finding a peaceful solution of the German problem. The only limitations imposed upon Germany would be in order to prevent the rebirth of militarism, both for Germany's neighbours and for the German people themselves...

"I would particularly like to speak to our friends of the Soviet Peace Committee. I do this because our two countries have a common interest in averting the revival of German militarism. This treaty, sealed by our common sufferings, is once again the order of the day in France.

"A few days ago M. Edouard Daladier, former President of the Council, reminded the National Assembly that since the duel between Alexander III and Napoleon no Russian soldier has set foot on our soil as an enemy.

"A great number of my countrymen consider that two points which do not depend solely on them are necessary in the struggle they are conducting in their country in the national interest.

"The first of these points is the firmness the Soviet Government shows in frustrating, in not tolerating, the *fait accompli* of German rearmament. This firmness helps us all the more because we too are working to make the French Government show an equal strength in face of the same danger.

"The second point is the full implementation of the Franco-Soviet Pact which, in spite of the vicissitudes of the last few years, is legally still in force, since it was drawn up on a twenty-year basis. The Franco-Soviet Pact envisages consultation between the two Governments in the event of a new threat from Germany. The threat is there. The great majority of the French people wish these consultations to take place...

"There is a lot of talk about building Europe. They use this fine expression to cover the revival of the Wehrmacht.

"To build Europe is to encourage all the peoples of this continent to live in co-operation with one another. It means developing between them commercial and cultural relations. It means securing the great German nation against the return of militarism which has been the cause of so much unhappiness in Europe, thus helping it back into the peaceful community of nations."

The Soviet people never repudiate their pledges

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

The speaker described the two opposing policies on the German question:

"I ask this authoritative gathering to examine impartially the events of recent months. The Soviet Union has concluded no agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic directed against the security of France, Great Britain or the USA. There is no military agreement between the Soviet Union and the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union has not revived a German army to increase its power, nor has it used German territory to instal either atomic or other types of aggressive bases. For its part, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has carried out a series of political and economic measures which can facilitate the unification of Germany. This Government has never declared that its aim is to liberate the people of Frankfurt-on-Main or of Munich. Its Ministers do not say that they want to change the political or social systems of Denmark or Belgium and that when such changes have taken place they will be ready to discuss the question of the joint administration of the Danish part of Schleswig or the district of Malmédy.

"What has the behaviour of the other side been like? It has in every way supported the revenge-seeking elements in Western Germany. It has helped to revive military and paramilitary organisations run by Nazis. It proposed that the Government of West Germany conclude a military treaty directed against one of the Great Powers which, together with other Great Powers, won the victory over fascism. This other side has turned the territory of

Western Germany into an aggressive bridgehead, into an arsenal of atomic and other weapons.

"The Government of Western Germany, for its part, has openly launched slogans of revenge. It has laid down claims to the territories of States who were allies of the USA, Great Britain and France. The leader of the West German Government has rejected the idea of negotiating with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and has declared that one of his aims is the *"Liberation of the inhabitants of Dresden and of Weimar."* The Ministers of this Government speak of the need to change the political system of Poland and Czechoslovakia. With the tacit approval of the representatives of Great Britain and France, they call upon the citizens of West Germany to recreate divisions which will make it possible to alter existing frontiers. Yet agreements exist between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and between France and the Soviet Union, which can prevent any possible repetition of German aggression...

"I listened with great attention to M. de Chambrun's speech and I can make him the reply that the Soviet people are not in the habit of going back on engagements to which they have pledged themselves. If the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance is observed by the two parties it can become a guarantee of security for our two countries and for the whole of Europe.

"The States with an interest in the preservation of Peace are today much stronger than they were nine years ago. They can cause revenge-seekers and aggressors to think again. I believe in France. The people who fought at Valmy and Verdun, the people of the Maquis, will find a way out which is consonant with their traditions and their good sense. Let my words be understood aright; they have their source not in political considerations but in the heart."

Let us have a Germany in which her neighbours can have confidence

WILHELM ELFES
(Germany)

"The peaceful re-establishment of a united, democratic State which is desired by the German people and necessary to their national well-being cannot be achieved by the methods conceived in Washington and Bonn. I am glad that M. de Chambrun has already said this clearly. This is why we decided right from the beginning—and particularly at our international meetings in Berlin, Vienna and Budapest—on another method.

"This method which has also been put forward in the Soviet Union's Notes, begins with the Potsdam Agreement and leads through an agreement between the Great Powers as well as between Germans, and free all-German elections, to a unified Germany. This Germany would serve neither the East nor the West as an advanced military base and would see her national existence guaranteed by a Peace Treaty, her peaceful development by a democratic constitution and her economic potential by free trade relations. It would be a Germany enjoying both the respect and the confidence of its neighbours and would, therefore, be accepted into the United Nations as a matter of course."

The desire of the German people is to live at Peace with the Soviet Union and France

JOSEPH WIRTH
(Germany)

Former Chancellor

"Seeking agreement with all, without exception, had to be and must still be the principle of German foreign policy. If Germany wants Peace with Russia, she must, at the same time, seek Peace with France. This fundamental principle of history is being strikingly borne out by the current debate in the French Parliament.

"This idea is deeply rooted in the German people too—so deeply that, at the recent elections, the forces with an interest in war had to use the words Peace and agreement in order to hide their true aims from the people...

"To silence the voices calling for agreement, the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are being restricted. Already, the Constitution itself is being attacked. It is to be altered to make possible the conscription of the youth of West Germany. Germans who play a leading role in the fight for Peace are being persecuted for allegedly endangering State security.

"That such measures are necessary proves that, in the Federal German Republic, there is strong opposition to the policy of revenge and militarism...

"It is a source of great strength to us to know that this struggle of the democratic forces in Germany is supported by the confidence of all Peace-loving men and nations in the world."

The basis of German unity

ANNA SEGHERS
(Germany)

"On what basis can the unity of Germany be achieved today? There are some astounding notions on this subject, both in Germany herself and in other countries. Extraordinary plans are being drawn up in the West, but they are not aimed at helping Germany or advancing the cause of the unity, Peace and prosperity of Germany. They do not aim at bringing up German children to be worthy members of the family of Peace-loving peoples...

"One thing is certain—we know what a united Germany must not be. She must certainly not be what General Kesselring, for instance, envisages. He declared recently that the S.S. were the *élite* of the Wehrmacht and the forerunners of the European Army. She must certainly not be occupied by a European Army, giving every former S.S. man the hope of being promoted to the *élite*, perhaps even with "No man's lands" behind the Elbe and the Rhine, which would become enormous graveyards once the atomic weapons had done their job. Any negotiations on the unity of Germany must be approached by the participants with the determined intention of arriving at a peaceful solution. This intention is never absent from negotiation, as contrasted with the use of force.

"So the discussion must not be entered into with the intention of dragging it out interminably or even wrecking the chances of a solution, as has very often happened. Conditions must be sought which are acceptable both to the Four Great Powers and to both parts of Germany, that is to say the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. From the start, everything that threatens the Peace of Europe and the Peace of Germany must be eliminated. Only when militarism no longer plays any role whatsoever will a new, united Germany cease to be a possible threat to the security of her neighbours."

We must achieve a united, democratic and peaceful Germany

JAROSLAV IWASZKIEWICZ
(Poland)

"The friendship of the Polish people for the people of France can be counted on. Further, they know what an immense, brilliant and attractive force France can be when she embraces a cause on behalf of the peoples. Today, this cause is the cause of Peace and the independence of nations.

"The German people find themselves in a dramatic position at the present time. The forces which, twice already, have led them into disaster are once again trying to entice them. But the German nation has always contained great, progressive forces with the power to act for the good of humanity. These forces are today reacting against the possibility of another catastrophe, they

are combatting the revival of hatred and chauvinism. They exist in West Germany, too, and are working in spite of the terror used against them by Adenauer; it is our duty to support them with all our strength ...

"These progressive forces are being stoutly supported by the German Democratic Republic which has proved that the German people are capable of establishing good neighbour relations based on the principles of mutual respect, friendship and co-operation, thus making a precious contribution to the work of consolidating Peace in the world.

"The Polish people believe that the only way to ensure Peace and ward off the menace of a new war is to achieve a Germany united on peaceful and democratic principles, in the spirit of Potsdam, as the Soviet Union has so often pointed out in its well-known Notes.

"The Polish nation would welcome with deep satisfaction the birth of a unified German State which would no longer be a threat to its neighbours and would become a real factor for Peace in Europe, while restoring to the great German nation its rightful place in the family of free nations."

Support the Peace-loving forces in Germany

ISABELLE BLUME
(Belgium)

Secretary of the World Council of Peace

"In all those countries in which, at the present time, the supporters of EDC, uncertain of victory, are trying to hide German rearmament behind the screen of the European Union, we are faced with a duty which becomes more urgent every day. It is that of bringing into the light of day what our enemies want at all costs to conceal, namely the monster lurking beneath all the plans for saving the civilisation of Europe and which is frightening Germany herself and all her neighbours—the rearmament of West Germany and her incorporation in the European Union ...

"It is awful to think that, with the help of our peoples, not only could the old German dream of Europe in bondage to Germany be made a reality, but also that the European Union is taking up again Mussolini's and Hitler's plans for Africa, making of it an imperialist settlement for the excess population of Italy and Germany. This is a further proof, if such were necessary, that the European Union as conceived in Strasburg and as demonstrated in EDC can neither be an instrument for the liberation of nations nor an instrument of Peace ...

"There is a fact of which our peoples and even our politicians are aware—the strongest guarantee must come from the German people themselves. Now, the recent ratification of the treaties by the two Houses of the Parliament of the Federal Republic and Adenauer's election have given us no assurance on this point, except one, which is that in Germany there are nine million voters who share our feelings and whom we must help at all costs ...

"If we do not help these Germans to defeat EDC in their own country, we shall not succeed in defeating it in our own countries either."

D. N. PRITT Q.C.
(Britain)

"The effort is now being made to rush through the re-militarisation of Western Germany, which involves the permanent division of Germany—permanent so far as anything can be permanent in these days of collapse and rebirth—involves, too, a major step towards a Third World War, and the intensification of already perilously strained international relations.

"What is the attitude of British public opinion to this rearmament proposal? I have no doubt that the great majority of the people is unequivocally opposed to it?"

J. THEODORE HARRIS
(Britain)

"We wish to assure our German friends here in this Council that the British people want only to live at Peace with the German people, to have normal friendly relations, to help the German people to heal the divisions which mutilate their national life, to see the German people reunited, at Peace.

"It is not from any enmity to the German people that I speak with such deep conviction against the arming of Germany. We seek also for general disarmament. Only in these conditions can the German nation, which has contributed so much to the cultural life of the world, for example in music and literature, be free and really secure for the first time in their history."

The European Defence Community can be defeated

MRS. MINNAERT-COELING
(Holland)

"In July of this year the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament ratified the European Defence Community Treaty by 75 votes to 11. This is certainly a very large majority, but it is not as large and especially not as solid as one might think and as the papers would like us to believe ...

"The Dutch people have not forgotten the occupation and they oppose the restoration of Nazi domination, although opposition to the European Army Treaty is not yet strong enough.

"That is why, above all, it must be explained to the Dutch people what the EDC treaty entails—German rearmament and the restoration of Nazi domination ...

"The events of the last months in France are also encouraging for us. Many who at first thought that ratification of the EDC treaty was unavoidable have recently regained their courage and prefer to wait. The same phenomenon is to be observed in Right-wing political parties. Many put great hopes in future developments in France. This gives us the chance of making contact with wider circles."

The possibility of a peaceful settlement remains

OLAF FORCHHAMMER
(Denmark)

"The most important task of the moment is to avoid any complication of the German question ...

"The rearmament of West Germany and her incorporation in a West European military bloc will automatically prevent the peaceful unification of East and West Germany.

"Yet, after one-and-a-half year's discussion and pressure, the Bonn and Paris agreements of May 1952 have still not come into force.

"So an eventual Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers, on which there have already been several exchanges of Notes, would not yet find itself confronted with the *fait accompli* of West German rearmament.

"The ambiguous and uncertain attitude of certain Western politicians is shown by the fact that, while calling a Four Power Conference, they at the same time jeopardise it by doing everything to push through the plans for a European army.

"But as long as these endeavours have not reached fulfilment, the Four Power Conference will not find itself confronted by a *fait accompli* ...

"I am convinced that such a Conference would help to encourage and strengthen resistance to the European Army and would clearly demonstrate who stands for Peace and who does not."

SHEVQUET MUSARAJ
(Albania)

"The peaceful solution of the German question is of particular concern to our people.

"We have no common frontier with Germany, but we underwent the same horrors and devastation at the hands of the Nazis as the countries bordering on Germany. It is enough to mention the 28,000 who were killed during the anti-fascist struggle (that is 3% of our population) and the 60,000 houses which were burned down (about 40% of inhabitable dwellings), to show what a scourge German militarism and Nazism were for Albania.

"Therefore, in order to ensure a correct solution of the German problem, we have supported and continue to support, unreservedly, the Soviet proposals which put forward the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany and the creation of a united, democratic and free Germany, as provided for in the Potsdam Agreement which was signed by the Great Powers."

KNUT LØFSNES
(Norway)

"The solution of the German problem must be built on the basis of an understanding between the Great Powers which defeated Hitler Germany."

The reasons for the opposition to EDC of the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa

GABRIEL d'ARBOUSSIER
(Senegal)

"The EDC Treaty is the logical result of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact which were the means of extending US participation in the plans for another World War and in maintaining colonial exploitation and oppression."

M. Gabriel d'Arboussier went on to quote facts proving that the increasing poverty and oppression in colonial and dependent countries are concomitants of the worsening of international tension.

"... So the opposition of the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa to incorporation in EDC does not spring from a narrow view of things, but from actual experience and a clear understanding of the prospects offered.

"The support that the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa must lend to the French people's struggle against the ratification of the EDC Agreements, is dictated by the immediate interests of these peoples and not by some slogan or other."

BIRAMA TRAORE
(French Sudan)

"We do not accept the Bonn and Paris agreements, for they would mean a mass migration to our country of what is called the excess population of Europe...

"Neither do we support the setting-up, in any part of the world, of a Nazi regime which would revive the absurd Hitlerian theory of superior and inferior races.

"We want neither the European Community, Eurafrica nor the Third Force, for if we accepted them we should be going against our own national independence and we should make the serious mistake of encouraging the warmongers in the crimes they are getting ready to commit against our brothers in all countries."

Replace the policy of strength by a policy of negotiation

EMMANUEL d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE
(France)

At the last sitting the speaker analysed a recent vote in the French National Assembly.

"All the majority parties split, a great number of Deputies of the majority joined the opposition in the common fight against the Bonn and Paris treaties, men of such diverse views as Herriot, the President of the Assembly, Daladier, Jacques Duclos, Daniel Meyer and General De Gaulle are speaking out against these treaties; the reason for this is that the popular will has been demonstrated throughout the country at the call of the Peace Movement and of a wide variety of organisations, particularly organisations of ex-servicemen and war victims...

"It would be wrong to believe that all these men, who represent varying trends of opinion, see this fight only in a negative light. Assuredly, they want to prevent the realisation of the EDC. But they all had a common objective of a very positive nature—replace a policy of strength by a policy of negotiation, eliminate the dangers of war and seek conditions that would guarantee the security of Europe...

"The theory of men like Guy Mollet, urging that all non-Communist nations join the American bloc—and this is Adenauer's theory, too—is opposed by another, our theory, which is upheld by Deputies of the Right, Left and Centre. It is the theory that the peaceful co-existence of different systems is possible, the theory of the settlement of all differences by honest negotiation. It was on this basis that former President of the Council of Ministers, Daladier, put forward a peaceful solution of the German problem...

"A conference can only succeed if the participants seek a peaceful solution and not the inclusion of a remilitarised Germany in a system of strength. A conference cannot succeed if one of the parties goes to meet the other with the intention of confronting it with a *fait accompli*."

Concentrate the efforts of all who are opposed to German rearmament

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

"The conclusion to be drawn from the present stage of the problem of EDC is that we must organise with the utmost urgency a great campaign of explanation and action against ratification, in close co-operation with every opponent of EDC. This should embrace not only the six countries of the "Little Europe" but the whole of Europe and the entire world, since it affects Asians and Africans just as much as Europeans...

"We have just seen that in Western Europe the situation is characterised by the struggles on the question of the European Community and the ratification of the EDC Treaty. In these struggles that section of public opinion which has not agreed with us up till now is deeply divided and even severely shaken by a matter of conscience which is breaking down the ideological, political and social barriers which some had tried to raise against us."

AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE WAR IN VIET-NAM

The Vietnamese people urge negotiations

LE DINH THAM
(Viet-Nam)

"Not only have French colonialists fallen short of their aims of reconquest, but they have sustained serious losses. The French Army has already lost more than 300,000 killed, wounded and prisoner and a great quantity of war material and weapons destroyed or captured by the People's Army. The ruinous war in Viet-Nam is a bottomless pit for French finances; this year, military expenditure has reached the enormous figure of 600,000 million francs. Every day that the war in Viet-Nam goes on means further losses for France. It is clear that the war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is contrary to the interests of the French people. The movement for the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, in which broad sections of the people are taking part, faithfully reflects the aspirations of all honest French men and women. This movement has made considerable progress during recent months. On behalf of the Peace-loving people of Viet-Nam, I bring warm greetings to our friends in France...

"The armistice in Korea has increased the confidence of the peoples of France, Viet-Nam and the Peace-loving people of the world in their ability to bring this war to an end and reach a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. It has clearly demonstrated that all international conflicts can be settled by negotiation. The peoples of the world are becoming more concerned at the fact that the people of Viet-Nam are still suffering from a cruel war of aggression. In France and throughout the world there is an increasing volume of protest and concrete activity demanding an end to the war and peaceful negotiations to settle the Viet-Nam question...

"The war in Korea was ended by negotiation. It is therefore necessary and possible to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam by means of negotiation. The Peace-loving people of Viet-Nam urge negotiations to end the war and to reach a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam question, because it is desired by the people of the whole world and conforms to the interests of the peoples of Viet-Nam and France. During the past eight years the people of Viet-Nam have resolutely fought a war of resistance to the French colonialist troops in order to defend their independence and their liberty, to reconstruct their country in Peace and live a new life. This desire of our people has just been reaffirmed in a letter sent to the National Council of the French Peace Movement by the Viet-Nam Peace Committee."

The war in Viet-Nam can be ended through negotiation

MAO DUN
(China)

"Though the calls for the end of the war in Viet-Nam are being more and more echoed by people of all sections of French society, the United States Government is resorting to all sorts of means to exert pressure on the French Government to drag on the war in Viet-Nam. The aim of the United States Government, in addition to keeping the Far Eastern situation in a state of tension after the cease-fire in Korea, is to take over Indo-China for itself. At the same time, it is also trying to weaken the French position in Europe, so as to facilitate the rearming of West Germany. For this reason, the Vietnamese war has not only brought about the determined resistance of the Vietnamese people but has also aroused the increasing opposition of the French people.

"The Chinese people extend their boundless sympathy to the heroic Vietnamese people who are suffering from the calamities of war. We wholeheartedly support the proposal made yesterday by Mr. Le Dinh Tham, the delegate from Viet-Nam. His proposal serves the interest of Peace. We hope that all Peace-loving peoples the world over will take immediate action to call for an armistice in Viet-Nam and the peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. Since an armistice has been achieved in Korea through negotiations, we believe that the Vietnamese war can also be stopped in the same way."

Stimulate the movement of opinion for peaceful negotiations

Professor MARCEL NER
(France)

"We are happy to be able to state here that, in recent months, the French people have reached a much clearer understanding and have strengthened their will. Their anger is rising because they know that the destruction of the French Army, decimated in Indo-China, and the rearmament of Germany together with the glorification of the spirit of revenge, are preparations for another war or the enslavement of France to her neighbour in the East.

"The majority of French public opinion is today in agreement on the following points:

1 — The war in Indo-China serves no national interest. It only serves private interests or the interests of the USA.

2 — There is only one authentic Government in Viet-Nam, that of the Democratic Republic.

"After the experience of the armistice in Korea, the French delegation unanimously considers that the immediate ending of bloodshed and the opening of negotiations depend on a step which the Government must take with the utmost speed. We wish to restore to France the power to make Peace, without the US Government or private interests creating obstacles...

"We were happy to note that, in spite of the war, M. Le Dinh Tham could express sympathy for the French people from this rostrum.

"We are happy to express here our lively, fraternal sympathy for the people of Viet-Nam and to tell their representatives of the French people's emotion at the humane way with which our prisoners are treated and in which they are often liberated and allowed to return home.

"We agree with the delegates of Viet-Nam and of the great Chinese people in the proposal they made to the Council to launch an Appeal to the peoples of the world, to set in motion a great movement of public opinion for the immediate ending of hostilities and the opening of negotiations for Peace in Viet-Nam...

"When, now that the war in Korea is ended, the war in Viet-Nam, too, is stopped, a great step towards world Peace will have been taken, which will also be a great step towards convincing the peoples that it is possible to impose their will for Peace everywhere."

Cease fire!

J. CASADEI

Representative from the WFTU

"The World Federation of Trade Unions is waging a determined struggle against the war in Viet-Nam which has been going on since 1946. Why should it not be possible, after so many years of bloodshed, destruction, ruin and death, to compel the opening of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of this question? The Third World Trade Union Congress. not only judged that this is possible, but it also decided to make December 19th next, a great day of active international solidarity of the working people of the whole world with the people of Viet-Nam and a day of struggle for the ending of the colonial war in Viet-Nam.

"In the Appeal to the Working Men and Women of the World, the WFTU asks them to unite under the slogan 'An immediate cease-fire in Viet-Nam!,' to express their warm solidarity with the workers and people of Viet-Nam and to demand of the French Government and Parliament and the United Nations the ending of the war."

Growth of national resistance to remilitarisation in Japan

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"During the last six months and especially since the eve of the armistice in Korea, there has been a vast development of the Japanese people's struggle against the existence of foreign military bases on their territory and against rearmament, the aim of which is to turn the Japanese into mercenaries of another country. At Uchinada, in the Department of Ishikawa, as is well-known, a great united front was formed between workers, fishermen, peasants and intellectuals of all political views, to resist the plans for setting up a United States military establishment in this locality. This brilliant example gave an immense spur to the whole people and ever broader strata are beginning to play a role in the national resistance to the remilitarisation of Japan."

The speaker quoted the opinion of a conservative political organisation on the so-called Mutual Security Aid granted to Japan by the USA:

"1. That Mutual Security Aid infringes the Japanese Constitution, since the basic principle of this Aid requires solutions of international differences by military means and it demands of us the creation and build-up of armed forces.

2. That Mutual Security Aid is fraught with the danger of dragging Japan into war, since it lays military obligations on Japan."

Proposed bases in Pakistan would create unbearable pressure on India

Major-General
Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY
(India)

"The proposed Pakistan bases are intended to sow discord among this group *(the so-called "Group of Arab and Asian nations" at UNO)* which can have very far-reaching evil results. The bases are also intended to bring almost unbearable pressure on India in her advocacy of, and work for, the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. The intention is an attempt to put an end to the splendid Peace-making contribution which India is making in the cause of World Peace."

INDULAL YAGNIK
(India)

"Nearer home the imperialist designs have now been convincingly exposed in what we call the foreign pockets of India occupied by the French and Portugese Governments. Years ago, these Governments, which cannot gain anything from these little areas but the dislike of the Indian people, appeared to be willing to discuss with our Government the question of the grant of independence to these territories. Recently, however, their attitude has hardened; and now it is as plain as a pikestaff that these Powers have virtually sold their little kingdoms to the US Government, to serve it as war bases on the sea-board of India...

"And finally all India is now seething with indignation at the US moves for planting their military bases in Pakistan by entering into a military pact with her Government. Our Prime Minister has sharply criticised their moves as unfriendly acts fraught with serious consequences for India and its relations with Pakistan. All sections of our people and our Press have been unanimously denoucing this latest phase of US diplomacy as inimical to the freedom and Peace of the Arab States, the Far East, the friendly Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and, above all, of India herself."

Withdraw foreign troops and respect the sovereignty of the peoples of the Middle East

ANTOINE TABET
(Lebanon)

"In recent years the USA has made great efforts to set up an aggressive military bloc incorporating the Arab and other States in the Near and Middle East, sometimes under the label of the 'Middle East Command' or 'Mutual Defence' and sometimes under the name of the 'Northern Middle East Pact.' The Arab peoples energetically resisted this project and so far it has not been possible to put it into operation.

"In spite of this failure, we are witnessing an intensification of the efforts to bring this plan to fruition in other forms...

"According to the Lebanese paper, 'Assarkha,' Admiral Wright came to propose the conclusion of bi-lateral military agreements between the United States and each of the Arab countries, beginning with the Lebanon and Syria. These agreements would be similar to those concluded with Spain and Greece, that is to say, they would give the USA the right to set up military bases and atom bomb dumps, to use the resources of the Arab countries at the whim of the US and to station occupation troops...

"Further, the USA is trying to form a Mediterranean bloc and to drag the Arab countries into it through the intermediary of Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Spain. Recently, contacts were established between Franco and the supporters of US policy in the Arab countries...

"We are fighting for our independence and national sovereignty. We demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and all the colonial and semi-colonial countries. We stand solidly behind the people of Iran in their fight for liberty and full independence. We are also striving to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension in our own interests and that of all other nations. We are sure that we shall be supported by all Peace and liberty-loving peoples represented by the World Council of Peace and the Peace Movement."

The occupation of the Suez Canal is a threat to Peace

ABDUL RAHMAN SHARKAWI
(Egypt)

"The Canal is no longer a British base but an international base and especially a base for atomic bombs...

"The maintenance of British occupation troops in Egypt and of the Suez Canal as a military base is a direct threat to world Peace.

"The Egyptian people are resisting military pacts and bases in full awareness that the victory of Peace in the world is also a victory for the cause of their liberty, progress and civilisation."

Blockade is reply to Iranian people's desire for independence

Professor SAID NAFICY
(Iran)

"Our people have always insisted that all they wanted was to live in Peace and freedom so as to set their social, economic and cultural life in order. No pretext, no crusading spirit will ever be able to shake our people's strong determination to fight for Peace.

"Besides, have our people not given proof of this lofty and sacred aspiration in these last years? It suffices to quote the oil nationalisation, the facts of which are known to the world. Our people were convinced of the obvious truth that, as long as this source of wealth was not in their own hands, their independence and their national sovereignty were in jeopardy. When, at last, the logical solution to this question was found, the world had no longer any doubt as to the legality of our claims. International bodies acknowledge that we were in the right and fair-minded people approved our action; but the sole reply from the other side was an economic blockade which has deprived us of the benefits of our immense national resources for more than two years in an attempt to force us to give up our rights."

Our countries have been transformed into military bases

MANUEL SANCHEZ ARCAS
(Spain)

The speaker analysed the military agreements recently concluded between the Governments of Spain and the USA, whereby Washington "allied itself to a regime condemned by UNO in 1946 for its fascist character and activities."

"Spain's geographical situation is suitable for launching an aeriel offensive, not only for long-range attacks (as in a war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies), but also short-range (as in a possible war between the USA and its European imperialist rivals). This explains the importance attached by dollar strategists to the adequate equipping of Spanish territory for use as an offensive air base. This intention is made clear by the construction of aerodromes on the Pyrrenean frontier without taking the requirements of defence into consideration...

"One of the concessions made to the USA by Franco authorises it to erect secret installations. Article IV of the Defence Agreement, referring to the property rights granted to the USA in the treaties in the case of both permanent installations and other constructions, says: 'In both cases (if the agreement is abrogated) these installations can be acquired by the Spanish Government, with the exception of the secret installations.' This concession amounts to giving the US permission to convert Spain into an arsenal for atomic bombs, H-bombs etc. and into a base from which these bombs can be used without taking into account the mortal peril in which this would place our country, the countries bordering on Spain and the Peace of the world...

"This treaty turns Spain into a base for aggression, yet one more in the chain of US bases, which have been set up in Britain, France, Italy, Norway, Greece and other countries, encircling the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. The transformation of Spain into a US base is directly connected with the measures which are being taken at the present time to remilitarise Western Germany."

ZAKARIA CERTEL
(Turkey)

"The war forces have done everything in their power to prepare Turkey as a war base, a stepping-stone and a centre of an offensive plan against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. The Turkish armed forces have been reorganised, mechanised, equipped with the most modern weapons. All the Turkish land, sea and air forces have been put under the command of NATO. A NATO headquarters has been established in Smyrna. 3000 Anglo-American military teaching staff are preparing the new cadres of officers and teaching modern war methods. Twelve air bases for the heaviest bombers have been constructed in different parts of Turkish territory. Naval bases have been established on the Black Sea and the Aegean ports of Turkey. Military roads are being constructed in the direction of the Soviet frontiers."

The Trieste question must be settled peacefully

CLAUDIO TONEL
(Trieste)

"You all know that the question of the Free Territory of Trieste is bound up with aggressive plans in the Balkans. Today, the US and British Governments are trying to accelerate the linking up of the strategic potential of the Eastern Alps with that of the Balkans and to achieve this they want to get the Governments of Rome and Belgrade to accept the arbitrary decision given in the bipartite Note of October 8th, last...

"As you have already been informed, the Trieste Peace Movement has asked for the replacement of the two-fold military occupation, Anglo-American and Yugoslav, in the two zones of the Free Territory of Trieste, by a single provisional, civilian administration responsible to the Security Council of the United Nations. Our Peace Committee has collected approximately 50,000 signatures for this demand and they have been sent to the UN. Meanwhile, since the recent events, our Committee has decided to take fresh steps. To avoid the partition of the Territory, we adopted a plan which was unanimously approved by the Communal Councils of Trieste and Muggia asking for a UN Commission to be sent to Trieste and petitioning for a popular referendum in the two zones on the future of the Territory."

Mobilise public opinion against the establishment of foreign bases

ALBERTO CIANCA
(Italy)

"Certain peoples have already learned what foreign bases and troops on their territory mean. Italy's experience is particularly unhappy. You know that foreign bases have been set up and foreign troops stationed in my country, although no treaty which might give this *fait accompli* a shred of legal sanction has been passed by Parliament. As a matter of fact, the EDC treaty has not yet been brought before Parliament and the opposition it will meet there will be no less energetic than that of the French National Assembly. The Government has not yet put to the vote, in the two Chambers, the London Convention which provides for and regulates the stay of foreign military contingents in the countries of Western Europe and which, moreover, does not envisage the establishment of actual military bases...

"A tragic proof of the dangers resulting from the conflict between the national interests and the presence of foreign military organisations on our soil, has been provided by the grave events in Trieste...

"As more and more foreign bases are set up, international tension becomes more acute and there is a growing danger that violence will prevail over negotiation.

"The mobilising of public opinion against this danger in every country is, we think, one of the essential tasks of the World Council of Peace."

Our people are opposed to the stationing of foreign troops

OLAF FORCHHAMMER
(Denmark)

"The elections which have just taken place have, for one thing, clearly shown that the majority of the Danish people is opposed to the stationing of foreign troops in Denmark. The Socialist Prime Minister stated in Parliament that the majority of the Danish Parliament is also opposed to it."

HALLDOR LAXNESS
(Iceland)

International Peace Prize-winner

"The turning of Iceland into a US military base was formally agreed to by a majority of the Deputies of our Parliament, the Althing, but this formal handing-over of the country has nothing to do with the will of the people, who think that such a handing-over is a most unnatural thing. A traffic of this nature—handing over the rights of a country to a foreign Power by voting in Parliament—is a novelty in the world and contains a strong element of absurdity. It is as unnatural an action as if I should go to another man, saying to him: It is my wish to be your slave, will you please be my master?

"The whole Icelandic people dislike the stationing of US forces in Iceland and even the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, which in the Press plays the role of a confidential clerk of the occupying Power, would never dream of fraternising with the American soldiery or inviting its members to their homes."

Against foreign interference in Latin America

BALTASAR CASTRO
(Chile)

President of the Chamber of Deputies

"Our country has signed the military pact with the USA against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people and for the last three years the popular movement for the abrogation of this treaty has been growing rapidly. Our present Government is a step towards a more democratic regime in the country, and the President of the Republic based his electoral campaign on the abrogation of the pact and the establishment of commercial relations with all countries. The result is that the people and their leaders are ready to help the Government and press it to carry out these two promises. I hope that one day, Chile will do so and thus give a fine example of independence and pride to many Governments which have bartered their dignity for a few machine-guns for use against their own workers and have handed over part of their territory for the setting up of military bases."

General EDGARD BUXBAUM
(Brazil)

"Let us take a quick look back over the past four or five years and examine the overall picture presented by the backward countries. We must admit that, even recently, they were generally unable to put up effective resistance to the new methods of economic plunder and national oppression used by foreign warmongers. During these last few years this fact has been a serious and unfavourable factor in the international situation. The more or less rapid and easy militarisation of the economy of these countries by the aggressive forces of the US under cover of Truman's Point Four and other disguises, has played an important role in sharpening international tension and in the preparations for a third world war...

"The facts proving the unprecedented increase of foreign military, economic and political oppression on our Continent which is aimed at preparing for war, are epitomised in the bilateral military agreements made between the US and several countries of Latin America. These agreements undoubtedly constitute, not only military alliances of an aggressive nature, but also instruments for destroying the sovereignty of the nations of Latin America."

FERMIN BERETERBIDE
(Argentina)

"North American policy, to which several Latin American Governments subscribe, is making ever more pressing demands for the conclusion of economic pacts and agreements in which there are clauses containing political restrictions. The Pacts of Rio de Janeiro, Bogota and Washington make the countries of Latin America militarily and economically dependent upon the USA if war should break out. To these have recently been added bilateral pacts extorting the cession of military bases, the subordination of the national economies to continental defence plans and restricting the sovereignty of the nations of Latin America...

"It is therefore with anxiety that our country sees a repetition of what happened to Mexico yesterday and is happening to Venezuela today. Such a policy is harmful to the development of industry and the national economy because it subordinates them to the US economy and is operated in the interests of an arms drive which seriously affects our national independence."

Elimination of foreign bases imperative to détente

Professor FLORICA MEZINCESCU
(Rumania)

The speaker quoted "US News and World Report" which lists US bases in Alaska, Britain, Turkey, North Africa, Greenland, Saudi Arabia, Tripoli, Okinawa, Guam etc. She then went on:

"The military bases situated on foreign territories thousands of miles away from the USA have no connection with the security of these countries. The interests of international security obviously demand that the Great Powers get together and decide to liquidate these bases—this would be a decisive step towards the easing of international tension."

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

"Can we look forward to an improvement in international relations as long as the principal activity of the United States is to tighten up the system of US military bases in Europe, Asia and Africa, and to perfect the plans of peripheral strategy? Can one speak seriously of a Four-Power Conference on the German question without renouncing, at least while awaiting the results of such a conference, the incorporation of Western Germany in the Atlantic military alliance?"

WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE REDUCTION OF ALL ARMAMENTS UNDER STRICT CONTROL

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"We know the impressive demonstration of approval given to the Stockholm Appeal by the people of the whole world. The desire to ban weapons of mass extermination has become even stronger since then...

"While certain progress has been made towards the solution of this problem it must be recognised that today there is still a clash of ideas and that no effective decision has been reached up to now by the UN Disarmament Commission.

"The same arguments are always put forward in order to make banning of atomic weapons impossible. In the most recent proposals put forward at UNO—those of the former French Minister Jules Moch—is repeated the fundamental contradiction of the Baruch Plan which stipulates that agreement on the ban should be preceded by a disclosure of all military forces and all atomic installations.

"How can we believe in the sincerity of those who ask nations to reveal their defences and industrial structure in their entirety, without the others and themselves having first renounced the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons? The only measure of this kind put forward in the French representative's plan is the prior banning of the use of chemical and biological weapons, though this ban, as laid down in the Geneva Protocol, has already been accepted by all the Powers, so far as chemical weapons are concerned, and by all the Powers except the United States, in the case of biological weapons.

"Why not put forward the same proposal of prior banning in the case of atomic weapons?"

Professor J. D. BERNAL F.R.S. (Britain)*

Vice-President of the World Council of Peace

"Popular demand for disarmament has steadily increased as the result of the bitter experience of the last two years, particularly in the war in Korea, when something has been seen of the amount of destruction which can be carried out even by the so-called conventional armaments and of the way in which, in modern war, civilians and particularly women and children have been their chief victims. At the same time the relentless economic pressure of the rearmament drive is holding back social progress in many countries and has reduced some of them to a state of extreme economic distress...

"It is particularly the scientific development of new weapons and the threat that they hold for indiscriminate and unlimited destruction that is arousing world conscience...

"The device of insisting first of all on an international census of armaments is transparent. It has the advantage of spinning out time while gathering militarily interesting information without any commitment to subsequent action. At its last meeting on November 18th, the United Nations Political Committee reaffirms the Assembly's desire to reach agreement, but in the very same paragraph it lays down the already unacceptable and futile sequence of regulation, limitation and reduction. This deadlock must be broken and that can only be so by the action of the peoples themselves. They must insist that Governments come together with a sincere intention to achieve substantial and rapid disarmament and without any preconditions about how it is to be reached...

"The Baruch Plan of ownership of all fissile material by an international authority, has now become pointless. It was always unacceptable as it would have meant effective control over the economy of every country in the world and more so now than ever because of the steps taken to use atomic energy for the power of production. Control at the source could do nothing to prevent the concealment of atomic and hydrogen bombs. For that, only a system of inspection as already agreed in principle by all countries including the Soviet Union could be effective. Even that, it should be recognised, requires for its success a genuine intention from the start to abide by the agreement and some evidence of good faith which can only be guaranteed by the strength of popular will in all the countries concerned.

"It is for that reason that we should insist on the importance of the preliminary declaration of abolition of weapons of mass destruction. In the last resort the surest guarantee against any breach of international agreement is the honesty of the common people in standing by the agreements they have made.

"It is, of course, for this very same reason that the promotors of the majority resolutions refuse to make any such agreement."

ALEXEI SURKOV (USSR)

"There is an iron logic in the fact that the problem of the struggle for a reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction arises, willy-nilly, in all public discussions which aim at seeking a way of reducing the present international tension.

"Why is this?

"I think it is because the armaments race, born of international tension, has itself become, as it swelled more and more monstrously, a constant source of aggravation of this tension.

"We can say the same for the atomic and hydrogen bombs which, since they saw the light of day, have kept millions of human beings in a state of anxiety and mental prostration. They, too, are a serious cause of the present international tension...

"What are the Soviet proposals for solving these problems? To begin with what is most important—to establish and to decree that the nations and the Governments ban the use of atomic,

* *Professor Bernal's speech was read by Mr. Duncan Jones, General Secretary of the British Peace Committee.*

thermo-nuclear and all other weapons of mass extermination, and that they denounce as war criminals the first Governments to use them.

"To establish and decree that the nations and the Governments undertake a substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, in an agreed ratio and order.

"After this *objective* has been laid down as an obligation for the contracting parties, they will proceed to the creation of *conditions* necessary to ensure the speedy and strict application of the decisions taken; that is to say they will proceed to a census of the objects to be controlled and to a strict control and inspection, with the right to control the objects declared by any Government and the additional right of seeking out objects which are not declared but whose existence is suspected by the international control bodies...

"A few years back, when we were advocating the prohibition of the atomic bomb, those in possession of this inhuman weapon said, with irony—they are demanding prohibition because they do not have this weapon and fear it.

"But time passed and the bitter necessity of not remaining unarmed forced us to create this weapon. Seeing that we still persisted in our demand for the banning of this murderous weapon, those in possession of large stocks of bombs kept on saying—they demand prohibition because they have few bombs while we have many, and because they fear the hydrogen bomb which we are preparing.

"With time the same bitter necessity of not remaining unarmed brought us to create the hydrogen bomb as well.

"Disconcerted by this fact so unpleasant to them, those who yesterday had a monopoly of atomic and hydrogen bombs, tried to frighten humanity by talking of the threat represented by the atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in the possession of the Soviet Union. They are incorrigibly bad-natured and instead of renouncing this terrible weapon on a reciprocal basis—which is the natural thing to do—they went into another fit of atomic hysteria.

"We, on the other hand, having torn from the hands of yesterday's monopolists the advantages of unilateral possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs and quite aware of the strength of our position as a result of this—we do not cease and shall never cease demanding, tenaciously and insistently, the prohibition of this barbarous weapon.

"We demand it because we have confidence in humanity and in its future, because we believe that human reason will triumph over the mad intentions of these dangerous maniacs.

"It is not because we are weak but because we are strong and sure of our future, because we are capable of attaining the objectives of our work of peaceful creation, that we intend, along with all men of good sense, to do all we can to reduce the dangerous international tension. To this end we are ready, on the honourable basis of reciprocity, to make all reasonable concessions serving the cause of Peace. Agreements can be reached with us, but it is impossible to dictate orders to us."

HAN SUL YA
(Korea)

"On behalf of my people who have suffered the horrors of war, I call on all men of goodwill throughout the world... to put an end to the arms drive, to ban atomic weapons and the hydrogen bomb—weapons of mass destruction—and to reduce the level of armaments of all types."

Professor LEOPOLD INFELD
(Poland)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"The first step towards reducing international tension would be to forbid the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb and the atom bomb; to destroy the existing supplies and to establish an effective international control preventing the manufacture of such bombs...

"After that, further steps would come, such as disarmament, which would have the effect of raising the living standard of humanity all over the world. How can we obtain the prohibition of the use of the atomic weapon and weapons of mass destruction? By a mutual understanding acceptable to all. By an understanding among equals, without conditions imposed in advance; by an understanding arrived at in an atmosphere of goodwill."

Dr. ANDREA ANDREEN
(Sweden)

"Allow me, as a member of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacteriological Warfare in Korea and China, to point out that the exposing of bacteriological warfare further stresses the need for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction."

Mme. EUGENIE COTTON
(France)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"At the present time we have reached a paradoxical and monstrous situation in which the latest scientific discoveries and improvements are used for lethal purposes, no matter what the cost, while millions of human beings are left to live in unbelievable poverty. We must therefore waste no time in telling the people about these two things which should be incompatible—the immense wealth of the world on the one hand and its dire poverty, on the other. They must all know that transmutations have revealed to us a new form of behaviour of matter, vastly different from the chemical reactions that we are used to, the combustion of coal for example. It is as if the transmutation of atoms had placed new fuels at our disposal which, weight for weight, release millions of times more heat than the burning of coal.

"Once we have calories we can set machines to work, produce electricity, in other words, supply energy for various industries and heat and light for homes...

"Measuring all the well-being and security which would accrue to mankind from the use of this powerful nuclear energy which is being put to such evil ends, all men and women will take a pledge to unite their efforts in order to ensure a future of Peace, Happines and Beauty for the world."

FIVE POWER CONFERENCE — BEST WAY TO ENSURE INTERNATIONAL DETENTE

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"Is not a meeting between the representatives of the Five Great Powers (USA, USSR, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and France), since they bear the heaviest responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation of Peace, the best way of bringing about an easing of international tension?

" Let the representatives of the Great Powers meet, let them exchange views on their interests, their fears and the problems which divide the world in general, thereby dispelling mistrust and clearing the atmosphere.

"Though such a meeting might not necessarily reach definite solutions on any particular problem, it would have the great advantage of creating conditions favourable to successful negotiations on particular problems. Seen in this light, a meeting between the Five Great Powers would have, as we know, the support of many millions of men. It would restore to UNO the possibility of fulfilling its mission and of successfully bringing about disarmament."

PIETRO NENNI (Italy)

"The Korean armistice created the preliminary condition for a Five Power conference including China, and yet US opposition to a meeting with China has not weakened. One should even say that if, after the armistice, the holding of the Peace Conference in Korea is coming up against all kinds of difficulties and excuses, it is to put off for as long as possible the day when, Peace having been concluded, China's entry into UNO and the meeting of the Five Great Powers would become, in a manner of speaking, inevitable."

MAO DUN (China)

"All Peace-loving peoples should demand at this time that the Big Powers agree on general disarmament, the prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs, germ weapons, as well as other weapons of large-scale slaughter, the abolition of military bases on the soil of foreign countries serving as spring-boards of aggression, and the withdrawal of troops stationed in foreign lands, which infringes on the sovereignty of these countries. In order to make a comprehensive examination of possible measures that will work toward the relaxation of international tension, it is reasonable and imperative at this time to call a Five Power Conference in which the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will take part. Peace-loving persons in many countries have repeatedly proposed that the People's Republic of China must be a member of this Five Power Conference. But the United States Government has continually barred the People's Republic of China from assuming its legal status in the United Nations and its right to take part in international conferences. This is not only unfair and unreasonable, it entirely ignores the need of the present international situation. The United States Government has not only denied China her rightful place in international affairs, but has invaded Taiwan, which is Chinese territory, and encircled China with military bases established in South Korea, Japan, the Ryukus, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and many other places. It has also forced other countries to place embargoes and economic blockades against China. All these measures prove that it is the United States Government which creates international tension.

"The United States Government should not indulge any more in empty talk of peaceful negotiation but has to prove its words by action. It should agree to the calling of the long-awaited Five Power Conference so as to further ease the international situation.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, this Council meeting is our first since the cease-fire in Korea. As a result of the three-year struggle on the part of the Chinese and Korean peoples and the efforts of Peace-loving peoples throughout the world, the wild ambition of the forces of war has been frustrated and the tense international situation which lasted for several years has begun to show some relaxation. But the forces of war have by no means abandoned their war plans and they are persisting in endless provocations. Hence, we still have before us a tremendous task in defence of world Peace. All Peace-loving peoples must be ever more vigilant, must continue to work tirelessly, mobilise more broadly, and unite more closely in our common endeavour to strive for the early convening of the Five Power Conference, the solution of all international disputes through negotiation and to achieve a further relaxation of the international situation."

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

"One of the Great Powers, I mean the United States, refuses to negotiate with another Great Power, China. How do American statesmen, who, while extolling the principle of negotiation, refuse to talk with the Government of the People's Republic of China, justify their position? They say that when the United Nations was founded there was a different Government in China. But can it be said that China has become a less important country than it was under Chiang Kai-shek? No, no one says so. The Americans say that they do not like the Government of Mao Tse Tung, and that's why a conference of the Five Great Powers is impossible. Does the Chinese Government refuse to negotiate, saying that Eisenhower's Government is not to their liking? The Americans say that, since the San Francisco Conference, there has been a change of Government in China. That is true. But do the Chinese refuse to negotiate on the pretext that the Republicans have replaced the Democrats? The Americans stress the fact that the new regime in China was born in battle. But was it not out of battle that the United States itself was born? The Americans refuse to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China, calling it aggressive! As far as I can remember US bombs have often fallen on Chinese towns, but not a single

Chinese bomb has fallen upon American towns. Let us however suppose that for many Americans the Chinese are aggressors. For many others—among them the fairly large population of China—it is the Americans who are the aggressors. Nevertheless the Chinese people do not say that they refuse to negotiate with US representatives because they are aggressors."

Dr. JAMES ENDICOTT
(Canada)

"The National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress met in Ottawa. We proposed to the Canadian Government the following ... points which I would like to put on the record for discussion in the Commissions:

A meeting of the leading Powers with a view to solving, through negotiation, questions which threaten the Peace of the world.

...The Government of China must be recognised by Canada. China must no longer be barred from her rightful seat at the United Nations."

EMMANUEL d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE
(France)

"While it is desirable that negotiation should be undertaken in every part of the world where there is a dangerous situation, as in Korea, Europe and Indo-China, we nevertheless know that only a meeting and agreement between the Five Great Powers can lead to a relaxation of international tension.

"The resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples are more than ever valid today. A Five-Power Conference is necessary so that the Great Powers may bring up for discussion all the problems which are at the root of international tension...

"It is necessary so that 500,000,000 people and the Chinese Government by which they are represented may be heard in a debate which affects the security and Peace of all continents. This conference is necessary to create the conditions for harmonious co-operation between the Five Great Powers at UNO."

GOVIND SAHAI
(India)

"We feel that in the present day world no country can exist alone or achieve all-round progress without Peace in the world. Therefore, we are determined to strain every nerve to establish Peace in the world. In order to give a concrete shape to this ambition we have suggested that the Five Powers should meet at the earliest possible moment. Let the leaders of these five big countries sit at a table in a cordial atmosphere and exchange views and suggestions to end the causes of international tension in order to save this world from any future war and its destructive effects."

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"The Japanese people will not fail to support all international activities organised to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the nations. They will do all they can... to organise a campaign in support of a Five-Power Conference."

Mr. IBRAHIM
(Transjordan)

"Even those people who still believe in a Communist threat find that they do not gain by the continuation of tension in the world. On the contrary, they lose by it. Therefore, they realise more and more that a meeting of the Five Great Powers in a Conference for Peace would be closely connected with the struggle for national independence in our country.

"We believe China should be admitted to UNO and should be allowed to participate in all international conferences. This, we think, would help to solve all outstanding questions concerning Peace."

NASOU GAFARI
(Syria)

"The establishment and consolidation of Peace resulting from these negotiations would of necessity guarantee the full national independence of small countries."

Mme JEANNE EBOLLO
(Cameroons)

"Our country is one of the territories under UN trusteeship and has a vital need of Peace in order to attain her independence through peaceful means. In our fight for Peace we strive at the same time to bring the UN back to the principles upon which it was founded viz.:

(1) to ensure Peace and security for the nations;

(2) to ensure the progress of dependent countries to self-government or independence."

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY
(India)

The speaker pointed out the responsibility for the maintenance of Peace placed on the Five Great Powers by the UN Charter. He went on:

"Under the Charter, the Five Great Powers were to work together on a mutually agreed basis to preserve Peace and thus leave man free to develop. That is how the concept of unanimity, which is now misnamed veto power, arose. It devolved on the Security Council to maintain Peace. Military pacts between nations and military bases on foreign territories are repugnant to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Even if the matter of words be arguable, there is no doubt about the spirit of the Charter. The move away from the Charter has bedevilled all our efforts to give the world secure Peace. It would be very much worthwhile to bring nations back to the Charter, to make them respect it."

Appendices

Newly elected members of the World Council of Peace

Mrs. Grethe FORCHHAMMER, B. A., President of the Union of Democratic Students (Denmark)
Djalal AWKATI, Officer (Iraq)
Baltasar CASTRO, Writer, President of the Chamber of Deputies (Chile)
Alberto CIANCA, Senator, former Minister (Italy)
Sergei GERASIMOV, Film producer (USSR)
Nicolas GUILLEN, Poet (Cuba)
Knut LØFSNES, Lawyer (Norway)
Abdul Karim MACHTA, Moslem religious personality (Iraq)
Clarenzo MENOTTI, Former Senator, teacher (Italy)
William MORROW, Former Senator (Australia)
Erwin SCHARF, Writer (Austria)
Valentin SOROKIN, Economist (USSR)

Newly elected members of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

Mrs. Monica FELTON, Writer (Britain)
Sra. Maria Rosa OLIVER, Writer (Argentina)
Jorge AMADO, President of the Brazilian Association of Writers (Brazil)
D. N. PRITT, Q. C., President of the British Peace Committee (Britain)
Alexei SURKOV, Writer, Secretary of the Association of Soviet Writers (USSR)
William WAINWRIGHT, Writer (Britain)

Newly elected Jury for the International Peace Prizes

Dr. Anna SEGHERS, Writer (Germany)
Mrs. Wanda WASSILIEWSKA, Writer (USSR)
James ALDRIDGE, Writer (Britain)
Jorge AMADO, Writer (Brazil)
Leonidas BARLETTA, Producer (Argentina)
André BONNARD, Writer (Switzerland)
Mao DUN, Writer (China)
Howard FAST, Writer (USA)
Willy FERRERO, Musician (Italy)
Sergei GERASIMOV, Film producer (USSR)
Nazim HIKMET, Poet (Turkey)
Joris IVENS, Film producer (Holland)
Leon KRUCZKOWSKI, Writer (Poland)
Arthur LUNDKVIST, Writer (Sweden)
Leopoldo MENDEZ, Engraver (Mexico)
Jan MUKAŘOVSKÝ, Rector of the University of Prague
Pablo PICASSO, Painter (Spain)
Paul ROBESON, Singer (USA)
Georges SALENDRE, Sculptor (France)
Major-General Sir Sahib Singh SOKHEY (India)
Antoine TABET, Architect (Lebanon)
VERCORS, Writer (France)
Jorge ZALAMEA, Writer (Colombia)

Secretary of the Jury: Jorge ZALAMEA

Statement by the Scientists at the Meeting of the World Council of Peace

The scientists present at this session of the World Council of Peace, knowing the terrible power of destruction of weapons of mass extermination, call upon their colleagues throughout the world to take energetic action for the prohibition of these weapons.

They call upon them to support the efforts of all those who want science no longer to be used for destructive ends but put at the service of mankind.

Recommendation of the Cultural Commission

The last session of the World Council of Peace correctly demonstrated the need and the possibility of a wide extension of cultural relations, a valuable factor in achieving and ensuring a relaxation of international tension.

We are happy to see that in spite of the still too numerous obstacles, appreciable results have been obtained since then.

At the same time, we note how much greater successes can be obtained. Vast prospects will open up if all organisations and individuals who hold dear both the culture of their own country and that of the world, take upon themselves to enter into contact and work for fruitful international relations on a reciprocal basis.

The full support of the Peace Movement is assured for the many activities already carried out or planned, such as visits or exchanges of delegations, works of art, literary, scientific or other publications; international exhibitions, congresses and meetings and interchange of scientists, intellectuals, artists and sportsmen.

We call on every organisation and person interested in the development of cultural relations between the peoples. We appeal to them to multiply such activities and to secure broader and, therefore, more effective co-operation.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

[1953?]

LE PRIX D'HONNEUR DE LA PAIX

LA courte vie de NIKOLA YOUKOV VAPTZAROV (1909—1942) peut se résumer en trois mots qui prennent la valeur de trois qualificatifs glorieux : travail, lutte, poésie. Il a travaillé comme des millions d'autres hommes, humbles et anonymes : il a été mécanicien de navire, chauffeur de locomotive, ouvrier d'usine. Il a lutté pour la liberté de sa patrie, pour le bien-être du peuple bulgare, pour un monde digne de l'homme. Sa poésie est intimement liée à ce travail et à cette lutte. C'est là que son lyrisme puise sa force ; la foi dans le triomphe final rend ses chants épiques. Sa poésie puise son originalité et sa vigueur dans un ardent amour pour son pays.

Le 23 juillet 1942, Nikola Vaptzarov a été fusillé pour son activité antifasciste. Pour avoir donné sa vie, le poète du peuple est devenu héros national.

Avec un stoïcisme inspiré il a écrit :

« Mais mourir lorsque la terre secoue
Sa moisissure vénéneuse,
Lorsque des millions ressuscitent,
C'est une chanson, oui, c'est une
chanson ! »

En 1941 ont été publiés ses « Chants du Moteur ». Par la suite ses « Poèmes Choisis » ont été édités à Sofia en 1946, 1948, 1951 et 1952. Il existe des traductions partielles de ses poèmes en anglais, en russe et en français.

LES PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

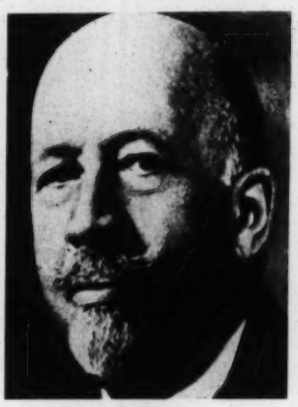
PAUL ELUARD, un des plus grands poètes de notre temps, né en 1895, est mort à Paris le 18 novembre 1952. Dès sa jeunesse, Eluard est parvenu à réaliser dans sa propre personnalité la fusion du poète et du citoyen, du créateur de beauté et de l'ami des hommes. Toute l'horreur vécue dans la boue des tranchées de la guerre de 1914 anime ses premières poésies et les soulève en une revendication passionnée : la Paix. Quelques années plus tard, en luttant contre la guerre et pour la paix et l'indépendance nationale, Eluard trouvait, comme il le dit lui-même « une voix collective ». Après la guerre, Eluard consacra toute

l'activité de sa vie et l'influence toujours plus universelle de son œuvre à la lutte pour la paix. Ses chants les plus beaux seront dédiés alors à la liberté, à l'amour des hommes, à la paix Jusqu'aux derniers moments de sa vie, PaulEluard a servi son idéal avec courage, avec génie et avec foi.

L'œuvre poétique d'Eluard est immense. Citons quelques-uns des titres les plus importants : « Le Devoir et l'Inquiétude », « Poèmes pour la Paix », « Capital de la Douleur », « Donner à voir », « Au rendez-vous allemand », « Courage », « A l'échelle humaine », « Liberté », etc.

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS est né le 23 février 1868 aux Etats-Unis.

Pendant près de 50 ans il a mené une campagne infatigable pour résoudre le problème racial dans son pays. En même temps il a développé une intense activité comme chercheur scientifique, professeur d'université et écrivain. Depuis 1949, le Professeur Du Bois a intensifié, avec beaucoup d'efficacité ses travaux en faveur de la paix mondiale. A cause de cette activité, on lui intenta un procès qui eut une résonance considérable dans le monde entier, où il était accusé d'être un « agent de l'étranger ». Le tribunal, tenant compte de la protestation uni-



verselle soulevée par les poursuites dont il était l'objet, l'acquitta.

Tout ce qui fait l'idéal de cet illustre Nord-Américain se résume dans ces deux vers d'un poème qu'il a écrit en 1911 :

« Esprit du monde sauve-nous de notre infime nous-même ! »

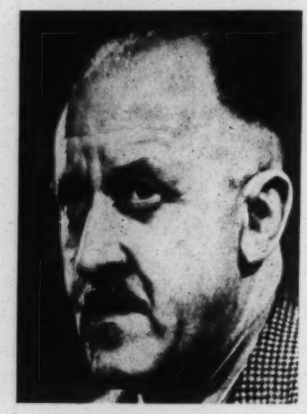
« Accorde-nous que la guerre et la haine prennent fin ! »

Parmi l'œuvre abondante du professeur Du Bois citons les ouvrages suivants : « L'âme du peuple noir », « Le peuple noir alors et aujourd'hui », « Couleur et démocratie », « Le monde et l'Afrique », « Recherche de la Toison d'argent », « Eau sombre », « Princesse sombre ».

La solidarité dans la lutte pour l'indépendance est montrée et exaltée avec puissance dans le film « Le village condamné », réalisé par les cinéastes allemands Martin Hellberg, Jeanne et Kurt Stern. Œuvre d'art qui joint l'émotion au réalisme, ce film, par l'esprit qui l'anime et ses conclusions, est un grand exemple de ce que peut l'art du cinéma pour l'amitié entre les peuples quand il est servi par d'authentiques combattants de la Paix, comme Martin Hellberg et les époux Stern.

HALLDOR KILJAN LAXNESS est né en 1902 dans une ferme de son pays natal, l'Islande.

« Toutes ses œuvres — dit un critique —, sont remplies de citations, allusions et images tirées de la littérature islandaise à travers les siècles. Aucun poète ne peut être plus lié avec son pays, avec la lutte de son peuple pour de meilleures conditions de vie ». Un autre écrit : « Laxness est un véritable génie, un créateur de grands romans épiques sur le peuple islandais, ses souffrances et sa lutte à travers, l'histoire, et à l'époque moderne ».

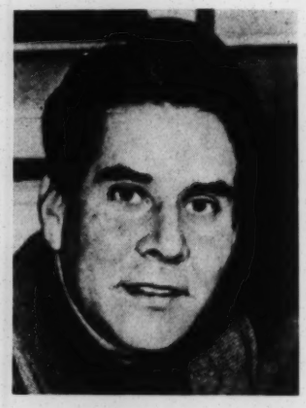


Laxness a dit : « Ne jamais se fatiguer, ou devenir passif, dans la lutte pour la paix. Cela nous aidera si nous refusons catégoriquement d'être entraînés dans un jeu où tout ce que nous possédons et aimons en ce monde est menacé de destruction. La morale est plus forte que l'épée — autrement l'humanité aurait déjà cessé d'exister ».

Voici quelques-unes des œuvres littéraires de Laxness : « Les enfants de la nature », « Salka Valka », « La cloche de l'Islande », « Les hommes libres », « La base atomique », et la trilogie « Olaf Karason Ljosvikingen ».

LEOPOLDO MENDEZ est né au Mexique le 30 juin 1902. C'est un artiste éminemment national, attaché aux plus vigoureuses traditions de la gravure populaire mexicaine.

En 1937, il a fondé un atelier le « Taller de Gráfica Popular », pour favoriser « les aspirations progressistes et démocratiques du peuple mexicain, particulièrement dans la lutte contre la réaction fasciste ». Ses principaux collaborateurs dans cette entreprise ont été Pablo O'Higgins, Luis Arenal, Alfredo Zalce, Jose Chavez, Morado, Alberto Berltran, Fernando Castro, Franscisco Mora, Jesus Escobeda, Arturo Garcia, Angel Bracho, Isidoro Ocampo, Ignacio Aguirre, etc. Actuellement l'Atelier groupe 16 artistes mexicains.



A partir de la réunion de Wroclaw, à laquelle Mendez assista comme délégué du Mexique, ce grand graveur et ses collaborateurs du « Taller de Gráfica Popular » ont contribué efficacement aux importantes campagnes en faveur de la paix.

L'œuvre de Leopoldo Mendez peut être étudiée dans ses illustrations de l'édition de « Les Dieux en exil » de Henri Heine, et de « Les incidents mélodiques d'un monde irrationnel » de Jean de la Cabada, dans les plaquettes intitulées « Au nom du Christ », et dans l'album « 25 estampes de Leopoldo Mendez » et « Rio Escondido ».

LE romancier et critique indien MULK RAJ ANAND est né en 1905. Par son activité littéraire et journalistique, il a su exercer une action permanente sur l'opinion publique de son pays en ce qui concerne les questions nationales et internationales les plus importantes. Son œuvre littéraire est ainsi inséparable de son action politique et sociale. Comme vice-Président du Conseil Pan-indien de la Paix, il a été l'un des premiers intellectuels qui se sont incorporés à

la création du puissant mouvement de la paix indien.

Les romans les plus importants de Mulk Raj Anand sont : « Le grand cœur », « A travers les eaux noires », « l'Intouchable », « Coolies », « Le syndicat des coiffeurs », « La princesse hindoue », « Deux feuilles et un bouton ». On doit citer parmi ses essais : « Paroles écrites pour une chanson hindoue » et « l'Apologie de l'héroïsme ».

LES MEDAILLES D'OR DE LA PAIX

FRANÇOIS LEJEUNE, dit JEAN EFFEL, est né à Paris le 12 février 1908.

Ce qui caractérise et fait du fameux caricaturiste français un grand artiste, c'est l'alliance dans ses dessins et ses textes d'un humour nuancé de tendresse avec l'espoir et la lumière de la Paix.

On a publié de nombreux albums

des caricatures d'Effel : « Le Colonel de la Rocque », « Ritournelle », « La vie naïve d'Adam et Eve », « Le Petit ange », « Turelune le Cornepied », « Jours sans Alboches », « 45 fillette », « 45 de fièvre », « Tambours, Pastis et Orgues », « Rassemblement de petites facéties », « La création du monde », « Le diable et son train » etc.

VÍTĚZSLAV NEZVAL est né le 26 mai 1900 à Biskupovice (Tchécoslovaquie) et il est l'auteur de près de cinquante œuvres poétiques et de quelques romans et pièces de théâtre.

« Le Chant de la Paix » écrit en 1950 et considéré par la critique comme la plus importante composition tchèque dédiée à la lutte pour la Paix, est proche du peuple par sa simplicité et la clarté du langage poé-

tique, et admirable pour la peinture de nombreuses figures humaines. On la récite, on la discute en groupes, on la lit en réunions et à la radio, car elle exprime ce que tout homme ressent et voudrait pouvoir exprimer lui-même.

En peu de temps cette œuvre a été traduite en russe, en français et en allemand.

JAMES ALDRIDGE est né à Melbourne (Australie) en 1918. Très jeune il va en Angleterre, pays d'origine de ses parents, où il étudie et fréquente l'école d'aviation. Mais, à peine âgé de 18 ans, il choisit le métier de journaliste. Au cours de la deuxième guerre mondiale, il se rend sur presque tous les fronts en tant que journaliste. En 1945, il voyage dans le monde entier et rentre en

Angleterre pour se consacrer entièrement à la création littéraire, où il apportera sa connaissance approfondie de l'humanité, sa haine de la destruction et de la guerre, ses espoirs d'un monde meilleur.

Voici quelques-unes de ses œuvres : « Signé de leur honneur », « L'aigle de mer », « De nombreux hommes », « Le 49ème Etat », « Le diplomate », « Le chasseur ».

CLAUDIO SANTORO est né le 19 novembre 1919 au Brésil.

Depuis 1943 il a reçu de nombreux prix aux Etats-Unis, en France et au Brésil pour ses compositions musicales.

Son « Chant d'Amour et de Paix », cantate pour laquelle il a reçu la Médaille d'Or de la Paix, a été exécuté pour la première fois au théâtre de Rio de Janeiro par l'orchestre symphonique du Brésil.

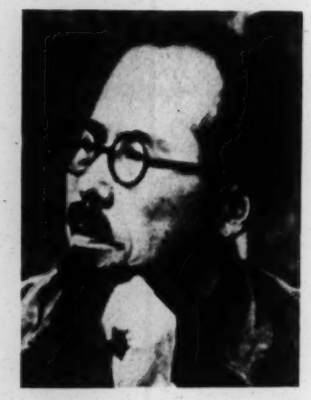
L'œuvre musicale de Santoro est déjà assez considérable. On peut citer trois symphonies, le ballet « La Fabrique », et un autre ballet satirique : « Devant les cocotiers », un concerto pour piano et orchestre, deux sonates pour violon et piano, une sonate pour flûte et piano et divers trios, quatuors et quintettes.

Claudio Santoro a reçu plusieurs prix pour son œuvre musicale, tant dans sa patrie qu'aux Etats-Unis. Ses œuvres ont été exécutées dans presque tous les pays de l'Amérique Latine, aux Etats-Unis et dans les grandes capitales de l'Europe.

MARIA ROSA OLIVER, écrivain argentin, est une des figures les plus populaires et les plus aimées des cercles intellectuels progressistes du Continent Américain. Son activité littéraire est représentée par quelques centaines d'essais qui n'ont pas été recueillis en volume, mais qui ont été publiés dans les journaux et les revues les plus importantes du Continent et de l'Europe. Surmontant de très mauvaises conditions physiques,

Mᵉˡˡᵉ Oliver a été l'âme et l'animatrice de divers mouvements de caractère social et culturel tendant toujours à une meilleure entente entre les peuples et à la consolidation de la paix.

Sa participation à l'organisation et au développement du mouvement argentin pour la paix peut être considérée comme décisive dans le cadre national. Et son activité s'étend à plusieurs pays de l'Amérique Latine.



Les cinq tableaux des « Scènes des bombardements atomiques » décrivent comme la plus terrible des apocalypses le drame effroyable de la mort en masse d'êtres humains dans des circonstances telles que le monde n'en avait jamais connu de semblables. L'impression produite par les tableaux des deux peintres japonais : IRI MARUKI et TOSHIKIO AKAMATSU est si bouleversante que pendant la durée de leur exposition, sous le coup direct de l'émotion née de la haine résolue de la guerre, 112.000 personnes ont signé au Japon la résolution en faveur d'un pacte de paix entre les Cinq Grandes Puissances, et 88.000 autres un document où elles expriment leur vote pour la paix.

GEORGES SALENDRE, sculpteur français, est né le 1ᵉʳ mars 1890.

Ses expériences de combattant de la première guerre mondiale et la part très active qu'il a prise à la résistance française en 1940—44 ont fait de lui un fervent partisan de la lutte pour la paix. En 1949, il organisa à Lyon l'exposition internationale « L'Art et la Paix » qui réunit 231 artistes de 14 pays. Cette exposition reçut plus de 15.000 visiteurs et fut l'occasion d'une puissante manifestation

d'artistes de toutes les opinions en faveur de la paix. Les premières signatures sous l'Appel de Stockholm recueillies à Lyon le furent à cette exposition.

Il est l'auteur de plusieurs monuments publics non seulement en France mais à l'étranger. Son style, dans le monument à Danielle Casanova ou les bustes d'Henri Martin, exprime une grande chaleur humaine et témoigne d'une confiance tranquille dans la vie et les hommes.

[World Fed. of Democratic Youth]

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
世界民主青年聯盟

21 bis RUE DE CHATEAUDUN, PARIS · TÉL TRU 16 - 94 à 96 – ADR. TÉLÉGR.: JEUNESMONDE · PARIS
NOUVELLE ADRESSE: BUDAPEST. VI. BENCZUR-U. 34. HONGRIE
TELEPHONE: 425-551 — ADR. TELEGR.: DIVSz — BUDAPEST

No: 24
Ref: MG/bi
Subject: Message for Celebration of
February 21st

13 January 1953.

Dear Sir,

As you may know the 21st February is the International Day of Solidarity of Youth Fighting Colonialism. It was on this day in 1946 that the heroic Naval Ratings of Bombay raised the banner of resistance against colonialism. Then on the same day in 1946 a great action for national independence was conducted by the Egyptian youth and students. The South-East-Asia Youth Conference organised by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students in February 1948, therefore unanimously adopted the 21st February as a Day of expression of the unity and solidarity of the youth in the struggle against colonialism. Since that time the celebration of February 21st has become traditional among the youth and the defendors of peace throughout the world. Under the slogan "Youth Unite for Peace, National Independence, and Conquest of Your Rights", the youth of different countries are now preparing the celebration of the 21st February, 1953.

The important decisions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, particularly for the conclusion of a Peace Pact, for the cessation of the wars now going on and for the right of peoples to decide their own national affairs, give to this celebration an exceptional importance.

On the occasion of this Day we would like to ask you for a message of solidarity and greeting to the youth of the world. We will be very much obliged to receive your message by the end of January, 1953.

We are eagerly waiting for your reply.

With warmest greetings,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the WFDY

Jacques DENIS
General Secretary

[World Fed. of Dem. Youth]

January 22, 1953

Mr. Jacques Denis, General Secretary
World Federation of Democratic Youth
Budapest, VI
Benczur-U.34
Hungary

25-60-17

Dear Mr. Denis:

May I send greetings to the World Federation of Democratic Youth on the Day of Expression of the Unity and Solidarity of the Youth in the struggle against colonialism.

I am glad to note the meeting of all students, but especially those of Asia and Africa, for the great purpose of Peace and Freedom.

I wish you every success.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

[World Festival of Youth]

IV. FESTIVAL MONDIAL DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES ETUDIANTS POUR LA PAIX ET L'AMITIE
IV. ВСЕМИРНЫЙ ФЕСТИВАЛЬ МОЛОДЕЖИ И СТУДЕНТОВ ЗА МИР И ДРУЖБУ
IV. WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
第四屆世界青年和學生擁護和平和友好聯歡節
IV. FESTIVAL MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD Y DE LOS ESTUDIANTES POR LA PAZ Y LA AMISTAD
AL IV-LEA FESTIVAL MONDIAL AL TINERETULUI ŞI STUDENŢILOR PENTRU PACE ŞI PRIETENIE

COMITE PREPARATOIRE
ПОДГОТОВИТЕЛЬНЫЙ КОМИТЕТ
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE
籌備委員會
COMITE PREPARATORIO
COMITETUL PREGATITOR

2347

Li/BE

BUCUREŞTI – BD. REPUBLICII 33
TELEFON 4.26.00
ADRESA TELEGRAFICĂ: FESTIVAL BUCUREŞTI

Bucharest, July 6, 1953.

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois

Dear Sir,

Between August 2 - 16 there will be organized in Bucharest /Rumania/ the World Youth Festival which will be held under the sign of peace and friendship. Young people from all parts of the world will participate in this festival of the youth: from Sweden and Latin America, from India and Poland, from South Africa and the Soviet Union. Young people of every race will meet in Bucharest parks this summer: young Mohammedans, Protestants, Buddhists, Catholics and youth of any other religion, young men and women of different political conceptions who are, however, united by a single common powerful feeling: the desire to live in peace, in friendship, in spite of all differences of race, belief or ruling system. The Bucharest meeting of the youth from all parts of the globe will be an important step forward on this road.

The news received daily by the International Preparatory Committee from all the countries show the great enthusiasm of the youth who are preparing for the Festival and the large support lent both by the outstanding personalities in the field of culture and politics and by different organizations.

The cultural and artistic events which are being prepared by the young of various countries will enable them to show the best features of their national culture. The participation in the Festival of the most outstanding young artists and sports champions will ensure the striking success of the artistic and sports contests of the Festival.

Owing to its programme of unparalleled variety the Festival will be a brilliant expression of the talent of youth all over the world and of the national culture of the peoples. It also includes meetings of the youth with distinguished cultural workers, scientists and artists, who consider it their noble task to back up the aspirations of youth for peace and a happy future.

./.

Like the previous Festivals, this one will make a great contribution to the mutual understanding and international friendship, two important factors for the maintenance of peace.

Nor can, of course, the young people of the great American nation fail to come to this grandiose Festival.

We are convinced that, appreciating as you certainly do the great significance of the Festival for the development of international friendship and cultural exchanges, you will lend your valuable support to the preparations that are being made for this grand rally.

The world youth and above all the United States youth would be particularly interested in your sending a message to the Festival, which we may publish in our journal "FESTIVAL" and in youth papers edited in various countries.

Your warms words will fill the youth of the United States with still greater confidence and courage.

We shall be very glad to give you all the details concerning the Festival, in which you may be interested.

Hoping to hear from you, we send you our most cordial greetings.

For the International Preparatory Committee

Jacques Denis

Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse Etudiante
COMITE
DE
PREPARATOIRE
AU IV-ème

May 19, 1953

Mrs. Mamie Worrell
P.O. Box 693
Nassau, N.P.
Bahamas, W.P.

Dear Mrs. Worrell:

Perhaps Shirley has already written you, but in any case I will be sure that you get this letter.

We had a very lovely and uneventful voyage, and arrived safely. It was raining a little here, and there has been a lot of rain since we have been away. The house was all right, and the flowers in good place.

I want to thank you again so much for your kind hospitality, and wish the best for Dr. Worrell. We are sending a package in your care for Clara Jones.

I am feeling very well indeed, and Shirley is quite all right. With best regards,

Yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-16

[Wynn]

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

November 13, 1953

THE CHAPLAIN'S OFFICE

35-60-23

Masses and Mainstream
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

I am preparing for publication a book entitled: The NAACP Versus Negro Revolutionary Protest and would like to quote from In Battle for Peace by W. E. B. DuBois 1952, Pages 51, 162, 163, 164 and 171. Kindly advise if I might have your permission to do this.

With gratitude for your kind consideration, I am

Cordially yours,

Daniel W. Wynn

Daniel W. Wynn
Acting Chaplain

DWW/bw

November 24, 1953

Daniel W. Wynn, Acting Chaplain
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

My dear Sir:

Answering your letter of November 13th sent to Masses and Mainstream, may I say that you have my permission to quote from my book IN BATTLE FOR PEACE, pages 51, 162, 163, 164 and 171, provided the quotations are accurate and that you give credit to me as author and to Masses and Mainstream as publisher.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Youkelson]

Fr. 11/20/53

Dear Dr. Du Bois!

Here I keep my promise and am returning to you your wonderful speech you delivered at the meeting of the D.W.C. policyholders last Monday.

It was a great inspiration to all of us and a most valuable contribution to the splendid gathering. Your words inspired all of us and strengthened our faith in ultimate victory over the reactionary forces.

May you be with us many, many more years and decades — vigorous & creative.

Affectionately and Respectfully

R. Youkelson

R. YOUKELSON
292 W. 92nd St.
New York 25, N. Y.

of the office of the J.P.C.O.

41-64-52

12/8 - 53 [Youkelson]

Dear Dr. Du Bois.

I just noticed, that 3 pages (the last) of your wonderful speech you recently delivered at the IWO Rheingolden meeting at St. Nicholas arena, were in my pocket, after mailing you (presumably 10 pages) what I must have thought was the full text of that speech.

I am glad I found them and I am mailing them herewith - and please excuse my negligence.

Sincerely Yours,

A. Youkelson

25-49-15

[Young] [1953?]

a Spot OF News...

P9-AVA-274

N
NORCROSS

Merry Christmas
& Prosperous
New Year
to you & yours

Dear Dr WEB —

Think not that I've absconded with the book fees!

All but three are out with appreciative interest etc — but no collections yet!

2

I'll be up to the city the week-end of March 7th. Hope you'll be at home.

Love

Pauline

Hello to Shirley, please

P.

[Y.W.C.A.]

35-60-53

The Harlem Branch Y.W.C.A.

invites you to

A Testimonial Reception

in honor of

Mrs. MaBelle White Williams

Executive Director

retiring after 30 years of service
to this community

Monday Evening, June Twenty-ninth

nineteen hundred and fifty-three
eight to eleven o'clock

Auditorium--144 W. 138th Street

R.S.V.P. by June 20th

[Youngblood]

Chicago Illinois
415 E.60the.St.
March 23,1953.

Dr.W.E.B.Dubois
%Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway,N.Y.3 N.Y.

My dear Dr.Dubois:

I am one Negro who has fought with you in my heart down through the years.From the days of your battles with the late Booker T.Washington to this present moment,your doctrine of integrity forthrightness and manly courage in the face of violent opposition from many sides,and too,from within the ranks and from outside,has been the nourishment that has kept my spirit alive.

25-60-12

The old days were termed by many - The Age of Blood and Thunder - These are called - The Atomic Age - But regardless of name,the Age,in my humble opinion, is still the - Age of Blood and Thunder. Our difficulty is the same,except that our fortunes vary - You have the advantage of an audience of a sort. I have been thwarted at every turn.

I have spent the best years of my life upon a novel - They Walked In A Quandary Upon The Solid Earth - which critics of high reputation have assured me was commendable,with the exception of theme. The way publisher after publisher shy a way from it offering lame excuse after lame excuse leads me to the critics' opinions. Yet I do feel that somewhere in this wide,wide world that there is a publisher who does not demand that one writes with an eye upon Hollywood.

I don't want to feel that my labors on this earth have been in vain. I therefore plead with you to grant me an hour or two of you precious time in looking a few chapters over.And then recommend

some publisher who might be impressed. One, moreover, who is not in the clutches of Wall Street, as it were.

Though I was told some years ago by an authority that my theme was taboo on most editors' desks, I refuse point blank to accept that point of view. Thus with the hide of an elephant, I've continued plugging.

I am enclosing my plan of operation, that you may have further insight of my desires Further, knowing that you are taxed, I'm enclosing stamp for reply.

I suspect that you've never heard of me. Though as an associate editor of the Asso. Negro Press; One time editor of the Boston Chronicle; One time representative of The Amsterdam News in New England, I've written reem after reem of your exploits; Even of your great debate with the Harvard Professor - can't recall his name off hand - at Ford Hall, Boston. Needless to say, I've listened to your lectures on occasion after occasion down through the years. And for these, my life has been enriched.

25-60-13

I thank you my dear Dr. Dubois. And may I look forward to an early reply? So that I may forward to you some excerpt of my herculean effort.

Most cordially yours,

John Youngblood.

John Youngblood

[1953]

PLAN FOR WORK JOHN YOUNGBLOOD

The busy little center is ebullient with the spirit and tradition of the South as we know it, through the most perfect of its pictures - pictures of reality, of truth naked and unadorned, stripped of all decoratives of sentiment and subtle intent.

The people drift along the jaggered shoals of life and breathe the air that fumes over the wide valleys and rising hills which buttress the Kennybuck river.

There is Sheriff Noah Clarke who carries out with an iron hand the will of those who own or control the properties - ruthlessly subduring protesting sharecroppers and smashing unions that are organized among them and the poor white cotton mill workers; Juge Seaver P. Longshaw, venerable and honorable yet weak rendering judgements with an eye on election returns; Rebecca Forney, a liberal spinster daughter of a wealthy ex-congressman who served in anti-bellum days, a moving spirit in the local branch of the Confederate Women's Anti-Lynch League; Link Holman, a union organizer in the cotton mills and other nearby industrial works, suffering the villifications of those who are in power; Judge Abernathy, a liberal, a member of the Interracial Committee, even though he wavers; Emily Keifeir, risque, blond and young, though of pure intent, admires Dr. Sullivan only for his worth as a man of integrity but leads inadvertantly to his being lynched; Mrs. Dyson who sees in Joe a virility and sets her cap to enjoy it, but is thwarted by Matilda's quick action in buying of a ticket for Joe, as long as his arm, to Chicago; Big Bud Hughes, the rich gambler, who gambled with whites or blacks for the sheer love of the sport and after the same manner kills his oponents; Sam Moore, a slicker in his own right who eventually locks horns with Big Bud allegedly murders him and pays the penalty on the gallows.

All of which drives Bob Moore to desperation in organizing a sharecropper union. That, as he sees it, being the only hope for a change from a bad condition to a better, and Henry Bolden's great effort to prevent it.

25-60-14

March 27, 1953

Mr. John Youngblood
415 East 60 St.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Youngblood:

I thank you very much for the good words in your letter of March 23.

May I say, however, that today the control of publication is in such hands that it is quite impossible for anybody to get books or articles published that do not agree with the prevailing popular opinion. I cannot get my own books published or those which I have published advertized, and I am in no position to help anyone else.

I am sorry, but you will have to search for yourself or perhaps you will come across someone who has more influence than I.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

25-60-15

[Zipser]

NOTES: FOR ARTHUR ZIPSER. March 17, 1953

INFORMATION CONCERNING DR. DU BOIS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

will be found in Dusk of Dawn, pp. 233-5

He said he joined it in 1911 because so many of his friends did who were in the NAACP: Mary Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and William English Walling.

When Wilson ran against Taft for president, Dr. Du Bois advised the colored people, through the Crisis, that they vote for Wilson as he greatly disliked Taft.

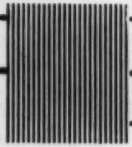
To belong to the Socialist Party one had to vote for its candidates. Dr. Du Bois, when he realized this, resigned in 1912 before the matter came up officially.

Dr. Du Bois has seldom joined a political party. He took no part in the activities of the Socialist Party but paid dues once or twice. He criticised the Socialist Party in the Crisis before and after joining, because it was hesitating on the Negro problem, and some members were trying to set up separate locals in the southern states. This segregation was discussed in conventions, although it wasn't finally acted on.

There was an organization for which Dr. Du Bois spoke at many colleges including Yale and Harvard.

46-11-23

ALL KINDS OF COMMERCIAL PRINTING . . . CATALOGUES ETC.



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25-43-1

Marin Florea Ionescu

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the Rumanian Peoples Republic

CASTAGNOLA

SF-39

FISHERMAN'S WHARF, SAN FRANCISCO

One of the most picturesque sights in San Francisco is this scene of Fisherman's Wharf, looking to the foot of Jones and Jefferson Streets. Here many hundreds of fishing boats berth daily. On the street side are located San Francisco's outstanding, world-renowned Seafood Restaurants.

Color photo by Lionel Bridge

PUB. BY SMITH NEWS CO., 75 WILLIAMS AVE., S. F. 24, CALIF.

MIRRO-KROME CARD BY H. S. CROCKER CO., INC., SAN FRANCISCO 1, CALIF.

address

place stamp here

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

012 D 350707

Printed in U.S.A.

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN: New York

DESTINATION: New York

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S) FORM SERIAL

FORM SERIAL

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR FORM SERIAL

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE New York 10/13/53

FORM OF PAYMENT Agency

FARE $ 75.70

EQUIV. AMT PAID

TAX $ 12.86

TOTAL $ 88.56

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

OCEAN TRAVEL BUREAU INC.
OCT 13 1953
AUTHORIZED AGENTS
71 W. 23 ST. NEW YORK
AGENT

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
FROM New York		
TO Chgo		
TO New York		
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FARE		

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	Checked Wt.	Unch'd Wt.
Y	7/15/54			
			55	

	FROM	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES. STATUS
	La Guardia					
	TO Chicago	NA	301	10/15	12 Noon	HK
	TO New York	AA	702	10/17	4 PM	OK

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER: Mrs. E. S. Dewey

CARRIAGE hereunder is subject to the rules related to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, unless such carriage is not "International carriage" as defined by said Convention.

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RAND McNALLY & COMPANY, CHICAGO AND NEW YORK Printed in U.S.A.

CARRIER NAMES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	CARRIER
ALT	Aer Lingus Teoranta
AR	Aerolineas Argentinas
AZ	Aerolinee Italiane Internazionali
AERO	Aero O/Y (Finnish Airlines)
AEROMAYES	Aeronaves de Mexico, S. A.
ATSA	Aero Transportes, S. A.
AGSA	Aerovias Guest S. A.
AVIANCA	Aerovias Nacionales de Colombia S. A.
AIRCEY	Air Ceylon Limited
AF	Air France
AII	Air India International
AI	Air India
ASA	Alaska Airlines, Inc.
ACA	Alaska Coastal Airways
AAA	All American Airways, Inc.
AA	American Airlines, Inc.
ANA	Australian National Airways
BAL	Bonanza Air Lines
BNF	Braniff International Airways, Inc.
BCPA	British Commonwealth Pacific Airlines
BEA	British European Airways Corporation
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
CPA	Canadian Pacific Air Lines
CAP	Capital Airlines, Inc.
CAA	Central African Airways Corporation
CEN	Central Airlines, Inc.
CATC	Central Air Transport Corporation
CSA	Ceskoslovenske Aerolinee
C&S	Chicago and Southern Air Lines, Inc.
CAI	Colonial Airlines, Inc.
CMA	Compania Mexicana de Aviacion S. A.
CAL	Continental Air Lines, Inc.
CYP	Cyprus Airways, Ltd.
DAL	Delta Air Lines, Inc.
EAL	Eastern Air Lines, Inc.
EL AL	El Al Israel Airlines, Ltd.
EML	Empire Air Lines, Inc.
ETHIOPIAN	Ethiopian Air Lines, Inc.
FAL	Frontier Airlines, Inc.
HAL	Hawaiian Airlines, Ltd.
INL	Inland Air Lines, Inc.
IA	Iraqi Airways
KLM	Royal Dutch Airlines
LCA	Lake Central Airlines
LAMSA	Lineas Aereas Mexicanas, S. A.
MAR	Maritime Central Airways
MCA	Mid-Continent Airlines, Inc.
MR	Misrair Airlines
NAL	National Airlines, Inc.
NZ	New Zealand National Airways Corp.
NEA	Northeast Airlines, Inc.
NWA	Northwest Airlines, Inc.
OZA	Ozark Airlines
PNA	Pacific Northern Airlines, Inc.
PAA	Pan American World Airways, Inc.
PANAGRA	Pan American-Grace Airways, Inc.
PAB	Panair do Brazil, S. A.
PAL	Philippine Air Lines, Inc.
PAI	Piedmont Aviation, Inc.
PIA	Pioneer Air Lines, Inc.
QEA	Qantas Empire Airways
RAL	Robinson Airlines Corp.
SAS	Scandinavian Airlines System
SAB	Societe Anonyme Belge d'Exploitation de la Navigation Aerienne "SABENA"
SAA	South African Airways
SOU	Southern Airways, Inc.
SWA	Southwest Airways Company
SR	Swiss Air Transport Co. Ltd. "SWISSAIR"
TEAL	Tasman Empire Airways Limited
TAA	Trans-Australia Airlines
TACA	Transportes Aereos Centro Americanos, S. A.
TCA	Trans-Canada Air Lines
TALOA	Trans-Ocean Air Lines
TPA	Trans-Pacific Airlines
TTA	Trans-Texas Airways
TWA	Trans-World Airlines, Inc.
UAL	United Airlines, Inc.
UMCA	Uraba, Medellin & Central Airways, Inc.
WAAC	West African Airways Corporation
WCA	West Coast Airlines, Inc.
WAL	Western Air Lines, Inc.
EWA	Wiggins Airways
WIS	Wisconsin Central Airlines, Inc.

ABOVE IDENTIFICATION LIST MAY BE INCOMPLETE. SEE ALSO CARRIER(S)' TARIFFS AND TIMETABLES.

012 D 350707 **PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK**

Issued by

AMERICAN AIRLINES

Inc.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

America's Leading Airline

MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASS'N.
MEMBER OF AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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Subject to Conditions of Contract on Page 2

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

163 A 514978

ROUTING THIS TICKET AND → CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM 1034A SERIAL E14579

FORM K63A SERIAL 514950-1

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR

FORM 614 SERIAL 719060

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE 2/10/53 LAA

FORM OF PAYMENT AGENCY EXCHANGE

FARE 360.00

EQUIV. AM'T PAID

TAX 54.01

TOTAL 414.06

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

FEB 17 53 LOS ANGELES CALIF UNITED AIR LINES AGENT

VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
UAL	
UAL	150.92
UAL	
UAL	41.33
UAL	8.90
UAL	FP
UAL	155.52
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UAL	
UAL	3.77
	360.05

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	BAGGAGE Checked Wt.	BAGGAGE Unchkd Wt.
CH	OPEN	2	60	
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NOT TRANSFERABLE

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FROM / TO	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES STATUS
FROM LOS ANGELES	UAL	659	2/21	9:00 AM	OK
TO SAN FRANCISCO	UAL	671	2/28	9:00 AM	OK
TO SEATTLE	UAL	636	3/1	9:00 AM	OK
TO PORTLAND					

ENDORSEMENTS

NAME OF PASSENGER → DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

CARRIAGE hereunder is subject to the rules related to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, unless such carriage is not "international carriage" as defined by said Convention.

25-51,42

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK 163 A 514678

UNITED AIR LINES

5959 So. Cicero Ave.,
Chicago 38, Ill., U. S. A.

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SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT ON PAGE (2)

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK

PASSENGER COUPON

014 719060

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

OCEAN TRAVEL BUREAU INC.

FEB 10 1953

AUTHORIZED AGENTS

71 W. 23 ST. NEW YORK

AGENT

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN:

DESTINATION:

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM SERIAL

FORM SERIAL

FORM ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR SERIAL

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE

FORM OF PAYMENT

FARE

EQUIV. AMT PAID

TAX

TOTAL

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
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FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	BAGGAGE Checked Wt.	BAGGAGE Unch'd Wt.

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FROM	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES. STATUS
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TO					
TO					
TO					

ENDORSEMENTS

NAME OF PASSENGER:

CARRIAGE hereunder is subject to the rules related to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, unless such carriage is not "International carriage" as defined by said Convention.

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Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

014 719060 **PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK**

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

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SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT ON FACE (S)

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK

PASSENGER COUPON

014 719061

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Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN:

DESTINATION:

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM SERIAL

FORM SERIAL

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FORM SERIAL

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE

FORM OF PAYMENT

FARE

EQUIV. AMT PAID

TAX

TOTAL

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

FEB 10 1953

71 W. 23 ST. NEW YORK

AGENT:

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
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FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	Checked Wt.	Unchkd Wt.

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FROM	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES. STATUS
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TO					
TO					
TO					

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER:

CARRIAGE hereunder is subject to the rules related to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, unless such carriage is not "international carriage" as defined by said Convention.

014 719061 **PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK**

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK **163 A** **514981**

25-51-47

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

163 A 514981

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN: POR

DESTINATION: LGA

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)
FORM 163A SERIAL 514980
FORM 163A SERIAL 514978-9

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR
FORM 714 SERIAL 719061

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE 3/16/43 Lnd

FORM OF PAYMENT ACCTG FYI MAG

FARE 280.70
EQUIV AM'T PAID
TAX 43.11
TOTAL 322.81
FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET
MAR 17 1943 LOS ANGELES
UNITED AIRLINES

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
FROM POR		
TO SEA	AAL	
TO	AAL	150.95
TO SFO	UAL	
TO SEA	UAL	41.35
TO DEN	UAL	58.90
TO CHI	UAL	FP
TO DEN	UAL	79.50
TO	UAL	20
TO DEN	UAL	3/4 38
TO LGA		
FARE		280.70

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	BAGGAGE Checked Wt.	BAGGAGE Unch'd Wt.	FROM	TO	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES STATUS
FP					PORTLAND	CHICAGO	UAL	612	3/2	4:43 PM	OK
EO					CHICAGO	NEW YORK	UAL	608	3/4	5:00 PM	OK
—					NEW YORK	VOID	—	VOID			

MAR 608-4 MAR 5 OK

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER → MRS. W. F. B. DU BOIS

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Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK **163 A** **514980**

25-5146

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

163 A 514980

ROUTING THIS TICKET AND → CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM 163A SERIAL 514981

FORM 163A SERIAL 514978-9

FORM 014 ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR SERIAL 719061

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE 2/10/53 LAX

FORM OF PAYMENT Agency Exchange

FARE 280.70

EQUIV. AM'T PAID

TAX 42.11

TOTAL 322.81

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

UNITED AIR LINES FEB 17 '53 LOS ANGELES 20

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
ORIGIN LAX		
TO SFO	UAL	
TO LAX	AAL	41.95
TO SEA	UAL	
TO PDX	UAL	41.35
TO CHI	UAL	4.90
TO LAX	UAL	EP
TO SEA	UAL	79.50
TO LAX	UAL	
TO SFO	UAL	35.16
TO LAX		
DEST LAX		
FARE		280.70

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	BAGGAGE Checked Wt.	BAGGAGE Unch'd Wt.
C1				
C1				
C1				

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FROM	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES STATUS
LOS ANGELES	UAL	659	2/21	7 00 AM	OK
10 SAN FRANCISCO	UAL	671	2/27	9 10 AM	OK
10 SEATTLE	UAL	636	3/1	9 00 AM	OK
10 PORTLAND					

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER → MRS W E B DuBOIS

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK 164 A 98320

25-57

IMPORTANT NOTICE

This ticket covers your reservation, but under certain circumstances the reservation is Subject to Cancellation unless you RE-CONFIRM your intention to use it.

For details, refer to Re-confirmation Notice in your ticket envelope or contact any airline office. Thank you.

THE SCHEDULED CERTIFICATED AIRLINES OF THE U. S.

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PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

164 A 98320

Printed in U.S.A.

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN:

DESTINATION:

→ CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)
FORM SERIAL
FORM SERIAL

FARE 301.95
EQUIV. AMT PAID
TAX 45.29
TOTAL 347.24

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET
FEB 25 53
UNITED
AGENT

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
FROM		
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TO		57.90
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TO		
FARE		

ADD CODE
FARE 21.25
TAX 3.18
TOTAL 24.43

FORM ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR SERIAL

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE 26 FEB 53 NY

FORM OF PAYMENT

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	Checked Wt.	Unch'd Wt.
C1				
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C1				

NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE

FROM	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES. STATUS
TO					
TO					
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TO					

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER: →

Reed McNally & Co., Chicago, Ill.

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25-51.43

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK **163 A** **514979**

UNITED AIR LINES

5959 So. Cicero Ave.,
Chicago 38, Ill., U. S. A.

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ISSUED BY

UNITED AIR LINES, INC.

Subject to Conditions of Contract on Page 2

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

163 A 514979

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND ORIGIN: LGA

DESTINATION: LGA

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
FROM LGA		
TO CHI	UAL	
TO LAX	UAL	150.94
TO SFO	UAL	
TO LGA	UAL	413
TO PIT	UAL	890
TO CHI	UAL	EP
TO LGA	UAL	158.86
TO		
TO		
TO		
TO		
FARE		360.05

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)

FORM 163A SERIAL 514978

FORM 163A SERIAL 514980-1

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR
FORM 014 SERIAL 719060

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE 3/10/53 LGA

FORM OF PAYMENT AGENCY EXCHANGE

FARE	360.05
EQUIV. AM'T PAID	
TAX	54.01
TOTAL	414.06
FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE	

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

LGA AIRLINE TICKET OFFICE 20 FEB 17 53 NEW YORK N.Y.

UNITED AIRLINES

2:30 PM

FARE BASIS	VALID UNTIL	BAGGAGE Checked Pcs.	BAGGAGE Checked Wt.	BAGGAGE Unch'd Wt.	NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE FROM	TO	VIA CARRIER	FLIGHT Number	DATE	TIME	RES. STATUS
FA					PORTLAND	CHICAGO	UAL	612	3/2	8[illegible]	OK
FA					CHICAGO	NEW YORK	UAL	608	3/4	5:09 P	OK
-					NEW YORK	LOND	-	UO	1	O	

CAL 608-4 MAR OK

ENDORSEMENTS

NOT TRANSFERABLE

NAME OF PASSENGER → DR W E B DuBois

CARRIAGE hereunder is subject to the rules related to liability established by the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air signed at Warsaw, October 12, 1929, unless such carriage is not "International carriage" as defined by said Convention.

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK 164 A 98319

25-5145

IMPORTANT NOTICE

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For details, refer to Re-confirmation Notice in your ticket envelope or contact any airline office. Thank you.

THE SCHEDULED CERTIFICATED AIRLINES OF THE U.S.

Member of Air Transport Association of America.

Each Passenger should carefully examine this ticket, particularly the Conditions on the next page.

ISSUED BY

UNITED AIR LINES, INC.

Subject to Conditions of Contract on Page 2

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK
PASSENGER COUPON

164 A 98319

Printed in U.S.A.

COMPLETE ROUTING THIS TICKET AND
ORIGIN:

DESTINATION:

CONJUNCTION TICKET(S)
FORM SERIAL

FORM SERIAL

ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR
FORM SERIAL

DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGINAL ISSUE

FORM OF PAYMENT

FARE

EQUIV. AM'T PAID

TAX

TOTAL

FREE BAGGAGE ALLOWANCE

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE OF THIS TICKET

AGENT:

ROUTING	VIA Carrier	FARE Construction
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BAGGAGE

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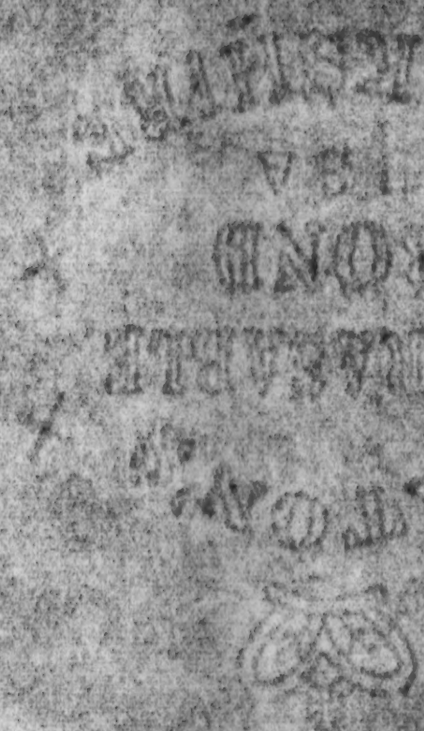

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25-353-15

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EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR EISENHOWER-MALENKOV MEETING GROW.

President Eisenhower Speaks Favorably of a Meeting:

According to James Reston, diplomatic correspondent of the New York Times, "...the President observed with visible sincerity that the new Soviet leaders would never be met less than half-way" ..."This was true, he emphasized, because the purpose of this Administration would forever be to seek peace by every honorable and decent means, and he would do anything, Mr. Eisenhower added, that would give promise of achieving that result." ... (New York Times, March 16, 1953)

Premier Malenkov Says All Questions Can Be Solved By Peaceful Means:

The N.Y. Times (March 16, 1953) reported the address of Premier Malenkov on March 15th before the meeting of the Supreme Soviet as follows:

> "Mr. Malenkov told the Supreme Soviet:
>
> "That the Soviet Union was, without change, carrying on a tried and tested policy of peace, of international collaboration and of development of business connections with all countries...
>
> "That the Soviet policy of peace was based on respect for the rights of all countries, great and small, for the observance of norms of international law and the strict observance of all treaties concluded by the Soviet Government with other states.
>
> "That in the present and in the future, there do not exist any troublesome and unsolved questions that cannot be resolved by peaceful means.
>
> "That any country, including the United States, could be assured of the firm policy for peace of the Soviet Union."

Congressmen Voice Support:

In the past few weeks, a number of Congressmen, both Republican and Democrat, some in important Congressional committees, have spoken approvingly of a meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Malenkov. These include Senator William Langer, Republican, North Dakota, member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee: Senator George, Democrat of Georgia, member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee: Rep. Kenneth Keating, Republican, Upstate New York: Rep. John Blatnick, Democrat of Minnesota: Rep. Usher L. Burdick, Republican, North Dakota.

Trade Unionists Speak Out:

United Auto Workers, largest union in the U.S. (membership 1,350,000) headed by Walter Reuther, CIO President, meeting in Convention, approved overwhelmingly a resolution calling on President Eisenhower to accept Soviet Premier Malenkov's bid for peace negotiations. The resolution was ordered sent to President Eisenhower, members of Congress, the United Nations and U.S. diplomatic representatives. The resolution, while extremely critical of Soviet policy, calls for "terms which both sides can accept" and says in part:

"Through long experience organized labor has demonstrated that negotiations at the bargaining table can become a satisfactory alternative for a contest of economic power when both sides prefer peace to war. Negotiation is not appeasement, neither in collective bargaining nor in international relations. Signing a good contract rather than in calling a strike is not to sell out, but to advance, the cause of the workers.

"Out of our experience we recognize there are two kinds of solutions for the tension which grips the world today. We know that unless we find a way to talk it out, we shall be forced eventually to shoot it out, with tragic consequences which no man dares to contemplate.

"Lasting peace has never been and never will be, won for the people of the world by war, but some day an enduring peace may be achieved through the long and patient process of negotiating settlements of international differences."

LABOR - Journal Railroad Unions with 1 million circulation has carried several articles and editorials criticizng recent developments in U.S. foreign policy, viewing them as steps to war. The paper, while not dealing with the question of negotiations to settle differences, hits particularly hard at the deneutralizing of Formosa and the stepped up psychological warfare, and asks pointedly, "Is it necessary to put our chief reliance on 'psychological warfare', 'black propaganda', and the 'Big Lie' technique? And are those new methods backfiring against our own people."

President Jimerson and Secretary Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers of America, in an Editorial in March issue of Butcher Workman, gave firm support to the principle of negotiations by calling for a cease fire in Korea and the negotiations of all other questions later. The editorial states:

"That this nation wants peace can best be realized in that a lot of us believe that President Eisenhower won the presidency on his promise to do something about Korea. If Chou En-lai wants to stop the shootin', then we are cranially cracked if we don't do something about it. If peace would cause a slump in business we can only say that nothing would please us better than to see a sign tacked on every bullet factory throughout the world reading 'CLOSED FOREVER'."

PROPOSED WIRE:

President Eisenhower:

IN VIEW RECENT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS WE URGE YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS FOR MEETING WITH PREMIER MALENKOV STOP AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SUPPORT YOU IN EVERY EFFORT FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES WITH SOVIET UNION STOP NOW IS PROPITIOUS TIME TO LAUNCH SUCH AN EFFORT WHEN OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO SOVIET UNION PRESENTS CREDENTIALS TO SOVIET LEADERS STOP TO DELAY THIS EFFORT WOULD INCREASE THE DANGER OF SPREADING WAR IN ASIA AND OF DIVIDING GERMANY INTO TWO ARMED CAMPS STOP WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT MEETING NOW BETWEEN NEW LEADERS OF TWO MOST POWERFUL NATIONS ON EARTH TO CANVASS PRESENT SITUATION CAN CONTRIBUTE TO ENDING KOREAN WAR, LESSENING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS AND HALTING DRIFT TOWARD WORLD WAR STOP FOR THE SAKE OF OUR COUNTRYMEN AND ALL OTHER PEOPLES WHOSE VERY EXISTENCE IS THREATENED BY ATOMIC WAR WE APPEAL TO YOU MR. PRESIDENT TO ACT WITHOUT DELAY TO BEGIN THE DISCUSSIONS UPON WHICH WORLD PEACE DEPENDS.

SIGNED:

25-48-5

COPY

[1953]

Excerpt from Convocation Address by Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University.

Speaking of the graduates of the university the President said:

"In English, apart from the teachers of English in the public schools and the small colleges, we can count the writers of novels, poetry and drama on perhaps the fingers of two hands. The greatest of them -- W.E.B. Du Bois -- was a graduate, and I challenge any of you to read Souls of Black Folk without a deep thrill over its exquisite beauty and emotional depths. He was one of the editors of the Fisk Herald when a student here 50 years ago, in fact, his first writing was done for the student publication here."

25-54.94

TIME TABLE

June 20, 1951	Seven A.M. 17 New Yorkers are dragged from beds by 68 FBI agents and thrown into jail. The charge? Conspiring to violate the Smith Act.
Aug. 19, 1951	Last of the 17 released on bail. Bail originally posted by Civil Rights Congress was revoked, defendants returned to jail until new "loyalty tested" bail was raised.
Jan. 11, 1952	Israel Amter, by order of the Court, severed because of illness.
March 3, 1952	Trial began before Federal District Judge Edward Dimock. First month occupied with defense challenge to system of jury selection, the selection of jury and opening statements.
April 15,1952	Dr. James Jackson, Sidney Stein, Fred Fine and William N. Marron were severed from the case by order of the Court.
July 2, 1952	Marion Bachrach severed because of illness.
Sept. 5, 1952	Government rested its case on testimony of 10 paid informers.
Sept.23, 1952	Judge Dimock "directed the judgment of acquittal" as to two of defendants, Isidore Begun and Simon W. Gerson.
Sept.30, 1952	The defense opened its affirmative case.
Nov. 19, 1952	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, veteran labor and Communist leader, and chief defense witness was sentenced to 30 days in jail for refusing to act as a stool pigeon.
Dec. 17, 1952	Judge Dimock dismissed Mrs. Sybil Kane, juror #12, after four days of secret hearings. Hearings revealed that Mrs. Kane prejudged the case from the beginning and violated court instructions by discussing her views with others. Judge Dimock refused defense motions for a mistrial in spite of evidence that other jurors were similarly prejudiced.
Jan. 15, 1953	Case submitted to jury.
Jan. 21, 1953	Jury returned verdict of "all guilty as charged". Defendants, including 71-year old Dr. Mindel, just out of hospital following severe heart attack, were immediately remanded to jail.
Feb. 3, 1953	Defendants were sentenced as follows: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry, Alexander Bittelman, Alexander Trachtenberg, Arnold Johnson, Louis Weinstock, V. J. Jerome: 3 years and $6,000 fine. Albert Lannon, Jacob Mindel, William Weinstone, Betty Gannett, George Blake Charney: 2 years and $4,000 fine. Claudia Jones: 1 year and 1 day and $2,000 fine. Bail ranging from $20,000 to $25,000 each was set.
Feb. 17, 1953	Last of 13 defendants released on bail pending appeal. Defense preparing appeal to higher court.

25-65-23

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN

32.32.11

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Editor: S. MILBURN
Community Development Clearing House
University of London Institute of Education
Malet Street, W.C.1

EDITORIAL

WITH the next number, September, 1953, we shall begin the fifth year of publication. The *Bulletin* is well known in a great number of territories. Copies are distributed free to correspondents in seventy countries. No payment is made to contributors who have been willing to offer their experience for the assistance of other workers in community development. It is, however, becoming more difficult to continue making a free distribution of 4,000 copies. We shall therefore probably be compelled to withdraw the copies now distributed automatically with the *Colonial Review* and to make a charge to be fixed later for four numbers post free. Copies will continue to be issued free to organisations and departments, if on a mutual exchange of publications basis. Single copies will be obtainable. Please let me know if you wish to receive copies on a subscription basis.

The general wish, expressed in replies to the questionnaire, is in favour of continuing to reproduce articles from other journals not likely to be easily obtainable, to print articles on general aims and principles and to devote occasional whole issues to one topic. Future numbers will not be confined to these features. The replies have justified the inclusion in this number of two articles which might not otherwise have been secured. We hope to continue to include illustrations, but space will not allow of bibliographies. These can be obtained by direct enquiry from the Editor.

The notice in the March issue of the *Bulletin* about facilities for the study of community development has brought several enquiries. To one of these we had to reply that we could not run correspondence courses nor issue certificates as a qualification for a better job. One aspect of community development, the most important, is training in effective human relationships. This needs to be discussed amongst groups of workers at all levels, if we may judge from the opinion of an education officer who related that, as he had reverted to his department, he was no longer so closely concerned with community development as formerly. Unless some way is found whereby individual members of the community may realise how their attitude and still more their actions can influence feeling in the various communities with which they are concerned, there is little hope of any permanent improvement resulting from community development campaigns. Community development is essentially a process of education not only in knowledge of man and of the environment in which he finds himself, but in the communication of ideals and in the will to realise them. Mr. Winiata's and Dr. Benjamin Paul's articles in this number are concerned with this theme.

On page 62 I have reprinted some replies to the questionnaire which was distributed with the December number. They will, I hope, suggest topics for writers. In particular I should welcome accounts of how local values, habits and beliefs are being affected by specific projects for local improvement. Dr. Paul's article shows the dangers attending even the most high-minded efforts to improve people.

The extracts are anonymous for several reasons, but chiefly because they are worthy of consideration in their own right.

32.32.12

RESPECT FOR CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

by Benjamin D. Paul

Social Anthropologist, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, Mass.

ANY cultural group tends to assume that its ways and values are inherently right. Using their own ways as a standard, people find it easy to adjudge the practices of " outsiders " as peculiar, unreasonable, inadequate or inferior. By and large, we of the western world are no exception to this rule. Among other things it is a mechanism for preserving the integrity of the group. By the same token, however, it can act as a barrier to inter-cultural understanding and consequently as an impediment to inter-cultural co-operation.

Rationalism and change are undermining the authority of tradition. At the same time, rationalism and change are becoming entrenched as cultural values in our society. By appraising other cultures in terms of these values, we continue to follow the disposition to judge others in our own terms. Other peoples are deemed " backward " in the degree to which their culture is conservative and their behaviour rests on non-rational premises. The impulse to modernise the more " backward " sectors of the world's population may be laudable. To be sure, we are now aware that action programmes are not to be imposed; the recipients must be motivated and involved. But too often participation on the local level is sought, not for the purpose of defining and planning objectives, but in order to implement objectives laid down in advance. We say: This is what should be done; how can you help in its accomplishment? Seldom do we say: We stand ready to help if we can; what kind of assistance do you need?

But assuming that a programme is inaugurated, by whatever process of planning, complications due to cultural differences may arise. The aims and behaviour of the action team are not likely to be taken at face value; rather the people in the community will make an interpretation consistent with their prior experiences, their hopes and fears, and their system of cultural understandings. They may suspect ulterior motives or hold unrealistic expectations. That is to say, the community will define the new situation in its own way. The action team will also define the reaction of the community in its own way. The problem of overcoming cultural differences applies not only in the case of a health mission operating in a foreign area, but also in the case of a team working in a community within its own country. The difference in the two cases is one of degree.

It is instructive to examine some of the preconceptions interfering with an objective appraisal of the community's behaviour in relation to a public health programme. Several of these assumptions are reflected in the meanings that cluster around such terms as backwardness, superstition, customs, education and apathy.

Backwardness. We speak of underdeveloped areas or backward areas. More than anything else Americans think of technological level when they speak of backward areas. Since it is cumbersome to speak of " technologically backward people " we resort to contractions like " backward people " or " backward cultures ". This abbreviation carries with it unfortunate implications. It permits the assumption that the people as a whole or their culture as a whole is backward. This evaluation is both erroneous and

prejudicial to inter-cultural co-operation. It is erroneous because it fails to take cognizance of the fact that cultures have qualitative as well as quantitative aspects. Styles, tastes, values, standards of conduct, codes of etiquette, esthetic modes, these all are cultural qualities that do not lend themselves to rating on a scale of higher-to-lower, more-to-less, better-to-worse, or any other unilinear scale. Cultures differ but this difference cannot be expressed on an evaluative scale, except in terms of an arbitrary criterion. One can of course extend assistance to people judged as backward but a patronising attitude is not conducive to co-operation. The best way to win respect for a health programme is to show respect for the people it serves.

Superstition. We assume that people base their actions on reasoning and that the remedy for erroneous action is to correct the erroneous reasoning. But the reverse of this proposition probably comes closer to the truth. People think the way they do because they behave the way they do, and their behaviour is modelled on the behavioural patterns of their culture. People rationalize more often than they reason.

We do not sufficiently realize that human actions serve more purposes than those avowed by the people who practise them. Indian peasants in Guatemala have the superstitious belief that a young person who walks immediately in front of an older person will age prematurely since he will contract some of the " age " of the older member. But this belief does not really derive its force from the misconceived reasoning allegedly underlying the behaviour. The fact is that the avowed reason overlies rather than underlies the rule. Local etiquette dictates that juniors should cede precedence to seniors. The rules of etiquette support an exceedingly important principle of social organisation, namely, that social status depends not on class or achievement but on relative age.

The viability of the aging superstition does not depend on ignorance, as might be supposed by an inquirer who asks why children should not walk ahead of adults and receives the explanation, given in good faith, that the children would grow old too quickly. Rather its vitality depends on the function it serves ; it is one among many props that maintain the social order. It should be no surprise if the Gautemalan aging superstition persisted despite efforts by an outsider to attack its logical basis.

Another reason why superstitions are not readily banished by intellectualistic persuasion is that the mystical thinking on which their rationalization rests is often part of a general disposition pervading the world view of a given society. Each magical belief or practice is only an explicit and visible instance of an implicit philosophy which resides below the threshold of awareness where it is not open to examination and challenge. The assumption of mystical causation is manifested in and supported by a great array of beliefs, acts and events. Attacking any given item of superstition does not seriously attack the unverbalised proposition in which it is rooted. Fundamental assumptions are not immutable ; they are part of culture and culture is always undergoing change. But the change in a people's world view proceeds slowly, especially if there is no dramatic alteration in their socio-economic environment.

Another source of sustenance for superstitious practices is the role they often play in allaying anxiety. Extreme uncertainty can arouse unbearable distress, creating a demand for a ritual or formula that will influence the course of events. Cases in point are the superstitions of gamblers or those

of men in combat. The controlling factor is not the intelligence of the men but the severity of the hazards they face. It is characteristic of cultures that they provide formulas for reducing anxiety and define the situations for which these formulas are appropriate. So long as men must face emergencies beyond their capacity to control they will seek " solutions " that are magical or mystical or in some other way " unreasonable ". In the long run, the most successful attack on superstition is the indirect attack on the uncertainties of life that nourish superstitious credulity.

Now a health programme strikes at the uncertainties of death and disease, and it may seem ironical that the dissemination of improved medical practices should be impeded precisely by those superstitions (among others) that owe their vitality to the hazards of life deriving from inadequacies of medical knowledge. But faith is strong where risks are great and people act slowly when it comes to shifting their faith from a familiar system of security to an unfamiliar one, however efficacious the new system may prove to be in the long run. It should not be overlooked that faith gives psychological security, whether faith is placed in magic, religion or science.

In most general terms, the major objection to the term " superstition " is that it implies a distorted conception of the role of rational thinking in human behaviour. Man is a reasoning animal. But from this it does not follow that the ways and institutions that comprise his culture are predominantly the products of deliberation and conscious decision. The people of any society engage in thinking and arrive at conclusions. But thinking proceeds on premises. And different cultures supply different premises. Behaviour in any society is rational in some ways and non-rational in others. By fixing on superstitions we exaggerate the irrational element in other cultures and overestimate the rational element in our own. This distortion stands in the way of gaining a good appreciation of the other person's point of view. Lack of such appreciation acts as a bar to the mutual confidence upon which inter-group collaboration best proceeds.

Customs. We know that customs exist and that they vary. But we tend to assume that customs are forces that collide and interfere with intelligent self-directed behaviour ; that the ideal society would be one that is swept clean of the cobwebs of custom ; that the less enlightened peoples of the globe have more customs and are more subject to their influence. These assumptions rest on a misconception concerning the nature of culture.

A culture is more than a collection of customs ; it is a *system* of customs, each more or less meaningfully related to the others. Culture has structure as well as content. Recognition of this fact would enable us to understand the tenacity of certain customs : they are hard to move because they are geared to other customs. It would alert us to the possibility that changes effected in one aspect of culture can bring about unexpected repercussions elsewhere in the cultural system. It would allow us to perceive that the well-being of the individual depends, not on his freedom from cultural conventions, but on the degree of consistency obtaining between the components of the cultural system in which he is involved.

The cultural system does limit the range of individual behaviour and in this sense customs exert a restraining influence. Culture defines the values men hold, the goals they seek, the means they use. By thus organising their outlook, culture is also a guide to action, a positive force that channels motivation and imparts meaning to existence. We are too inclined to perceive the negative and overlook the positive when we behold the customs of others.

Naïvely we may cherish the illusion that custom plays only a slight part in shaping our motives and decisions. This view is encouraged by the accent we place on individualism.* But individualism is itself a basic value of our culture. It is, so to speak, an American custom. (As a matter of fact, in the eyes of foreign observers Americans conform to type no less than foreigners do in the eyes of Americans.) Science may have weaned us from certain customs but this is not to say that we now have fewer customs than before. We have changed our spots, not shed them; we have scientific customs along with others. Sophistication does not free us from cultural norms; it substitutes city ways for folk ways. Similarly, a programme of health education does not eradicate customs; at the best it replaces old customs with new ones.

Education. Education lies at the core of a community health project or any other programme of directed culture change. Not incorrectly, education is conceived as the transmission of information. It is now realised that the choice of channels through which information is disseminated bears critically on the success of an educational campaign. Advice routed through meaningful personal contact is more influential than advice conveyed through impersonal media; discussion and participation are more effective than speeches and exhortations. Sensitivity to the nature of the communication network is all to the good. But as yet, educators are only dimly aware of the process by which information is assimilated in the minds of the educational targets.

Clearly people do not automatically incorporate whatever information comes their way. This is taken to mean that learning takes place slowly. It is recognised that all normal people possess some knowledge but if they are in need of indoctrination it is because they do not have enough information. It is as though they had certain empty spaces in their mental storehouse and the task were one of insinuating the necessary facts into unfilled minds. People need information because they are "uninformed". Essentially the educational process is conceived as an incremental one.

To be sure, people do acquire information and knowledge can be cumulative. But learning is more than an additive process, it is more than the building up of content. It involves integration as well. The mind not only receives ideas, it also organizes them into a system. New information is inert unless it is understood and it can only be understood when it is fitted into the pre-existing idea system. Ideas that do not fit are either ignored or suitably reinterpreted.

People who have shared the same experiences or who have a common cultural background tend to have similar idea systems; they think in parallel terms and they interpret happenings in similar ways. Communication between such people is rapid and economical; their minds are more or less in resonance. This is not the case when members of different cultures or subcultures enter into communication. Each reinterprets the ideas of the other in accordance with his mental set. This is why anthropologists seek to live in intimate contact and for a long period of time with the people they wish to understand. They do this not only because there are numerous observations to record in an unknown culture and not only because they

* The philosophy of individualism achieves its fullest realization in the clinical and case work approach where stress falls on those features or circumstances which distinguish one individual from all others. The acuteness of the focus obscures the perception of ethnic and other group characteristics.

want to gain the confidence of their subjects, but also because they want to share enough experiences with the people to get a fair approximation of the way they think and feel.

The health educator who approaches his assignment with the preconception that education is a matter of conveying information to people who are " uninformed " stands in danger of concluding that the slow penetration of his propaganda is attributable to intellectual deficiency or wilful behaviour on the part of those he seeks to benefit. It is more useful to take the position that the people are already " informed ". According to their cultural lights, they already " know " a good deal about the causes of illness and the kinds of treatment to be sought. From this standpoint, the problem is not merely one of injecting new concepts into a mental vacuum, but one of helping the people reorganise their existing conceptual system. So conceived, the educational task is really that of re-education. New knowledge is not just supplementary ; it is reshaped to accord with pre-existing mental configurations, but in the process of accommodation the old orientation is somewhat shifted.

Knowledge of the local belief system enables the imaginative educator to present his data in such order and in such a way as to be most readily grasped by the recipients. It also enables him to anticipate the directions that " misunderstanding " will take.

The way in which old conceptions affect the interpretation of new ideas is illustrated by the case of a well-educated American Indian who served in World War II. In accordance with the dictates of his culture he " knew " that witchcraft was an important source of illness. In the army he learned about germs and their role in disease communication. Nevertheless on returning home he continued to give credence to the power of witchcraft even in the case of a communicable disease. Germs are everywhere, he reasoned, yet only some individuals become susceptible. Why should this be? His answer was that witchcraft could so weaken a person's resistance as to leave him vulnerable to germs. His accommodation of the old and the new was to assign natural causes to the service of supernatural forces.

May we not find similar types of accommodation among ourselves? May not the victims of a dreaded ailment accept the principle of natural causation and still ask themselves why they, and not others, should suffer? May their anxiety not mobilise a sense of guilt and inform their inner self that fate is making them pay the price for some real or fancied infraction of the moral code? And may not this impair the course of their treatment?

Apathy. Action programmes occasionally encounter active opposition, but more commonly the difficulty is insufficient interest. We have handy words like " indifference " or " apathy " to describe this circumstance. Apathy, however, is a negative term ; like the word " lazy " it states what is not happening. But negative labels are not productive of insight ; they tend to obscure the positive, more dynamic, factors that contribute to inactivity.

Take the example of a programme of preventive medicine. Let us say it aims to teach well people how to stay well and to have people report for examination before they become acutely sick. Let us add that the community exhibits apathy toward the doctrine of prevention ; its members are stirred only when they are struck by severe illness. What motives does this apathy conceal?

George Foster has enumerated some of the motives in his survey of selected health centres in Latin America. These include distrust, conviction that doctors are incapable of curing certain classes of ailments, inconvenience, resentment of censure for failing to abide by schedules and routines, apprehensions about the harmful effects of extracting blood samples, and shameful attitudes surrounding the admission of being weak enough to succumb to sickness.

But perhaps the most illuminating factor contributing to apathy is the difference in the definitions of health and illness held by the medical agency on the one hand, and the community on the other. The medical team proceeds on the assumption that good health is something positive to be maintained by positive measures; illness is the absence of health. But the community goes on the assumption that disease is something positive, that it is the presence of something bad; health is the absence of sickness. In this view "there is very little a well person can or ought to do to keep himself well". There may also be a conception that good health is good fortune and that one should leave well enough alone; one tampers with fate when one presumes to show concern with a satisfactory state of affairs.

It is probable that the negative definition of health and the fear of changing one's luck apply to many people in our own society, and that these implicit assumptions similarly impede the adoption of a "preventive attitude".

Summary. Our rationalistic bias leads us to classify people as "reasonable" or "unreasonable". But people are neither reasonable nor unreasonable in the abstract. By their own cultural standards their behaviour and beliefs are reasonable, by the standards of others they are unreasonable. To alter their point of view it is necessary to understand their point of view.

NOTE by Editor: Dr. Paul is assembling case material to illustrate the significance of social and cultural factors in public health work. He would appreciate receiving communications containing material (informal, anecdotal or otherwise) that could be used to show how the success or failure of a public health programme may be influenced by such things as: differences in social class, peculiarities of culture or of cultural values; cultural preconceptions held by technical personnel, unplanned repercussions of planned innovation. His address is Dr. Benjamin D. Paul, Harvard University, School of Public Health, 695 Huntington Avenue, Boston 15, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Copies of such material would also be of great interest at the Clearing House for use by students of Community Development.

SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

by M. Winiata, M.A.Dip.Ed., Nuffield Fellow, University of Edinburgh

WHEN Adult Education in New Zealand was reorganised after the war all agencies were concentrated under the control of a National Council with Regional Councils attached to each of the four University Colleges for local administration. The significance of this legislation, from the point of view of the Maori, was the recognition of the special needs and interests of the Maori people by the appointment of a Maori representative to the National

Council and also of tutors to undertake work in that field. Previously the Maori was expected to utilise the general services, but it was found that in spite of efforts to do so, the Maori in fact was not making use of the facilities offered. The new move was initiated more by egalitarian principles than by an appreciation of the educational, economic and social conditions of the Maori people. The new policy was allowed to develop in the field with a stress on following the orthodox patterns and techniques found useful among the European communities, and treating of similar subjects. The most superficial reflection, however, supported by experience of tutors who were brought up in Maori communities, showed that a new departure had to be made in techniques, methods and programmes if Adult Education among the Maori was to be successful.

The Situation Today

The physical facts of the Maori situation served as the necessary background for Maori Adult Education and these were the real determinants in work to be done. The Maori population stood at a little under 120,000 in a total of some 2,000,000. The majority, over 90 per cent, lived in rural areas, with a concentration of 73 per cent in the Auckland Province, northernmost part of the North Island. The health of the Maori was seen to be in a tragic condition. Infant mortality was nearly 10 times that of the European. In employment a survey revealed the majority of Maoris in the category of labourers and primary production mostly wage earning. Among the reasons for this are the lower educational standards of the Maori and his rural distribution.

Now another factor in the situation was the particular grouping of Maori population. Although there are no reserves for Maoris only, in New Zealand, there is a definite concentration of the people on traditionally owned land located in scattered districts. Generally such Maori lands are included within ancient tribal boundaries, in which also are situated the Maori villages containing the old-time communal centres. The social life of the Maori swings around these communal centres, the focus of the kinship structure which binds Maori society together. There on these communal centres the Maori people gather for the mortuary rites and other gatherings of tribal importance. A meeting-house, either plain or carved in ancient style, and a dining-hall for use at meetings complete the units which symbolise the cohesion and the unity of the group. Within this society there operate a life and activity perhaps not far different from that of European townships, but nevertheless quite separate and distinct. It was this social structure which exists apart from the European society, though of course definitely interpenetrated by it, that forms the core of Maori life to-day and which must determine any Adult Education programme devised for them.

A Philosophy

Briefly, therefore, the Maori situation in New Zealand may be summarised as a dual frame of organisation. A Maori sub-system exists within a wider social and economic organisation. The Maori sub-system is characterised by a lower economic standard, a generally lower educational standard, a distinctive social memory expressed in tradition, history and oral literature, and a social structure that springs from kinship recorded in genealogies and strengthened through ceremonial gatherings, mortuary rites and the multi-

tudinous group interactions that still take place. However, all this is set within a wider framework of national politics, legal organisation and local government. The Maori is required to conform to the ordinary health standards, the ordinary educational standards and the universal demands of economic well-being. In other words the Maori to-day lives in two worlds. He uses two languages and he often confuses the values of the separate systems.

Maori leaders since the turn of the century had developed a philosophy to take care of the situations. This may be stated as the twofold one of gradual adjustment to the demands of the European framework while at the same time developing a distinctive individuality compounded of the essential elements of his surviving culture to build his personality during the trying process of transition. Further, Maori leaders in their work of aiding adjustment started from within Maori society, using concepts and techniques that belonged to that society.

The existence of the dual frame of organisation mentioned, which precipitated the philosophy stated, and the experience of Maori tutors who knew the conditions from first-hand experience, all compelled Adult Education to move in one direction. This was to help the Maori in his adjustment and also to reconstruct the worthwhile things in his own culture. General principles of education at this point came to the fore. It was decided to devise a programme in accordance with the interests and needs of the communities concerned, to use the traditional methods of education, to utilise wherever possible Maori leaders from within the society and to call on the help of existing European agencies with an educational slant. The fundamental principle in the programme was the commencement from the people in the community and their needs and interests as the base of operations.

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Programme

Once the situation was clear and the aim defined, the programme fell into place. The interest and need in one community was the reinforcement of the tribal life of the community as a means to self-respect and social integration. The people were feeling after the vaguely known social memory of the group. With the help of an elder who knew the information needed and who held a high status in the tribe, the resources of Adult Education were made available towards the dissemination of this knowledge among interested members of this tribe. The genealogies were studied, pregnant with episode and tradition ; then the history of the tribe was pieced together, and the poetry and oral literature of the people were all brought together. After several weeks' work the interest grew and so did the range of the study classes. Finally a historical society was set up for the purpose of compiling the material for wider distribution.

Fortunately this tribe had been thinking of renewing its meeting-house and having it carved as in olden times. The lack of experts in the craft anywhere near, the difficulty of getting tools for carving and the problems of obtaining the required type of timber were all obstacles. However, the facilities of Adult Education were brought to bear upon the situation and all these problems were solved. The Adult Education Office became a clearing house for the information needed, a specialist was engaged and financial arrangements were made between the local people and Adult Education which brought about a satisfactory co-operation. The young men of the tribe were formed into a carving school, the young women into

the women's craft guilds required for decorating the interior of the building while another group continued the study of the tribal history to use as bases for designs in the new building. At the end the whole community was in action on what was a communal project in a matter very significant to the tribe. The visits of the instructors became gathering days for the group as a whole. Some prepared the food for the workers, others held dances to secure the finance for the project, all under the leadership of the local people with the encouragement of Adult Education.

Another example of the work carried out may be cited. In one area an Act of Parliament aimed at the alienation of Maori lands that were lying idle. The severity of the act on the already restricted land-holdings of the Maori stimulated wide interest in one area and the socio-legal problems arising from this circumstance provided the starting point for a programme in adult education. The aim here was to carry out a group study of all aspects of land development relevant to the new act. The approach was from the point of view of the tribe as represented by its leaders, formed into a land development committee. The discussion clarified the minds of the people on the question of land development; the obstacles preventing the utilisation of Maori land were identified and the point of view of the promoters of the act studied. From the meetings of the leaders of the people concerned proposals were drawn up and submitted to the Government Departments which had something to do with the questions in hand. One of the practical values of these proposals was the liaison established between State and people and the briefing of the former regarding the problems inherent in the whole situation. On the other hand it awakened the Maori people to the necessity of doing something about their lands. The group making the study, through its adult education committee, emphasised the financial aid needed by the people and so forced the State to agree to lend funds for the development of these lands and to extend the machinery within the Maori Department to achieve this end.

It happened that at one of these meetings, when certain blocks of Maori lands were being investigated it was found that there were small remnants of timber scattered over them. The housing conditions of the people had long been a problem affecting their health. Further, there had also been a need for timber for the construction of tribal meeting-houses within the area. The discovery of this Maori owned timber immediately suggested to the minds of those familiar with timber work among the leaders the establishment of a timber mill owned and operated by the tribe. This was rather a new departure, for it meant the formation of a company, the raising of finance and the employment of technical experts. At the time none of these was in view. However, this new proposal was linked to the land development projects and the adult education committee turned its attention to that phase of the work. European experts were brought into the study circle, such as a lawyer and an accountant. All aspects were studied by the group until finally a company was formed. The finance was secured from community funds in the area and with voluntary labour from the men of the village close by the Turangawaewae Saw Milling Company started.

Both of these projects give but the skeleton of the work that was carried out. Here all techniques for the study of problems were used, private research, lectures as well as the usual discussion method. The meetings of the group were held often at the ceremonial gatherings. In these ceremonial gatherings often the purpose of the meeting was disposed of quite early but

the people stayed on, perhaps over a week-end. The topics and projects that stemmed from the study of community problems supplied the ceremonial meetings with matter and questions for discussion. Then, too, in this case the support of the highest ranked leaders was solicited and offered. The tribal newspaper departed from its conventional role and featured material on the new projects.

Conclusion

This rather sketchy account of the programme of work carried out in two Maori districts during 1950-51 under the general direction of Maori Adult Education brings out several points of sociological interest that can bear reiteration.

First, the fact of the tribe was recognised from the beginning with its leaders occupying statuses and carrying out defined roles. Second, the existence too of traditional means of grouping the people together for indigenous purposes was kept in view. Third, the basic principle of starting from the needs and interests of specific communities was made the corner-stone of policy. Fourth, the community as such was stimulated into action under its own leaders along traditional ways of operating with the tutor taking up an observer role of helping and guiding wherever required. Fifth, the result was that the tutor became a student working not over but with others in the community, while each member carried out his education through actually doing things and not merely listening to abstract talks. Because it was the community in action in a project it considered significant, the community itself was then whole-hearted in its support for Adult Education.

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FINDING A WAY OUT AT KPEJEWA

Reprinted from *Educational Bulletin*, Sierra Leone, Vol. I, No. 1, December, 1951.

by F. S. Anthony

Origin

THE Kpejewa Thrift and Producers Co-operative Society was formed by the author in the latter part of November, 1946. Union College,† from the time of its founding right up to the present moment, has always sponsored a programme of development aiming more or less at improving living conditions in the villages, which are in the neighbourhood of the College.

Parent Society

The first attempt at establishing a Co-operative Society, in conjunction with the Village improvement programme of the College, began with Mr. J. R. Manley who formed a Thrift Club with membership drawn from two small villages—Mbundobu and Sonjama.

Towards the end of November, 1946, the Kpejewa Society was started. It began to function along similar lines to the Mbundobu-Sonjama Society; namely, first to subscribe 6d. per week until an accumulated share of £2 had accrued to each member. By the end of 1948 all shares were paid and

† College for training Teachers and Catechists conducted by three Protestant Missions and assisted by Government at Bunumbu, Sierra Leone.

the membership totalled 42 men and women. Loans were granted at the initial stage at an interest rate of 2s. 6d. for every £1 loan granted. (This is favourable when compared with the 5s. and 10s. paid on every £1 loan obtained from private dealers.) The present interest rate has been reduced to 1s. 3d. in the £1 by the Society.

First Project

In June, 1948, the Society undertook a project of swamp rice planting. They spent £2 15s. 3d. on seed rice, divided the labour among themselves and realised £23 from the harvest, from which each member received 11s. In the following year members of the Co-operative Society thought that they could duplicate the success of the collective venture, in a small way, when they worked as individuals. Thanks to fortune they failed in this venture. Thus in 1950 the Society again decided upon doing collective swamp rice planting.

Events of Note

Two events of importance, in addition to the success of the first swamp rice project, have helped to set the Society on a firm footing: (1) the Report of the Registrar of Co-operatives, which mentions the Kpejewa Society as one of the successful Societies in the country, and (2) the address of Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk on Improved Methods of Farming in the United States, and the place farmers hold in American society. These events gave fresh impetus to the organisation and drew a resolution from members which reads as follows: " We the members of the Kpejewa Thrift and Producers Society have today resolved not to withdraw our shares from the Society, until our goal of better living for ourselves and our children has been attained."

Literacy

The most outstanding event at Kpejewa was the inauguration of a Literacy programme, which was ancillary to the Thrift Producers Society. This programme was based upon studies made in neighbouring villages and the fact that the institution of the Thrift Society had paved the way for greater events. The class met for three hours a day, and once a week (every Friday). After three meetings nearly one hundred people enrolled in one activity group or another.

The groups consisted of:

1. Women; 2. Children; 3. Young Men; 4. Elders.

and when these were arranged in Activity Groups or Committees, worked as:

1. Sanitation and Health. 2. Practical Farming. 3. Civics. 4. Homecraft.

Concrete Results

After three meetings with the people in the village, the following tasks were accomplished:

1. A mutual benefit fund for the women was opened from the sale of foodstuffs.
2. Dust-bins were erected by the Sanitary and Health Group.
3. Better facilities were provided for bathing and for collecting drinking water. All bathing places in the middle of the town were removed to the outskirts of the town.

4. An agricultural project in dry season gardening was started.
5. A carpentry shed was built.
6. The Court barri was painted.
7. A regular cleaning gang now took care of cleaning the town daily.

The credit for all these accomplishments goes to the various committees and interest groups. The fire of self-help has been lighted and kept blazing during the week, even in the absence of the team. A keen but healthy sense of rivalry having been kindled, each group accepted the challenge to take its own share of the responsibility it was capable of carrying out in the community.

Significant Accomplishment

The most significant accomplishment in the plan and organization was the formation of the Civic Council or Committee. This Council is composed of the Elders of the Village plus one representative from each of the five Activity Groups. The Civic Committee is an accomplishment because :

(1) It is a clearing house for all difficulties that arise in any of the groups. At a moment's notice the Civic Committee provides land for the Agriculture Committee, locates a site for a carpentry shop and gives authority to the Sanitary Committee to carry out measures for proper sanitation in certain areas of the village. Without this fully representative body, group activities would be held up unnecessarily long, and this tends to kill interest already stimulated.

(2) The Civic Committee has broken the traditional bias of not having women confer with the men on equal terms and together in matters pertaining to the Community. This is also an opportunity for the women to put their claims to obtain more privileges in a growing Society.

(3) The Council is a democratic institution representing all interests in the village. Its elected members are taught the art of properly electing their representatives from each of the Activity Groups. At some future day literacy qualification would be enforced for election to such a group. Thus this project has opened a way to Community Development in this Chiefdom.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA

A. R. Entwisle, Adult Education Officer, Federation of Malaya

THE estimated population of the Federation of Malaya on June 30, 1952, was, shown by races :

Malaysians	2,673,114
Chinese	2,067,027
Indians and Pakistanis	602,388
Europeans	12,810
Eurasians	11,433
Others	53,966
	5,420,738

The implications of these figures govern all thought upon administrative and social problems in Malaya, but in education they form the core of the

Dr. F. C. Laubach conducting a Literacy Teachers' Training Course, Penang, May 1952.

By courtesy of Dept. of Information Federation of Malaya

problem itself. Four old and developed cultures are represented in a small territory, so rich in potential resources, and so placed on the map as to be constantly subject to the play of external forces while engaged in the task of making of these diverse elements a Malayan nation.

As though differences of race and religion were not enough, the Federation comprises nine states and two settlements whose varied histories and customs serve further to complicate the growth of a national consciousness. And finally the Emergency, only now being brought under control, has for four and half years bled the country of wealth and manpower at a time when these are more than ever needed in the service of peaceful development.

How badly they are needed for education may be judged from the fact that since 1945 the school population has grown from 264,000 to 720,000, an increase of over 173 per cent, indicating clearly the public pressure for education which places a heavy strain upon all concerned with its provision. It was only to be expected that, concurrently with the demand for more and better schools, there should arise also a demand for a widespread service of Adult Education.

Prior to 1950 provision in this sphere had been limited to a thin spread of evening classes, organized by State and Settlement Education Departments, on lines not dissimilar from those of the United Kingdom Evening Institutes. Providing courses in English language and commercial and technical subjects at elementary levels, they were to be found only in the urban areas, and their total enrolment in 1949 was 1,828.

In August 1950, there was formed the Penang Educational Association, a voluntary body whose pioneer work, together with the efforts of the then Director of the British Council in Malaya, Mr. J. W. Gale, contributed directly to the formation on July 1, 1951, of the Adult Education Association, Federation of Malaya. Charging itself with responsibility for developing all forms of Adult Education in the country, the new Association yet decided for the present to concentrate upon the eradication of illiteracy, the spread of English as a common language, and the promotion of civics courses in order to prepare Malayans for self-government.

In March, 1952, the Federal Government, recognising the importance and urgency of the work, voted $240,000 to State and Settlement Adult

Education Associations for payment of teachers; and a further $60,000 to the Federal Association for teacher training, preparation of material and equipment. It had already, in November 1951, appointed a European Education Officer, who arrived in January 1952, to advise the Associations and to maintain liaison between them and the Education Department. During 1952 the movement spread to each State and Settlement, with the formation of new Associations in membership with the Federal body, until by October the chain was complete.

Work in the field had not been made to wait on this outcome however. Throughout the Federation there is an insistent call for instruction in English and each local association as it was formed set out to provide courses in this subject. At the end of April 1952, about 100 such classes had come into being in the States of Selangor, Perak and Pahang and in the Settlement of Penang. Difficulties arising from the lack of suitable textbooks, and of teachers experienced in adult education were encountered, but the offer of the British Council to assist the Associations with expert advice from qualified officers, and to train teachers of English for adult class work gives promise of an early solution of such problems. The first-fruits of this offer was a short training course for teachers drawn from all over the Federation, which was held in Kuala Lumpur early in December. This course was an unqualified success.

It had meanwhile been recognised that the most urgent of the immediate problems was that of illiteracy. The census of 1947 showed that over all communities the percentage of illiterates among persons over 15 years of age was 61·6. Among Malaysians illiterates constituted 70 per cent; among Chinese 54·6 per cent; among Indians 54·5 per cent. It was fortunate, in view of the relatively greater need of the Malays, that other circumstances had combined to make illiteracy in this community the first point of attack.

During June 1951, Dr. F. C. Laubach had paid a short visit to Singapore and the Federation in the course of which he had convinced a number of individuals, official and unofficial, of the value of his methods for Malaya. As a result he was invited by the Rural and Industrial Development Authority, and the Federal Adult Education Association to return to the Federation in

The first steps, Penang, May 1952. Dr. Laubach's course for Literacy Teachers.

By courtesy of Dept. of Information, Federation of Malaya.

At work. A Kampong adult Literacy Class.

By courtesy of Dept. of Information, Federation of Malaya

the spring of 1952 and to assist in launching a Malay Literacy Campaign. Meanwhile the Adult Education Association undertook the necessary preparatory work.

At the outset it was necessary to decide whether the campaign should be based on the traditional " Jawi " script, a derivative of Arabic, or on the " Rumi " (Roman) character introduced by the British. Both are taught in the schools but all Peninsular Malay newspapers, and the greater part of other printed material, are in Jawi ; to use Rumi therefore would be to set aside much of the immediately available follow-up material. Nevertheless, Rumi was eventually chosen, chiefly for its high phonetic character, but also in deference to an already established trend.

Mr. Le Prevost, in his contribution to the COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BULLETIN of September, 1952, refers to the primer *Membasmi Buta Huruf* which he and Che' Abdul Karim b. Mohd. Sharif produced after consultation with Dr. Laubach, during the latter's 1951 visit. 20,000 copies of this were ready for use in the Federation in January, 1952. In addition work was begun on the adaptation for use in Malaya of Dr. Laubach's first follow-up reader, *Hussein the Wise Man*, while the search was begun for auxiliary sources of follow-up material ; and the Association appointed a Literacy Officer, Tuan Syed Alwi Alhadi, one of whose duties would be to direct the preparation of new material of this kind.

Dr. Laubach, on his arrival in May 1952, was at pains to stress the efficiency of the " each one teach one " or individual method of instruction. However, since the administration and financing of the campaign had been planned on the basis of class instruction it was decided, for the present at any rate, to use this system.

Dr. Laubach's main effort was confined to three centres, Kuala Lumpur, the Federal capital, where he initiated the translation and revision of *Hussein the Wise Man*, Penang, a populous urban area, and Kelantan, one of the more remote States, with a population predominantly rural and Malay. His short training courses in Penang and Kelantan prepared over 200 teachers for work in the field and served to demonstrate the value of his methods and the suitability of the primer *Membasmi Buta Huruf*. The results, and the personality of Dr. Laubach, faithfully reported by the press and Information

Services, caught the imagination of the public and focused its attention upon the coming campaign, and upon its social implications.

The campaign was launched in Penang during July, six weeks after Dr. Laubach's departure, and in the following months spread rapidly over the country, as successive training courses sent fresh teachers to work. The end of October saw the registration of the first 804 new literates, and some 300 literacy classes in being. At this point it became possible to make a preliminary assessment of the work.

It was established beyond doubt that illiterate adults could be taught to read and write in courses, organized on a class basis, of not more than 40 hours' duration. The minimum duration of such courses was 15 hours, but this was possible only under very favourable conditions. Their average length appears to be 25-30 hours. The test of literacy is the ability to read and write a few simple sentences. The response of the illiterates to the offer of such instruction has been everywhere one of eager acceptance; and it is particularly gratifying to find that the women are no less anxious to learn than are their menfolk. In some areas the local Association has given the instruction free, making a charge of 50 cents for the primer; in others it was decided to charge a tuition fee of 25 or 50 cents per head monthly, as well as to take payment for the primer, on the principle that such a charge, though nominal, had its own educational and moral value. It is not yet possible to decide which is the wiser course, but it is clear that such a fee does not contribute in Malaya, as it is believed to do in United Kingdom adult classes, to better attendance. Our attendances in both free and fee-paying areas average 90 per cent.

Teachers are drawn from both sexes and receive an allowance of $4.00 per hour for their services. The majority are professional Malay school-teachers but a large minority are drawn from various other occupations. Classes are generally housed in the kampong schools, but many are held in private houses, and in the community halls which have been erected in many kampongs. At least one meets in a rice-mill.

The present writer was interested to discover the pride which new literates take in writing, as distinct from reading, and gathered the impression that this derives from their view of it as the more tangible result of their labours. If this feeling is general it will go far to assist in the solution of the problem of providing follow-up material, our most urgent need at the moment. *Husain Laki Laki Yang Bijak* is now being distributed, and a second such reader is being planned, while a periodical news-sheet will, we hope, shortly be available.

Unfortunately money and manpower are available in only limited quantities, while the demand for classes increases daily. It was the hope of cutting down costs that led the Federal Association Executive Committee to agree, at its December meeting, to experiment with the individual instruction system during 1953. The arguments for this system are well known and attractive, but experience of the class system has been so encouraging that it is not likely to be discarded in a hurry. The class has a social value that is frequently overlooked in any discussion of relative merits. Our kampong dwellers are lively, sociable folk and keenly appreciative of the excuse for regular meetings which is afforded by the literacy course. It is necessary too to guard against the impression that this form of Adult Education is a makeshift, inferior article, as compared with the formal instruction given in the schools. The educational process is identified

for good or ill in the minds of our people with the system of class instruction, and they may well insist that the literacy campaign should at least be initiated in each area in this way. Of their ability to exploit the individual method, should it prove acceptable, there need be no doubt. Already innumerable cases are reported of students returning from literacy classes and at once passing on what they have learnt to friends and relations.

The drive against illiteracy among the Tamil-speaking population will open in 1953 when the revised Laubach material arrives from India, and it is hoped that experience gained in organising the Malay campaign will enable the Associations to foresee or by-pass many of the difficulties encountered therein.

The problem of Chinese illiteracy is of a very different order, if only because of the ideographic script. A Chinese literacy primer, based on the One Thousand Characters system has been revised for use in Malaya, and classes are being opened in the new villages by the Malayan Chinese Association. It remains to be seen whether or not the difficulties inherent in learning an ideographic script will check the mass enrolment of students.

From almost every point of view the progress made in Adult Education in Malaya during this first year of voluntary effort on a Federation-wide basis has been remarkable.

Complete statistics are not yet available, but on December 31 over 1,000 classes had been opened with a total enrolment approaching 30,000 of whom probably 25 per cent were women. Over 600 of these were Malay Literacy classes and more than 300 were engaged in English, mainly at the beginner's level. The number of full-time officers employed by the Associations was eight; comprising one Literacy Officer, two Literacy Supervisors (in Penang), two organising secretaries and three clerks. One Federal Government Officer is fully engaged in the work, while all State and Settlement Education Departments co-operate closely with the local Associations. Apart from this professional help, the service throughout a territory whose area is equal to that of England, relies upon groups of voluntary and paid part-time workers drawn from every community and occupation.

Though the total of Government aid for 1953 will be $400,000.00 as compared with $300,000.00 in 1952, the demand for classes is so insistent, and the rate of advance so rapid, that it will prove very difficult to match ends and means next year. It is impossible to make other than local and *ad hoc* provision for the discussion groups, courses in musical appreciation, and liberal studies which have begun to appear in some of the urban areas.

Thoughout 1952 the Associations were chiefly concerned with the purely educational problems of preparing material, training teachers, devising a syllabus and so on; and this aspect of the work must and should in the long run hold the first place. But success has already brought its attendant consequence in the shape of an administrative problem which threatens to be our main pre-occupation during the coming year. How it is to be solved is by no means clear as yet, but whatever may be the answer in detail, it is certain that it will in large measure be found in the devotion of organisers and teachers whose enthusiasm and energy vie with the eagerness of the people they serve.

NAMUSHAKENDE DEVELOPMENT AREA HEADQUARTERS

by J. G. Lawrance, District Officer, Namushakende

In late 1947, a site was chosen at Namushakende 15 miles South of Mongu for a Development Centre to serve Northern and Central Barotseland. The initial function of the Centre, as laid down in the Ten Year Development Plan, has been modified to that of a Development Area Headquarters, the "Area" in question being primarily the Mongu-Lealui and Senanga districts, though the Area Team has operated in other districts in the Province.

Staff. The District Commissioner of the appropriate district (normally Mongu-Lealui) is the Chairman of the Area Team, but is not resident at Namushakende. Resident Staff include two District Officers (seconded for development work), an Agricultural Officer, an Agricultural Supervisor, an Education Officer, a Health Inspector, a Building Foreman and an Accounts Officer. Staff is at present limited by housing, and when the building programme is completed (1953-54), it is hoped that officers of the Forestry and Veterinary departments will be posted to the Centre. African Staff of both these departments are already posted to Namushakende.

Initial Problems. The most pressing problem was the need for increased food production. The area is one of perennial food shortages, and cassava meal has to be imported into the Province each year (approximately 10,000 bags were imported in 1951). Central Barotseland includes some of the richest potential food-growing areas in the Territory, on the flood plain of the Zambesi and its tributaries, but, due to the waterlogged condition of the principal soil type, efficient drainage is essential. The Lozi used to drain and cultivate with considerable skill, but the cultivation of this type of soil had declined after the abolition of forced labour by the "dependent" tribes. Cassava instead of maize had become the staple food: and, as this was cultivated in the bush, on very poor soil, large areas of forest were cleared for gardens. Even so, insufficient food is now produced to feed the people of Barotseland as a whole.

Other forms of development appear to be both urgent and necessary: the Lozi, though not living in close contact with European civilisation in Barotseland, leave their country in great numbers to work in the industrial areas of Central and Southern Africa, and have acquired the taste for better living standards when they return. However, food is a basic necessity, and the emphasis of development both initially and for some time to come is on increased local food production. Economic development also depends largely on expansion of agricultural production for export. The tempo and relative importance of other forms of development will gradually increase.

General Classification of the work of Namushakende

The development work being undertaken by the Area Team, and work planned for the future falls into four broad categories:

1. *Experiment and Survey*

Experiment is largely confined to Namushakende itself. Agricultural experiment forms a large part of the work, the lands of Namushakende including all the principal soil types cultivated by the Lozi. Better methods,

improved types of seed of existing crops and new crops are all part of the programme. Experiment is always severely practical, using methods of cultivation that are both financially and mentally within the reach of the people.

Other experiment is also in progress, involving such matters as stock improvement, the production of hay and silage, the production of sugar cane and the development of simple, improved housing suitable for villages.

Survey work covers a wide range of subjects, including agriculture, literacy, marketing and drainage canals.

2. *Training in Basic Skills at the Area School*

Vocational courses at the Area School of three to six months' duration, have now been running for over 18 months, although the building of the School is not yet complete. Some of the pupils on these courses have assisted and are assisting in the building of the School. It should perhaps be explained that the Area School is an adult education centre, but that it is not a Trade School. Its function is to provide training in basic skills for use at the village level.

Courses have been held in simple building, simple carpentry, Finnemore building, tanning, shoemaking, leatherwork, kaross making, mat making and various other crafts.

Students are encouraged to bring their wives and children with them, and the women undergo courses of instruction in various homecrafts, such as cooking, weaving and knitting, child welfare and vegetable gardening.

Every person attending the Area School for these courses is taught to read and write. In addition, there are voluntary education classes in the evening, open to anyone living in or near Namushakende. They are well attended.

3. *Departmental Courses at the Area School*

These courses are of short duration, varying from two or three days to a month. They vary widely in scope, but are mainly concerned with increasing the efficiency and co-operation of both employees of the Government and employees of the Native Authority. In addition, there are courses aimed at arousing the enthusiasm of the Native Authority and village leaders in development: these latter courses are experimental and are aimed at " breaking the ground " a little for future extension work in the villages.

Agricultural demonstrations have also been based on the Area School, and have often been attended by large numbers of villagers. Demonstrations of rice growing (rice is a new crop) in 1950, for example, were attended by over 500 people.

4. *Extension work in the villages*

A great deal of touring, organisation and supervision of work aimed at achieving a return to plain cultivation has been undertaken by officers of the Team, by employees of the Development Centre, by representatives of the Barotse Native Government, and by leaders of the local communities affected. Well over 100 miles of main drainage canals have been constructed, and very large areas of rich soil have been reopened for cultivation. In all this work, a balance has been achieved between contributions in cash and tools by the Central Government, contributions in cash by the Barotse

Native Government, and contribution of labour by the local communities affected. The working arrangement has been as follows :

(*a*) Survey of canals—by Officers of the Area Team, with technical advice and assistance from the Water Development and Irrigation department.

(*b*) Initial clearing of main drainage canals—paid labour, the cost being shared by the Central and Barotse Native Government.

(*c*) Annual maintenance—by the occupants of land served by the canals, or, in the case of sections passing through land that cannot be cultivated and of outfalls, by labour paid by the Barotse Native Government.

There are several " teething troubles " still to be solved, such as the maintenance of sections owned by absentee owners or persons unable or unwilling to undertake the work. Gradual progress towards a system of rating is being made, but local landholders show a slow response to this solution.

None the less, a considerable area of land not previously under cultivation is now being used, and more is available for cultivation. It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the land reclaimed is already under cultivation.

In addition to a return to plain cultivation, the Team is sponsoring new and more suitable crops, in particular rice. Rice production has increased in the Province from 80 bags in 1948 to 1,307 bags in 1951. This may be considered a modest increase, but thanks to intensive touring by Officers and Staff of the Agricultural department and others, a steady increase has been achieved. Over 2,000 bags were produced in 1952. A market for the rice has been arranged, and all possible steps are being taken to increase local consumption, in particular by tackling the unpopular task of hand hulling. At present rice is mainly grown as a cash crop, though there is evidence to show that local consumption is increasing.

To further the campaign for increased plain cultivation and rice growing, agricultural extension staff has been posted to areas where plain land has been reclaimed.

In addition to the extension work directly concerned with food production, two Agricultural Shows have been sponsored and organised by the Area Team. The Show is to be an annual event in future.

Mass literacy campaigns have been carried out in the villages, but have achieved a limited success, probably due to the fact that they were unrelated to any general extension programme in the villages. Village extension work on the lines of the Uganda/Gold Coast touring teams is to be undertaken in the near future.

Consultation

At all stages of the work of the Centre, the closest possible co-operation has been sought from the Barotse Native Government. Quarterly meetings between the Area Team and the Paramount Chief and Saa Sikalo Kuta (the local " Cabinet ") are held to discuss and report on all development work. This is an essential part of the work of Namushakende, and the speed of development has to be geared to the desire for progress of this body, particularly in view of the political situation in Central Africa generally.

Local representatives are full members of the Area Team. In addition two Indunas of the Saa Sikalo Kuta sit on the committee of the Provincial Team which is the steering body for all development within the Province.

Conclusion

The above account is by no means inclusive of all the development work being undertaken by the Centre, but all work falls into the broad categories mentioned.

In the future, the trend to increase the tempo and variety of extension work will be continued. Experiment and survey are the forerunners of successful extension work, and the Centre suffered initially from the absence of agricultural experience in the Province (there was no agricultural staff prior to the setting up of Namushakende). In addition to this, it must be remembered that four years ago Namushakende did not exist, and that a very heavy programme of Capital Works (to the value of £81,000) has absorbed and is still absorbing much time and energy of the Staff.

Apart from this there are solid achievements in the primary sphere of activity, food production, and the Area School has helped to introduce the idea of development into a large cross-section of local leaders and villagers. The stage is now set for an intensification of effort in the villages.

NOTES

Correspondence

(i) " If possible, it would be interesting to have a more critical approach to specific schemes; understandably, the accounts are usually written by officials and others associated with the schemes, and hence critical appraisal is difficult to achieve. I am particularly concerned that there is very little literature on the attitude of the people to the schemes, on the outlook of native participants (such as nurses, agricultural assistants, etc.), though in many cases these could be obtained as the native officials are presumably literate. Usually, too, there is very little account of the way in which local values, beliefs, social structure, methods of organisation, etc., have been used, modified, or destroyed in the scheme. And what about the lessons we could learn from the account of failures? Finally, perhaps, we could have more correspondence from field workers and others interested."

(ii) (*a*) " Not too much attention to be paid to literacy methods and literacy schemes, but more to the very many other aspects of community development."

(*b*) " My personal conviction is that qualities of character have to be developed if communities are to be developed. These are—in community development leaders and assistants—even more important than technical expertise. Could we hear something on this matter? All I know is the series of pamphlets by V. L. Griffiths, of Bakht-er-Ruda, on character training, published by Longman's."

(*c*) " I believe that the community development of the *future* will largely be undertaken—or *should* be undertaken—by educated youth, not the illiterate, loin-clad youth. I hope to see one day the undergraduates from the new African University Colleges doing, in their vacations, some form of student service with pick and shovel for their community. Could we hear something of *youth service* in relation to community development? "

(*d*) " Community Development, Mass Education and Social Welfare in the Colonies—how heartbreaking are the disappointments, and frustrations, the failures and apathy and lack of support. Yet, in the *Bulletin* and in the *Unesco Fundamental Education Quarterly*, one has the impression that it is roses, roses all the way. Would we not learn more from a franker avowal and admission of some of our failures and frustrations? The continual reports of other people's successes is positively *dis*couraging —it is so unlike my own experience! But the disappointments *are* educative."

(*e*) " The *Bulletin* should publish notices of jobs vacant in community development and associated work, both in the Colonies and elsewhere."

(iii) " I should like to see a greater emphasis placed on non-governmental as

opposed to governmental activities, thus encouraging the important non-governmental organisations (scientific, agricultural) to contribute to community development."

ADULT EDUCATION

THE Singapore Council for Adult Education, which is a voluntary association of 16 member Associations has been recognised by Government as the organiser of Adult Education in Singapore. It will be entrusted with the administration of $400,000 and has received a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund of $300,000 for the erection of a Central Building. The Council will have to raise $50,000 for the equipment of the Hall. The Honorary Secretary (Mr. J. Le Prevost) in his farewell speech stressed the need for full support from member associations in ensuring that there were enough students to fill classes and in carrying out the agreed regulations.

He made these points. Incompetent organisers and indifferent teachers should not be supported from public funds. The work of the Council covers 282 language classes employing 367 teachers and 17 courses averaging 10 weeks each in Further Education. Through the language classes it is hoped to develop " a system of civic groups united firstly through the learning of a language, but developing into useful groups of citizens through their interest in Singapore's problems and in leisure activities ". Night class students will need the example of teachers and more fortunate citizens to create a wealth of activities in which they can join. Only in this way will they acquire good moral and civic habits. These are not achieved by mere information lectures and textbooks.

Problems of Urbanisation

Most of the " Fruit Birds " of Lima in Bolivia were the sons of country peasants. Bernardino Gines had to live amongst them for a year in and around the food market, before he was " accepted " by them. Their problems and behaviour were due to the mental and physical effects of privation. Armed with appropriate rehabilitation methods and plenty of pupils (he made especial friends of seven to fifteens since over eighteens are too difficult) he was given nothing more than a site for a school. Gines and his " gang " built one. How? They learnt as they went on. All this time they were being shown that they belonged somewhere. They were developing a group spirit and group action that were now applied to something worth while. Finally the school received official recognition, being named the Special School for Rehabilitation. Señor Gines protested. The name was changed to The Child's Home. (*Unesco Courier, Jan.* 1953.)

Youth Welfare (Urban)

The Lusaka African Club Leaders' Association is playing an increasing part in the control of clubs in Lusaka and the Welfare Section anticipates that the Association will ultimately take over complete responsibility. When this hope is realized, Group Workers will function in an advisory capacity and devote more time to the training of club leaders. There are six boys' clubs, six youth clubs and two girls' clubs for Africans in Lusaka. A new feature is the young men's clubs started by young men who have graduated from Youth clubs.

Lusaka African Football Association has taken over adult football entirely. A contribution to better race relations was made by matches being played between Africans and Europeans. (From Annual Report, 1952, African Affairs Dept., Welfare Section, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.)

Conservation and the Churches

1. *The Right Use and Conservation of Human Resources*

THE men and women who live on the land and who seek a livelihood from it matter most in a Christian view of agriculture. Their need for dignity and development of God-given potentialities, their need for genuine fellowship and community must have first place. The grinding poverty of the lives of countless rural people is hostile to spiritual and moral development, to decent family life, and to good social relations.

To help men and women on the land to free themselves from economic and social shackles must be a primary objective of national and international agricultural programmes. Different action is required according to the conditions of different countries and regions:

(*a*) Safeguards for the social welfare of the individual, the family, and the community should be made an integral part of plans for economic development.

(*b*) Just solutions should be sought for problems of land tenure and debt, to enhance personal initiative and responsibility, and to safeguard the family.

(*c*) Labour-saving technological processes should be made available wherever appropriate, together with the fundamental education required to undergird technical improvements as well as cultural advancement.

(*d*) Voluntary co-operation should be encouraged for fellowship and for more efficient production and more equitable distribution.

(*e*) Educational measures should be undertaken to raise the quality of family life and reduce the pressure of population.

2. *The Right Use and Conservation of Natural Resources.*

Good husbandry is a clear moral obligation, and the waste of created resources is a sin against our neighbour, against posterity, against the natural order, and against God. National and international agricultural policies need to keep two goals constantly in view:

(*a*) Vigorous measures should be taken to expand the production of essential foodstuffs, to increase both the quantity and the quality of human nutrition, and to help provide for growing populations. This involves improvements under several categories: better seeds, better methods of culture, better use of marginal lands, and a better division of labour through the international exchange of goods and services. It also requires moral and spiritual, as well as material, incentives to a new standard of living.

(*b*) Measures to increase production should be combined with an equally vigorous programme to conserve, reclaim, and improve the soil. The checking of erosion and soil depletion is a moral obligation to future generations and to God.

3. *The Responsibilities of the More Developed Nations.*

While each nation has an obligation to develop its basic food supply, those which enjoy a higher level of economic and social development have a special responsibility to help the peoples in under-developed regions to develop their own resources. This requires a sensitivity to the cultural and social values of the recipient countries lest community life be injured, rather than safeguarded and strengthened, by material improvements. Men in underdeveloped regions need more things to live with; but even more they, like other men, need an adequate faith to live by.

Extracted from *A Statement approved by the Executive Committee of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs at the recommendation of its Advisory Committee on Food and Agriculture*, at Willingen, Germany, July 22-24, 1952.

ERRATUM: March issue 1953, page 35.—Under the title add words: Report brought up to date . . .

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VISITORS TO THE CLEARING HOUSE
FEBRUARY-APRIL, 1953

BURMAH—Mrs. Daw Hmit, Headmistress of Mission School.

CYPRUS.—L. Christodoulou, Assistant Welfare Officer.

GOLD COAST.—W. H. Beeton, Chief Commissioner; N. S. Elliot, Sanitary Inspector; A. Foggie, Conservator of Forests; R. J. N. Pogucki, Assistant Commissioner of Lands.

INDIA.—Mrs. Jai, Private Student; Udai Pareek, Lecturer.

JAMAICA.—Mr. Tavares, Education Dept.; Mr. Williams, Jamaica Social Welfare Commission.

JORDAN.—Mrs. Catherine Guy, Social Worker.

KENYA.—Tom Askwith, Commissioner for Community Development; Mr. Amalemba, Journalist.

MALAYA.—F. Brewer, Administrative Officer.

NEW ZEALAND.—Messrs. Connal and McPhay, Teachers.

NIGERIA.—R. W. Champion-Jones, Agricultural Development Officer; Mr. Ezenobi, Student; M. Hiskett, Education Officer; S. King, District Officer; A. D. H. Paterson, District Officer.

NORTH BORNEO.—R. H. Forster, Agricultural Officer.

NORTHERN RHODESIA.—E. C. Thomson, District Officer.

PAKISTAN.—A. R. Choudhuri, Teacher, L.C.C.

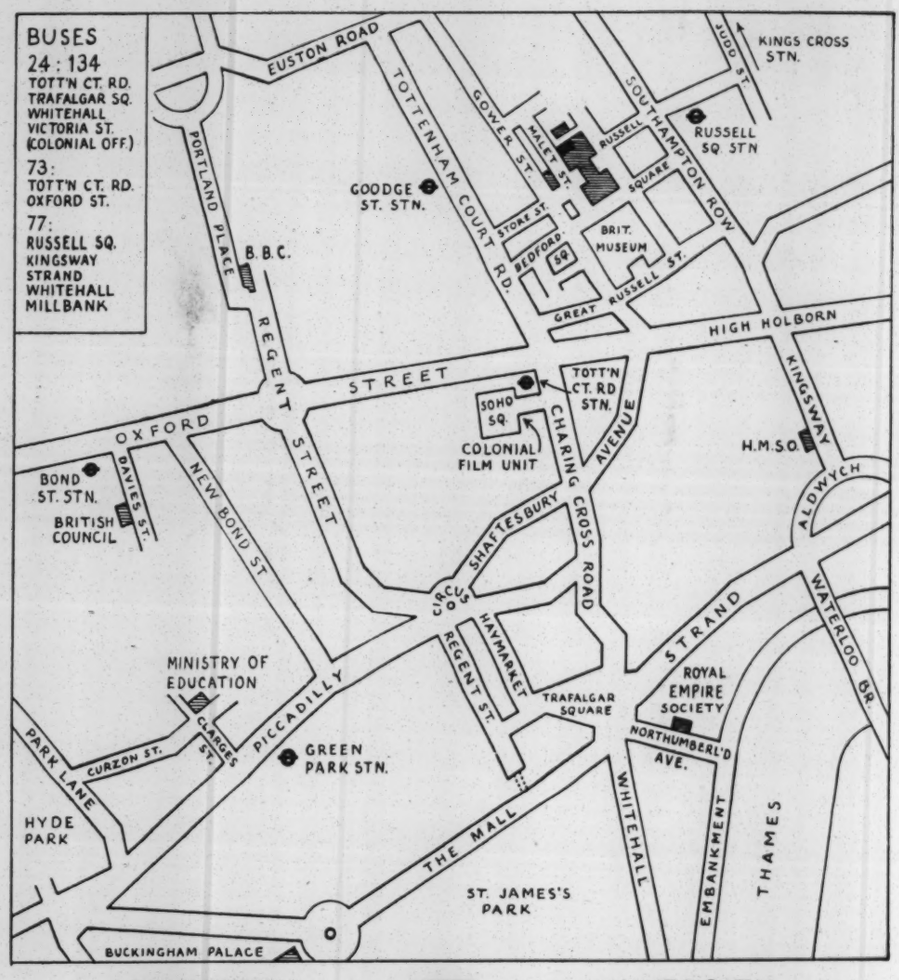
PORTUGUESE GOA.—Miss Rangel Ribeiro, Social Worker.

ST. LUCIA.—O. D. Walker, Education Officer.

SARAWAK.—T. B. R. Nicholl, Education Officer.

UNITED KINGDOM.—M. Blower, Student, Architectural Association; Dr. Heather Donald, Staff of *Economist*; T. L. Hodgkin, Journalist; D. J. R. Scott, Research Fellow, Manchester University.

UNITED STATES.—Miss Dorcé, Fulbright Scholar; Mr. and Mrs. J. Ogden, University of Virginia; W. H. Wickwar, Social Affairs Officer, U.N.; J. Wilson, Vice-President Institute of International Education.



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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

THE COLONIAL REVIEW

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Editor: I. Bunbury

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THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE TO THE COMMONWEALTH

"WE belong, all of us, to the British Commonwealth and Empire, that immense union of nations, with their homes set in all the four corners of the earth. Like our own families, it can be a great power for good—a force which I believe can be of immeasurable benefit to all humanity. My father and my grandfather before him worked all their lives to unite our peoples ever more closely, and to maintain its ideals which were so near to their hearts. I shall strive to carry on their work.

"Many grave problems and difficulties confront us all, but with a new faith in the old and splendid beliefs given us by our forefathers, and the strength to venture beyond the safeties of the past, I know we shall be worthy of our duty.

"Above all, we must keep alive that courageous spirit of adventure that is the finest quality of youth: and by youth I do not just mean those who are young in years; I mean, too, all those who are young in heart, no matter how old they may be. That spirit still flourishes in this old country and in all the younger countries of the Commonwealth.

"On this broad foundation let us set out to build a truer knowledge of ourselves and our fellow men, to work for tolerance and understanding among the nations, and to use the tremendous forces of science and learning for the betterment of man's lot upon this earth.

"At my Coronation I shall dedicate myself anew to your service. I shall do so in the presence of a great congregation, drawn from every part of the Commonwealth and Empire, while millions outside Westminster Abbey will hear the promises and the prayers being offered up within its walls, and see much of the ancient ceremony in which kings and queens before me have taken part through century upon century.

"You will be keeping it as a holiday: but I want to ask you all, whatever your religion may be, to pray for me on that day—to pray that God may give me wisdom and strength to carry out the solemn promises I shall be making, and that I may faithfully serve Him, and you, all the days of my life."

(*Extract from the Christmas broadcast message by Her Majesty the Queen.*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Based on articles of general interest from the daily newspapers and from various journals concerned with colonial affairs

Commonwealth Section at British Industries Fair, 1953

THE central feature of the Commonwealth display was the Ministry of Works scale model of the Coronation route between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey. There were twenty-three Commonwealth stands in the section, which, at 10,000 square feet, attained its largest size since the war, and the Colonies were well represented. Cyprus had a wide range of products from essential oils, lace and embroidery, silk cloth, grapefruit and lemons, to minerals including copper, iron pyrites and asbestos. The Gold Coast exhibit main theme was the country's industrial development. While cocoa may be the base of the country's economy, rapid strides are being made in the production of hardwoods, pottery, furniture, building material, woven cotton goods, etc. New and projected developments include the Volta hydro-electric scheme, which, by damming the River Volta, will provide power for aluminium production, cheap electricity for general purposes, large-scale irrigation and an inland waterway which will open 2,000 square miles of territory that hitherto has been restricted because of transport facilities. There was a large-scale model of the new harbour of Tema, showing in full detail quays, jetties, cranes, railways and rolling stock, cargo boats, tugs and trawlers. Panels and photographs demonstrated other aspects of industrialization while a section of the exhibition showed the import extensions to the harbour of Takoradi, now almost completed. The Sierra Leone display consisted of coffee, cocoa beans, ginger, peppers, rice, groundnuts, fruits, etc.; special prominence was given to products of palm fruit and bananas, to diamonds and iron ore. Northern Rhodesia emphasized the industrial and agricultural development of the country. Copper was displayed in a variety of finished products. A model of the proposed Kapu hydro-electric project was on view. Maps and pictorial displays showed the country's industries and agricultural projects. The Hong Kong stand display showed basket-ware, enamel-ware, glass-ware and aluminium-ware, and in addition there was such produce as essential oils, firecrackers, tea, preserved ginger, etc. The Federation of Malaya and Singapore Colony stand had as a special feature the display of timbers. Rubber and tin were shown together with secondary industries, also plywood and glass, and yarn from the newly opened Malayan Textile Mills. Other sections of the stand showed various types of Straits produce: copra, coco-nut oil, palm oil, pineapples, pepper, spices, rattans, tea, resins. The West Indies were represented by Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago. The West Indian Sea Island Cotton Association exhibited cotton in its various stages of production and the attractive and hard-wearing fabrics and garments made from this long-staple, from which 200 miles of thread may be spun from one pound. Among the special bauxite, sugar, rice, rum and handcraft displays, exhibited by British Guiana, there was an exhibit pointing out the development of the country's timber trade, on which £2,000,000 is now being spent. Greenheart, the wood that is tougher than teak and resistant to marine borers, was shown, adaptable for a wide range of purposes ranging from fishing rods to wharves.

Conference on West Indian Federation

THE London conference on West Indian Federation was held in April. The conference was attended by delegates from Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Kingdom. Observers also attended from British Guiana and British Honduras, whose legislatures had already declared themselves against participation in a federation. The purpose of the conference was to try to reach agreement on the main features of a federal scheme, taking as a basis for discussion the proposals in the report of the British Caribbean Standing Closer Association Committee which was published in March, 1950. The main changes in the proposals are as follows: Certain amendments should be made to recognize the principle that there should be the greatest possible freedom of movement within the federation. The number of seats in the Senate should be reduced by the number originally allocated to British Guiana and British Honduras—that is, from 23 to 19. The title of the House of Assembly should be altered to House of Representatives, and the allocation of seats (45) should be as follows: Barbados, 5; Jamaica, 17; Antigua, 2; St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla, 2; Montserrat, 1; Trinidad and Tobago, 10; Grenada, 2; St. Vincent, 2; St. Lucia, 2; Dominica, 2. As Montserrat has only one seat, there should be provision for an alternate. For the first five years of federation, a person should be allowed to be a member of both the legislature in his unit and of the federal legislature, but he should not be a member of the executive body in both. Certain changes should be made in the categories of bills which the Governor-General should be empowered to reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. Changes should also be made in the list of subjects on which Her Majesty in Council should have power to legislate for the federation, including the deletion of the power to legislate for securing and maintaining public safety in an emergency, this being a matter for the unit Governments. For the first five years, the Council of State, under the chairmanship of the Governor-General, should consist of: (1) the Prime Minister; (2) three officials appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion; (3) seven members nominated by the Prime Minister; and (4) three Senators appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The Council of State should be the principal instrument of policy in the federal government. In the matter of the appointment and dismissal of members of the Council, the Governor-General should, except as otherwise provided, act in accordance with the constitutional conventions applicable to the exercise of a similar function in the United Kingdom by Her Majesty. The conference agreed that the 25 per cent. of Customs revenues recommended by the S.C.A.C. report as the maximum amount to be retained by the federal government for federal purposes should be reduced. They decided that on present indications a figure of 15 per cent. made up approximately of 10 per cent. for those federal costs at present envisaged, plus one-half of this amount for additional federal functions and for reserves, would initially be adequate, and adopted this figure as the new maximum. The conference agreed that an independent inquiry on the eve of federation shall establish more firmly the estimates of annual federation costs and this might result in the amount retained by the federation in the first years being less than 15 per cent. Provision should be made in the federal constitution for its amendment by federal law, subject to safeguards protecting the rights of the units. During the fifth year from the date of the coming into existence of the federation there should be a conference to review the federal constitution. The seat of government of the federation should be in Grenada instead of in Trinidad as recommended by S.C.A.C. The name of the federation should be " The British Caribbean Federation ". The region would continue to share in such financial assistance towards colonial development and welfare as Her Majesty's Government are able to make available to colonial territories. Subject to the approval of Parliament, Her Majesty's Government would make available to the federation in the first ten years grants intended to cover the budget deficits of those units which, in spite of their best efforts, could not pay their way. Finally, Her Majesty's Government would be willing, subject to the submission of prepared schemes, to invite Parliament to make a grant of up to £500,000 towards the capital cost of establishing the federal headquarters. (*The Times*, May 1, 1953.)

West African Examinations Council

THE first meeting of the West African Examinations Council was held in Accra from March 24-27. The meeting was attended by members and observers from the West African Territories and the United Kingdom. The Chairman of the Council was Mr. A. N. Galsworthy, the Chief Secretary of the West African Inter-Territorial Secretariat, and the members nominated by Governments include the Principals of Fourah Bay College and University College, Ibadan, the Inspector-General of Education of Nigeria and the three Directors from the other territories, and the Principals of the College of Technology in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. The Director of the Gold Coast Institute of Education represented the University College on the Council. Nominations to the Council were completed by the appointment of Dr. G. B.

Jeffery, Director of the Institute of Education, University of London, and Mr. J. L. Brereton, the Secretary of the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Dr. Jeffery laid the foundations of the Council in his report on his visit to West Africa early in 1950 when he was invited to advise Governments on the desirability of an independent body to conduct examinations in West Africa. The Council devoted a good deal of its time to the preliminary organization of its affairs and the setting up of the standing committees necessary for the conduct of the affairs of a Council which is unlikely to meet more frequently than once a year. From the beginning there was a very manifest spirit of co-operation between the four territories, on the part of the Education Departments, and between the various educational interests represented on the Council. Good progress was made with the clarification of the future relationship between the Council and the Education Departments. While the Council would be able to relieve the Departments of a considerable volume of central administrative work in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, it became clear that the Council would have to rely on the Departments for considerable local help and, in the case of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, for central administrative work for those territories. Assurance of the needed help was readily forthcoming from the Departments. The Council will probably have to deal with many more examinations than had been foreseen and, in particular, it has been called upon to undertake a considerable volume of work in the Gold Coast in relation to selective examinations for the public service. Finally, the Council was able to make good progress in the formulation of its general policy and of the stages by which it will be able to assume the full responsibility of an independent examining body.

Sierra Leone Constitutional Changes

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies has accepted recommendations made by the Governor of Sierra Leone for changes in the constitution to allow the allocation of portfolios to unofficial members of the Executive Council, and the introduction of the title " Minister ". As the result of constitutional changes which came into effect in 1951, the Executive Council of Sierra Leone consists of four official and not less than four unofficial members, the latter being chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council. In December, 1952, the Legislative Council approved by 22 votes to 4 a motion stating that the Council thought the time ripe for the assumption of portfolios by members of the Executive Council, and recommendations to that effect were made by the Governor. Since April, 1952, a gradual introduction has already been afforded by allotting groups of Government departments as the " special interest " of individual unofficial members, who have conducted the business of their respective subjects both in the Executive and Legislative Councils. It is now agreed that the appointed unofficial members of the Executive Council should assume the title of Ministers, and that the five following portfolios should be allocated to them: Health, Agriculture and Forests; Local Government, Education and Welfare; Lands, Mines and Labour; Works and Transport; Trade and Commerce, Posts and Telegraphs. In addition there will be one Minister without Portfolio. These Ministers will initiate questions for discussion in the Executive Council, conduct Legislative Council business connected with their subjects, and, in association with the head of department concerned, be responsible for implementing decisions reached in Executive Council. The inclusion of local government in a portfolio will involve administrative reorganization. Until now, local government questions arising in the Colony have been the concern of the Colonial or Financial Secretaries, while those arising in the Protectorate have been mainly the concern of the Chief Commissioner. It has been decided to retain the office of Chief Commissioner to help until the new organization has been designed and introduced. (*Commonwealth Survey*, No. 117.)

Status of Graduates of the Makerere Medical School

DISCUSSIONS have been taking place between the East African Governments and the authorities of Makerere College regarding the status of Makerere medical qualification granted after the full seven-year course. It has now been decided that this qualification should become locally registered in East Africa and it is the intention of the Uganda Government to introduce legislation to this end during the course of this year. The effect of this legislation will be that all persons who secure the Makerere qualification after taking the full seven-year course will become eligible for registration as medical practitioners provided that they complete two years' training as internees in approved hospitals. Local registration will imply full privileges for medical practice in Uganda, but Makerere graduates will be expected to play their part in helping to meet the needs of the public service. To this end all persons studying medicine at Makerere College will be required to undertake to work in the public service for a period of five years after completing their period of internship. Arrangements will also be made to enable the holders of the Makerere College medical qualification who have not undertaken a full seven-year course to obtain registration by one or other of the following methods: (1) They will be entitled to sit for the final examination of the full seven-year course. (2) In special cases where they have been qualified for a considerable period and where it is not considered reasonable that they should be expected to sit for the full final examination, they will be permitted to sit for a special examination for the qualification normally awarded at the end of the seven-year course. Applications to sit for this special qualifying examination will have to be given within two years of the date when the right to local registration is conferred by law on holders of the full Makerere qualification. Applicants will be required to submit themselves for the special examination within three years of this date. (3) Where the holder of the Makerere Diploma has been qualified for a substantial time, he may apply for local registration without a written examination after scrutiny of his record, followed by an interview and, if considered necessary, an oral examination. The position of African Medical Officers who are locally registered has been considered and the Government proposes to introduce the title of Medical Officer (East Africa) and to recommend to the Legislative Council the introduction of an appropriate salary scale starting at £430, rising to £720 per annum. This scale would not be applicable during internship which must be regarded as a period of training and during which it is intended to pay internees at the rate of £315 per annum. (*Colonial Office Information Department*, February 27, 1953.)

Aden College

ADEN College was formally opened on January 12, 1953. The College provides full secondary education and two years' post-secondary education in arts and science to the standard of Higher School Certificate. Entrance is by examination, and the Government is awarding eighteen bursaries. On completion of the course students will be eligible to apply for scholarships to enable them to proceed overseas. It is hoped that, in time, the College may grow into a higher college and finally acquire university college status. It is intended to serve not only the Colony and Protectorate of Aden but also the surrounding areas, and already there are some students from Somaliland, as well as Arabs, Indians and English boys from Aden. The buildings comprise classrooms, science laboratories, art and woodwork rooms, a library and an assembly hall. The College has a boarding section with accommodation for thirty students. The staff of the College, which began its first year in mid-1952, were selected from Government secondary school staff, British, Arab and Indian, and some extra expatriate staff were also recruited. The College has a teacher training section which is at present providing a one-year course in the medium of English. As soon as possible it is hoped to extend the course to two years, and to provide a parallel course for Arabic-speaking teachers. The Colony's development plan for education, which was approved towards the end of 1948, included the provision of three girls' schools to embrace all stages from kindergarten to teacher training, two boys' schools, a technical college and Aden College. By the end of 1951 two girls' schools and one boys' school had been built and another boys' school had doubled in size, with the result that there were 4,000 places in Government schools as compared with 2,000 in 1947. The technical college was completed and in operation early in 1951. (*Commonwealth Survey*, No. 116.)

Broadcasting Extensions in Africa

AS part of the scheme for development of the Colonial and other overseas territories, local sound broadcasting facilities are being extended and augmented. Transmitter and studio equipment for these extensions in Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and the Gold Coast have been ordered from Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company. African Information Services, the official broadcasting authority in Kenya, will have two new studios in Nairobi, complete from microphones to control consoles—one large studio and a small one for talks—a main control room and a recording

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room with disc and tape equipment. The new studio building has not yet been constructed, but plans are being completed. Portable equipment for outside broadcasting, namely amplifiers, loudspeakers and microphones, have already been supplied to Nairobi. Extensions at Accra on the Gold Coast for the Public Relations Department are on a larger scale; they include a 20-kilowatt H.F. broadcast transmitter to supplement the two existing transmitters of lower power, four complete studios and a continuity suite for co-ordination of programmes. High-frequency transmitters for local coverage will supplement those on existing sites in Uganda, in Nigeria at Lagos, at Enugu, at Kaduna, and in Tanganyika at Dar-es-Salaam. (*Marconi News*, March 2, 1953.)

AFRICA EMERGENT

Condensed from two articles in "The Times" of May 5 and 6, 1953

THE situation as it presents itself in Africa to-day has no precedent in history. It is for that reason that it is so difficult to find solutions. There is, in the first instance, a massive population among which the forces of nationalism are at work in all their classic and recognizable outlines. They are working strongly and fast, but among peoples who are still either primitive or so recently emerged from a primitive state that generally speaking they would to-day be unable to run an administration without European help and survive. That is the first dilemma which those with Colonial responsibilities have to face. The second is that this irresistible force of African nationalism is beginning to beat about the immovable object of European settlement. There has been coloured nationalism in other continents, as there has been white settlement. Only in Africa are these two to be found side by side, and in strength. So far as it is possible to gauge these strengths, it appears that the settlers hold most of the cards now, but that if a conflict develops the Africans will win out in the long run.

The natural arbiter between these forces is the British Government at home, whose aim naturally is, in the interests of both parties, to forestall a conflict. The method it pursues is the progressive introduction of the somewhat ill-defined policy known as partnership, of which the general gist and content is plain enough. The British Government, however, labours under a handicap, in that it has already given away much of its power in the effort to train the peoples of Africa up to self-government by the progressive introduction of transitional constitutions. The implications of this policy are often underestimated. It has long been understood that countries with dominion or virtual dominion status, like South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, are outside the orbit of direct Whitehall control. But it is less clearly understood how great is the difference between the more "backward" Colonies which still possess a Crown Colony government with an official majority in the legislature and those Colonies where, through the granting of an unofficial majority, a measure of power has slipped from Colonial Office hands. The effects are most noticeable in Kenya, where they have been brought sharply into relief by the existence of a state of emergency. But they are just as real, if latent, in the others. In Kenya power is almost equally divided between the Colonial officials and the European settler element as represented by the European elected members in the legislature. The Government is in fact a species of coalition. The official element has in its hands certain trump cards which it can play, in theory, if it wants. These are the Governor's reserve powers and the existence in the legislature of small *blocs* of other races who, if they vote with the Government, can defeat the European elected members. The dangers of employing these expedients are considerable. Resort to reserve powers amounts to a temporary abrogation of the constitution and has never been made except, as in British Honduras, as a formality. It would be a very different matter to employ these powers where a passionate resistance over a matter of principle was involved. The Kenya Government did on one occasion force through a measure by the use of the non-European vote. However, a system of governing by playing one race off against another is fraught with too many dangers to be adopted as a policy. The result therefore is that in all these Colonies "government by agreement" is the accepted practice. This means in effect that important measures are not introduced unless the Governor and the leader, or leaders, of the most influential *blocs* have settled them behind the scenes. An immense amount depends on the personalities concerned. For the unofficial and elected members have powerful sanctions which they themselves could, if they wanted, employ. These include boycott of the constitution, strikes, passive resistance, and, in the last resort, violence, directed not necessarily towards the Government but towards each other. No British Government to-day could seriously consider, for instance, holding up Africanization of the Civil Service in the Gold Coast, or breaking the industrial colour bar in Northern Rhodesia, without the consent of the elected political leaders, who in turn would have to convince their constituents of the rightness of such measures. In Kenya an open breach with the elected members is scarcely conceivable, because any attempt to coerce the section of the community which is mainly responsible for combating Mau Mau would place the British Government in a position analogous to that at the time of the Curragh rebellion. The resultant chaos would make the situation in Kenya worse than it now is, and it is the knowledge of this which has hitherto deterred both parties from putting matters to the test.

Amid these stresses the position of the British settlers throughout Africa is unenviable. Their first objective must be to maintain themselves and their children in Africa. This outweighs all other considerations. But they find themselves poised midway between the opposite poles of Pretoria and London. People at home, they feel, regard the European in Africa as expendable. The policies of the Nationalist Afrikaner have little appeal, first because the British are deeply loyal to the Crown and abhor the prospect of becoming part of a republic or going outside the Commonwealth, and secondly because most of them regard the racial policy of the present South African Government as being, if not a crime, an error. Nevertheless they recognize that the Nationalists do at least share their common objective of maintaining the European in Africa. They are thus polarized between two extremes. They will be attracted to the one or the other according to the nature of the Government in power there. The basic reason why the federal scheme won such a large vote in Southern Rhodesia was that it seemed to offer an escape from this dilemma and a chance to build a viable state where sane policies could prevail and the British connection be maintained.

Besides the British Government and the white settlers there is a third power of external origin which is playing a more and more active part in African affairs to-day. The Indians in Africa have, traditionally, been disliked by the Africans. Commercially and industrially, their interests clash with those of the Africans, as do those of the Europeans in mining and farming. They are a bar in just those employments where an African can most easily graduate. The terrible effects of this rivalry reached their climax in the Durban riots of 1949. All this is now changing. An alliance between the Indians and African nationalist politicians against the white is now growing up. The impetus for this movement comes from outside Africa, not inside. If there was any doubt about this, Mr. Nehru's recent speech in Delhi has dispelled it, as has the visit to India of Mr. Murumbi, the secretary of the Kenya African Union. It is Mr. Pant, the Indian Commissioner in Nairobi, who has been mainly responsible for this coming together in East and Central Africa. There is nothing innately malicious in such a development. The Durban riots were a stern warning that something had to be done to improve Afro-Indian relations. But it can, and does, take an anti-British turn. The social ostracism to which the more educated Indians and Africans are subjected by the Europeans renders both of them bitter, so that an anti-European atmosphere tends to build up out of their association. Among many of the younger Indians there exists an almost Messianic desire to "liberate" the coloured races. Africans respond to this spirit and several of their leaders have made statements on such lines. Moreover, there are among the Indians quite a number of Communists who whip up feeling probably for their own ends. Wittingly or not, Indian influence has played its part in precipitating Mau Mau. The question which naturally agitates Europeans in East Africa is whether behind all these mixed motives there lies a hidden policy of Indian imperialist expansion. The reaction of local Indians to this agitation is not always favourable. Basically, they want to trade

and be left alone. The leaders of their communities suspect that if the Europeans were to go, the Indians would in all probability be forced to follow. Since Britain inevitably gives the impression of being about to abdicate anyway, there is a strong temptation to make the best terms possible with the Africans while there is still time. On the whole, it is the Hindus, and not the Muslims, who lend themselves to these sorts of activities. Indeed the numerous followers of the Aga Khan, the Ismaili sect, take the opposite line. Their policy is consciously to cut adrift from India and make themselves part of a multi-racial East African community such as the new Tanganyikan constitution favours. There is no doubt either that Mau Mau has frightened the Kenya Indians. They are far less able to defend themselves than are the Europeans and several have been murdered during the emergency. For this reason, perhaps, some difficulty was experienced in finding a local Indian lawyer to defend Kenyatta.

It is not only at the centre that the grip of the Colonial Office administration appears to be loosening in Africa. The same process is evident in the bush. Here the fingertips of African nationalism are spreading out from the palms of the hands in the towns, and competing with the administration for control either with or without the co-operation of the traditional native authorities. African nationalism, in its earlier phases, tended to oppose the chiefs. This was certainly true of the Convention People's Party in the Gold Coast. So, too, does Mau Mau. The Kenya chiefs are Government appointees, not hereditary, and have sided with the Government in its efforts to suppress violence. Nationalism in Nigeria at one time was mixed up with revolt against traditional authorities, though less so now.

In Central Africa the position is different. Here many of the chiefs, including some of the most powerful, have joined the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian African Congress. It is the federation issue which has enabled the Congress to win this influence. The chiefs, indeed, have been placed in a dilemma over federation. They are, in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in a powerful and privileged position. Less attempt has been made to democratize them than in West and East Africa. Protectorate status has left them more independence than is normally understood by the term "indirect rule". They can hardly view the future with anything but disquiet. The chiefs in Southern Rhodesia, they well know, are more closely supervised and they fear the spread northward of Southern Rhodesian concepts of native administration. At the same time it is probable that the lessons of the Gold Coast have been marked in Central Africa, and interpreted as showing that opposition to African politicians does not pay. Looked at in this light, it is not surprising that the chiefs are co-operating with the nationalists from the towns who are trying to oppose federation. There are obvious dangers in such a development. The whole system of indirect rule depends on the absolute co-operation of the district officer with the chief. This co-operation has, for over fifty years, rested on prestige, not force. If the chiefs started co-operating with the Congress, instead of with the administration, the system could quickly break down. There have already been a number of instances of this in Northern Rhodesia, and several chiefs were recently suspended as a result. What happens when the system of indirect rule collapses has already been demonstrated as a warning in the Bamangwato reserve. Here, an exceptionally powerful chieftainship virtually went into liquidation overnight. There was nothing to take its place. The only means of filling the vacuum was the introduction of direct rule by European officers, which is not only a dead end method and contrary to all the principles of British Colonial administration, but must in the long run prove too costly an expedient to be widely practised. Undoubtedly one reason for the weakening of the Colonial administration in so many places is the neglect of the administrative service and the overloading of its officers with paper work. Indeed, in many places the Colonial police are more in contact with the African than is the district administration. With them there is a day-to-day officer-man relationship between the Europeans and the *askaris*, who are often family men from the villages and really know what goes on. In some Colonies, too, the special branches are quite excellent. All this is to the credit of the police, but it is a reflection on the course of British Colonial policy. The error seems to have been to have poured out so much of slender resources on paying for specialist services, instead of placing all priority on the linchpin of the whole system, the district administration.

African nationalism, meanwhile, as it awakes in one territory after another, follows a pattern, though not a stereotyped one. It takes on new aspects and techniques as it develops. Its earliest effective manifestations were on the west coast. Here the vernacular press and the trade unions played an important part, although there is usually a tendency on the part of the trade union leaders in Africa to keep themselves in some degree independent of the politicians. The use of the educational system, through the medium of the independent schools, as a vehicle of political expression was first introduced on a mass scale by the C.P.P. in the Gold Coast, although the idea seems to have occurred to Kenyatta simultaneously or even earlier. Passive resistance was also tried out on the Gold Coast, but the African temperament does not seem to lend itself to this method for any long period, being too apt to break out in violence, as was again shown in the riots in South Africa more recently. Kenya was not the first to have started a deliberately terrorist movement. The "Zikist" organization in Nigeria was such, but it never came to a head as it received no encouragement from Nigerian political leaders and was suppressed by the authorities. Nationalist movements do not operate entirely in isolation. There is co-operation on a regional level, and also, with the help of Europeans, through London. This is sustained moreover by a passionate interest in each other's doings, which is fostered by the wireless and the newspapers. Thousands of Africans appear nowadays to be reading "settler" papers like the *East African Standard* and the *Rhodesia Herald*, just to get the news. Mau Mau more than anything else has stimulated inquisitiveness. Generally speaking, African nationalism can lie dormant until it is aroused by an actual and activating issue. Land grievance in Kenya, federation in Central Africa, and the succession dispute in the Bamangwato are in themselves to some extent secondary considerations: their main significance is that they galvanize political consciousness. It would be wrong to suppose that this nationalism is wholly anti-European. Among ambitious and political Africans this is often so. But both among educated and rural Africans there is a great demand for the European as arbiter. Many are afraid of what Africans would do to each other if the Europeans went. There is even an appreciation of what Europeans have done for them in the past.

The future of Africa will now depend more and more on the political sagacity and common sense of its inhabitants, rather than on policies directed from Britain. Except in "backward" territories which still enjoy Crown Colony government, negative action in the sense of "putting on the brake" is becoming increasingly difficult. That is the inescapable conclusion of the granting of transitional constitutions in the post-war years, whether they dealt out power to black or white. A process of this kind, once started, cannot easily be arrested. It can only be guided. The deciding factors will really be threefold. The first is whether African politicians quickly learn what is needed in the true interests of their countries and, having done so, can retain enough hold over their supporters to do what is necessary even when it is unpopular. The second is whether the European settlers can realize that it is to a large extent their refusal to recognize realities which has made the success of a movement like Mau Mau possible and will henceforth listen to their more enlightened leaders. The importance of Central African federation is that it gives them one more chance to do this. The third is the extent to which administrators and technicians from the United Kingdom can establish a new relationship with the semi-emancipated peoples and continue to work with them for the very long period before they can effectively run their own countries. This applies from the top, that is, from the ability of Great Britain to provide "schoolmaster" Governors, to the bottom, that is, the ability of the man drilling bore-holes to get on with the African staff. That is a responsibility which belongs to European and African alike.

The Teaching Profession in West Africa

*Abridged extracts from the Report of the West Africa Study Group under the chairmanship of Dr. G. B. Jeffery, embodied in "African Education. A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa".**

THE supply of teachers lies at the very heart of the educational problems of the West Coast. In any country the number and the quality of the schools is directly related to, and is ultimately

* See page 58 of this issue.

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controlled by, the supply of teachers. In most parts of the Coast the rate of educational expansion is at present being slowed down by lack of teachers; while in all parts the education being provided is far less effective than it should be because the majority of teachers have not the training and qualifications necessary for a full appreciation of their responsibilities and opportunities. All the West African territories are still facing this dilemma. Since teachers are the product of schools, you cannot have teachers until you have schools or schools until you have teachers. Moreover, you cannot have good teachers until you have good schools or good schools until you have good teachers. In one way or another the pump must be primed. As a matter of history this has been done for the West Coast by missionaries and expatriate teachers and they have made the progress of education, slow as it must often seem to be, far more rapid than otherwise it would have been. A country which has not the opportunity or the will to accept external assistance of this sort and which faces the problem of building up an educational system from the beginning from its own resources is condemned to a rate of progress which will be measured in centuries rather than in decades. The pumps at some levels will continue to need priming for many years to come if they are to get into full working order at a rate consistent with the urgent needs of these times. This creates a problem of very special difficulty for some peoples on the Coast who, just because they realize the wider implications of education, are reluctant to accept this needed help from missionaries or from Africans from other parts. But a vicious circle may sometimes be converted into a spiral. Anything that can be done to get more good teachers into West African schools will pay immediate dividends in the improvement of the schools and deferred dividends in the improvement of the teachers of the next generation.

Selection for Primary Teaching. At present recruitment for primary teaching is almost always from the senior primary or middle school, and this is probably inevitable for some time to come; but the eventual aim should certainly be recruitment from the secondary schools, and this should be one of the factors taken into account in planning the development of secondary education. The immediate problem is to secure for teaching a due proportion of the best material in the primary schools. Unfortunately this aim is far from realization. Evidence that teaching is at present fairly low on the list of desirable occupations is too widespread to be ignored. The remuneration and conditions of service of the profession must be made more attractive than they are at present. Moreover, teacher training is, in fact, an alternative and lower form of secondary education and is generally so regarded by candidates and their parents. It is rare for a candidate to seek admission to a training college unless he has tried and failed to gain admission to a secondary school or cannot afford to pay secondary school fees. To such a one teacher training represents the only alternative avenue to the prizes of a secondary school education. He may, and frequently does, leave teaching for some more lucrative or congenial employment as soon as he has completed his minimum obligation. Even those young Africans who feel that teaching is their vocation will rightly seek to proceed to a secondary school and to the appropriate form of teacher training later. The tendency on every count is for the teaching profession, and even that part of it which is trained, to be recruited from the less able and less devoted young Africans. Nevertheless, one cannot but admire the quality of the tone that is to be found in many training colleges whose students come to them in such circumstances. This problem is closely linked with that of the requisite standard of education and attainment. A primary school course followed by a course of teacher training means that the personal education of the teacher is not what it should be, and that the margin between his own attainment and that which is expected of his pupils is dangerously small. On any long-term view the completion of a full and rich course in a secondary school is the minimum qualification for entry upon teacher training that can be regarded with equanimity. Whatever lower qualifications for the time being may be dictated by circumstances, and however distant the attainment of the ideal may be, it should be kept steadily in view in the development of an African teaching profession. Developments in other directions may bring the opportunity for this change sooner than might be expected. Up to now recruitment " ex-Standard VI " or thereabouts has meant an entry-age to the training colleges of seventeen or more. Now that the age of entry to schools is becoming more normal a steadily increasing number of pupils, and these generally the best, will be completing the primary course by the age of 13 or 14, and perhaps ultimately of 12. This is far too young to begin an ordinary training course. If 19 is accepted as the minimum age at which anyone should be allowed to qualify as a teacher—and it certainly cannot be put any lower—it follows that some means must be found of filling the gap. Either the training course must be greatly lengthened or special courses must be devised to fit in between the end of the school course and the beginning of the training course. Either alternative means, in effect, the provision of a secondary school course for intending teachers and there seems no reason to suppose that this would be more expensive if it were done as part of the normal secondary school system than it would be as part of the special arrangements for teacher training. This is not merely a problem of the distant future. Promising material is already being lost because of the gap between school leaving age and training college entry age. It is a problem requiring immediate attention.

The Training College Curriculum. A training college should provide for the further general education of its students. For many of the students, and for some time to come, the training college must take the place of the secondary school which has been denied to them. This will imply further work in the subjects of the school curriculum, opportunities for practical work in art and crafts, and participation in the kind of community life in which character can be deepened and strengthened. A training college must also be a place of vocational training. It must prepare its students for their future work as teachers by leading them to think about education in an adequate way, by giving them a grounding in the principles on which good teaching method is based, by instructing them in the craft of teaching, and showing them in practice what lively and inspired teaching can accomplish. The problems of education are very deep problems, but they are human problems and they can be profitably discussed in simple and non-technical language. Most of the differences between good and bad teaching are fairly obvious to one who has seen good teaching in operation. It is far more important that the student should come to know good teaching by acquaintance than that he should be able to explain what it is in philosophical language. Perhaps the worst solution is to attempt a middle course which misses the advantages of both in a formal and arid study of the " principles of education ". Most training colleges anywhere would make their professional training more lively and significant by adopting the simpler line of approach, and this is especially true of the West African training colleges in their present circumstances. Training colleges have a special responsibility for the improvement of the spoken English of students who are to teach in that medium. Lack of confidence and facility in spoken English is the direct cause of much bad teaching. It is disappointing to find how little serious attention is given to this important matter in many training colleges, where English is rarely spoken except in the class-room, and there is a surprising lack of the various mechanical aids which might be of immense value in improving the standard of spoken English. The training colleges have an important, probably a decisive, part to play in the struggle to improve moral standards. They influence the budding teacher's own standards of conduct both as a citizen and as a teacher. If they ignore his responsibilities as a trainer of character and concentrate on his role as an instructor, they will perpetuate a disastrously narrow conception of the teacher's function. On the other hand, the training colleges can do much to break down the barriers which now divide the life of the school from that of the community it serves, and both from the life of the teacher. They can give their students a clearer conception of the part that the teacher should play as a member of the community he serves. There are questions of priorities which must be squarely faced, otherwise there is so much that might profitably be done that too much will be attempted, time-tables will be overcrowded, and students will have no time for thought or private reading. These problems arise wherever teacher training is undertaken, but they arise acutely in West Africa where circumstances dictate that the time available for training is manifestly inadequate. In view of the present low educational standard of training college entrants, the first priority should be general education in its broadest sense, including proficiency in spoken English. For the time being professional training should be approached in a simple and practical way, with opportunities for the informal discussions of live educational issues. A student may receive a valuable part of his professional training through the unconscious absorption of the atmosphere of a place which has the promotion of good teaching as the focus of all its activity.

Length of Course. Two-, three- and four-year courses are all to be found, with varying educational standards at entry. Having regard to those standards all these courses are short, and the two-year courses, which are the most common, are certainly too short, except possibly the few that cater for secondary school pupils. Even if the changing age-range in the schools did not force a lengthening of these courses, it would still be most desirable to lengthen them on purely educational grounds. A third year would certainly more than double the value of these two-year courses. Where the demand for teachers has far outrun the supply it may be impossible to face the further restrictions which would follow the immediate lengthening of the training course from two to three years; but there are areas where the lengthening of the course would certainly be possible if it were thought desirable. There is a tendency to accept the two-year course as adequate—possibly because of a very false analogy with two-year training in England. It is not adequate. In present conditions on the West Coast a three-year course ought to be accepted as the minimum. When the demand is so heavy as to make the immediate lengthening of the course impossible, long-term plans might well include the provision of deferred third-year courses for all those who, after a certain date, begin teaching after only two years' training.

The Size of Training Colleges. Efficiency and economy of staff and buildings, and the development of a full college life, all favour a fairly large unit. If these were the only factors to consider the normal college would probably be about two hundred strong. But there are not many places on the West Coast where 200 students could be collected together without a great deal of travelling, and the difficulty of finding schools for teaching practice is an even stronger argument in favour of a small unit. Assuming a staffing ratio of about one to twelve it would seem that staffing difficulties are likely to be acute in a college with less than about a hundred students. In all the circumstances it seems reasonable to suggest that a minimum roll of about a hundred should be aimed at even if this involves a good deal of travelling and special boarding-out arrangements for teaching practice. It is at least clear that the two-year colleges with a single class entry and a total roll of about forty are too small, though as a temporary measure they may be justified in certain areas. If the colleges are, as has been suggested, to pay more attention to general education and less to professional training, the balance will swing even more strongly in favour of larger units; and any lengthening of the course will have much the same effect.

The Recruitment of Secondary Teachers. The secondary grammar schools must on the whole look to the universities for their teachers, and it is largely because the number of African graduates is so small—and only a minority of these take up teaching—that these schools are so dependent on expatriate staff. Other types of secondary schools will also need a proportion of graduates, but they could manage with a rather larger admixture of non-graduate staff if non-graduate teachers were available with standards of education and training comparable to those of the English college-trained teacher. If the expansion of secondary education is going to be strictly limited by the number of graduate teachers available, then that expansion is going to be very slow indeed. There is a clear need for providing an alternative to university training for the secondary school leaver. A three-year training course after School Certificate which gave the student a position in the teaching world not far behind that of a graduate might well attract some of the abler secondary school pupils. The up-grading of primary school teachers by means of a special course is a possibility. But the extent of this up-grading from primary teaching is very limited, not only because the number of primary teachers capable of following a stiff course of this kind is small, but also because any arrangement by which any promising primary teacher was likely to be taken away and groomed for secondary teaching would have a disastrous effect on the primary schools.

The Untrained Teacher. A distressing feature of the present situation is the high proportion of untrained teachers in primary schools. In some areas it is not uncommon to find that even the modest official requirement of at least one trained teacher on the staff of a school is not fulfilled. The untrained teachers fall broadly into two classes: those who have served for a considerable time, and young people who will either proceed to training after serving for a year or two or leave teaching for some other occupation. The first category arises whenever better standards of qualification are introduced, and those who fall within it are entitled to consideration by reason of their experience. As opportunities for training are extended, the category should gradually fade out. The real danger to the primary schools arises from the very large number of young inexperienced and untrained teachers. These are in the schools either on the dubious plea that training is more effective after a few years' experience or as a measure of insurance for those who will have to bear the cost of training that they are not wasting their money on people who could never become good teachers. Whatever explanation may be advanced, these teachers are in fact a glaring example of the results of efforts to provide primary schools " on the cheap ". On the other hand, without them large numbers of schools on the Coast would have to be closed. This is but one of the reasons which point to the conclusion that greatly extended provision for teacher training is a most urgent need.

The Teaching Profession. The teachers themselves, conscious of their membership of a united and honourable profession, can exert a powerful influence on the development of education. It is most encouraging to find that teachers in the various territories are developing their organizations with all the marks of a good profession—a sense of social purpose, the establishment of high standards of professional conduct, and a regard for the quality and training of those who enter its membership. In several of the territories these professional associations have already a high degree of organization. They are concerned, and rightly concerned, with questions of remuneration and conditions of service, but they are not preoccupied with these to the exclusion of the matters touching their professional responsibility. Some of them are already regarded by the authorities and the public as trustworthy organs for the expression of the corporate views of teachers on educational issues. They are a healthy and important element in the educational affairs of the West Coast.

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Towards Self-Government in the Gold Coast

Condensed from an article in " The Times " of March 18, 1953

AFTER almost two years of the present mixed régime, with Africans predominating in politics, and Europeans in the administration, the aspiration after self-government seems capable of attainment, provided it continues to be sought with moderation, realism and common sense. During these two years Dr. Nkrumah and his ministers have gained enormously in experience and self-confidence. The ministries and departments have become well integrated: their methods may have been evolved *ad hoc*, but unmistakably they work together and speak with one voice. In the House of Assembly there is an effective and well-led parliamentary opposition to the Convention People's Party.

Perhaps the most spectacular achievement of the régime is the success of the cutting-out campaign and consequent success in the fight against the deadly swollen shoot disease in cocoa trees, which was threatening the whole economy of the Gold Coast and had defied all previous attempts to thwart it whether by voluntary or compulsory measures. The reformed cocoa marketing board is functioning efficiently. Trade is flourishing, and the slight downward trend of cocoa prices has been enough to steady inflationary tendencies without damaging the general economy. Public order is good. The police are alert, exceptionally well turned out, and, moreover, popular. Almost alone among African Colonies to-day there is here no " security problem "—though there are mischievous eyes outside watching for a chance to create one. In general, race relations have never been better. All this has been achieved on the credit side. But there is another side to the balance-sheet which cannot be ignored. Local government has not settled down so well as central government. It was always a weakness here that central government preceded local government reform: that the lid was produced before the kettle. The recent attempt to rectify this by trying to dovetail in traditional authorities like the chiefs with a young elected element has not proved a success and already needs revision. There is difficulty in collecting the high local taxes which C.P.P. members in their enthusiasm for progress sometimes succeed in imposing. Again, although there is an effective façade of parliamentary opposition within the chamber itself, it is a façade without much backing in the country and would hardly survive a general

election unless something is done to organize such backing first—that is, before autumn, 1954. The recent attempt to combine the two principal opposition groups into the Ghana Congress Party has unfortunately broken down. The parties concerned had little in common: and their leaders—unlike the leaders of the C.P.P.—are not versed in compromise. Not all of the C.P.P. programme has been as successful as that part of it dealing with " swollen shoot ". The accelerated educational scheme is not proceeding according to plan and building of houses is slower than it should be. On the debit side, also, must be accounted increasing corruption. For this Africans cannot be solely blamed. There are many European carpet-baggers who, attracted by the prospect of a wealthy Colony like the Gold Coast being one day rid of its Civil Service watchdogs, have gathered for the pickings.

Before examining the next move, it will be well to recall just how matters stand in the light of events last year. In the summer the Secretary of State for the Colonies paid a visit to the Gold Coast and agreed to entertain proposals from the Gold Coast Government on further constitutional advances. In October, Dr. Nkrumah announced subjects for consideration and a time-table. The subjects were the position of the three (European) *ex-officio* ministers; the method of appointment of ministers; the desirability of an upper house; electoral reform; the chiefs; and the Civil Service. They fall short of proposals for full dominion status by omission of any reference to the Governor's reserve powers. Representative and political bodies were to formulate their ideas by the end of this month and the Government was to introduce its own in the form of a White Paper to be debated in the Assembly this coming July. After that the proposals would be forwarded to Whitehall. The fact that elections fall in the autumn of 1954, and that a new House assembles early in 1955, is also obviously a determining factor in the tempo of constitutional change. It might be expected to introduce some, but not all, of these measures before then. Unhappily the pace of events seems to be dictating that a priority be put upon Africanization rather than upon purely constitutional changes. The new constitution for the Sudan has speeded the desire for an all-African Cabinet. Dr. Nkrumah's visit to Liberia has suggested that an African State can survive without a defence force or Europeans in the administration, albeit at a cost of lessened efficiency. The violent attack in the Assembly on the Volta River Scheme has demonstrated the suspicion of foreign " economic slavery ". Expanding economic development in the past few years has increased, rather than decreased, the number of Europeans coming to the Colony. Where, people ask, is this self-government leading us? Are we, or are we not, to be masters in our own house? As the necessity for the importation of foreign technicians is incontrovertible, eyes are turned on the British still working in the administration. It is therefore likely that any first instalment of constitutional proposals would include a demand for the abolition of all three *ex-officio* ministries now held by British Civil Servants—the Ministers for Defence and External Relations, for Finance and for Law and Order. It had always been realized that a gradual replacement of these Ministers by Africans, with British advisers, would take place. But the abolition, at an early stage, of the first poses awkward problems in relation to defence and internal security and some special machinery would have to be devised to deal with them. More disturbing still is the increasing discontent with what is considered the slow pace of Africanization within the Civil Service itself. This discontent is to be found principally among back-bench and Opposition members, but it is making itself felt. The work of an administrator, it is believed, because it is not technical, can be done just as well by an African, and in any case it is suspected that European administrators indulge in " back-seat driving " of their ministers. The fact is that the administration is already seriously depleted. European recruitment to it has been stopped. The greatest difficulty is being experienced in retaining present members owing to the uncertainties of the situation. Recruitment of Africans is only possible in any numbers at this stage by promotion of senior clerks, of whom there are a limited number. They in turn are doing jobs requiring immense training and experience so that they cannot themselves be easily replaced. Some departments are already verging on breakdown and the accountancy departments appear to have reached it, since there are delays in the payment of salaries. Africans who believe in speedier Africanization talk of a moratorium on development and of a temporary acceptance of lower standards as a price that must be paid for self-government. But history seems to teach that the building up of a Civil Service with high standards is one of the hardest and longest tasks for a State to achieve. It seems at least short-sighted that Gold Coast Africans should want to throw away in advance a precious heritage which, with a little patience, they will be bequeathed. Their impatience is to some extent intelligible in view of the very solid successes achieved in the past two years. But these successes would have been impossible without the whole-hearted support of numerous British Civil Servants, many of whom are expending the best years of their lives and sometimes their health in giving self-government to the Gold Coast. They are most certainly wanted for some years to come. Gold Coasters, presumably, if they had only the Gold Coast to consider, might claim the privilege of throwing them overboard and trying the effect of paddling their own canoe alone now. But they carry on their shoulders the responsibility for showing that Africans can govern themselves in the generation now beginning in a manner consonant with certain standards. They will be judged by the world: and their success or failure will affect the political future of millions of their fellow Africans.

Some Problems of the Gold Coast Economy

Abridged extracts from the " Report on Financial and Physical Problems of Development in the Gold Coast ", by Dudley Seers and C. R. Ross.*

THE Gold Coast economy can be described as " fragile ". It has no checks on an inflationary wave of spending: direct taxation hardly touches most people; indirect taxes are relatively light, stocks are generally very thin, virtually the only goods produced locally for consumers are foodstuffs; and the supply of these cannot be increased at short notice; imports take months to order and in any case are checked by inability of the ports and transport system to handle much more; price control is not very effective and there are few conventional restraints on profiteering; communications are too poor for goods to flow readily to areas of shortage, savings institutions are practically unused by the general public; and largely, for this reason, there is no capital market in which the Government could use monetary instruments—if it had any. A sudden rise in incomes can therefore rapidly out-run the supply of goods, causing people to bid for goods in short supply, forcing up prices, leading to demands for higher wages and salaries, which would in turn push prices up further. Violent inflation could rapidly develop under these conditions—and so for that matter could a depression, if income fell. Considered as an economic machine, the Gold Coast economy " over-responds " to acceleration, and could easily get out of control. If such an economic explosion occurred, there would be social and political disturbances, further disrupting the economy and leading to more unrest. The second main economic weakness is that the earnings of foreign exchange depend mainly on one commodity—cocoa. The demand for cocoa depends on a taste-fashion, which may be temporary, and since it is a luxury, its price in the world's market is highly sensitive to changes in the prosperity of a few highly industrialized countries, notably the United States and the United Kingdom. Even the other exports, minerals and timber, have markets which are similarly limited and subject to much the same influences, so that they tend to share the fortunes of the cocoa industry. Not only foreign exchange, but also the level of purchasing power inside the country, depend mainly on these commodities, and this dependence makes possible the large variations in purchasing power whose dangers have just been sketched.

African enterprise is hampered by fear of family claims on capital as it accumulates. Larger premises are obvious to visiting " brothers ", but traders even fear that information about bank deposits will leak out.† Pooling of capital in partnerships and firms is hindered by lack of mutual confidence, partly due to misunderstandings that continually arise over a contract, many of which are due to lack of business experience if not illiteracy. Borrowing is difficult and very expensive: interest rates are kept high by the extensive demand for consumer credit on the one hand,

* Government Printer, Accra. (1952. pp. 172. 5s.)

† Family loyalties have usefully protected people from starvation in the past, and provided what might be described as a primitive system of social security. But such loyalties like most egalitarian tendencies, whatever their other merits, are not conducive to the accumulation of capital.

and the shortage of loanable funds on the other. So it is difficult for the small trader to expand his operations greatly. Consumer co-operatives are receiving official encouragement, but there seems little appreciation of the principles of consumer co-operation. There are many difficulties in making and maintaining trade contracts, and it is alleged that members use the movement as a source of scarce goods which they subsequently resell. The co-operatives have yet to capture a large share of business. Stocks of consumer goods are insufficient to prevent shortages, and check price fluctuations. There are few warehouses for storage of foodstuffs or of imports. When demand for imported merchandise, such as printed textiles, has been strong, the price has largely depended on how recently a consignment has arrived from Europe. The limits on imported supplies and the scarcity of stocks would not matter so much if output inside the country could be suddenly increased when demand rose. There is, however, practically no manufacturing for consumers—tailoring, a little handloom weaving, some handicrafts, a brewery and furniture making. Inland of the port " bottleneck ", only local foodstuffs are available to absorb any substantial excess of purchasing power.

Food production is of course determined in the short run by what has been planted, but even in the longer run deliveries of food seem sluggish. The high price for cocoa has meant that cocoa farmers have somewhat neglected food farming, and at the same time eaten more, too. This may be true of many food farmers themselves—they may be prosperous enough to grow less and eat more. In addition the inflationary profits to be made in the towns, especially in distribution and building, have drawn many from productive work, such as food farming. These developments go some way to explaining the rather curious fact that although retail food prices have increased several times since before the war, there has been apparently little increase in the food sent to market. The prosperity of the country areas has, if anything, reduced the possibility of food supplies flowing into the towns to absorb any sudden excess purchasing power, and has thus aggravated the dangers of price inflation.

All these economic rigidities would be less serious if there were financial institutions capable of damping the effects of fluctuations in income—an efficient tax-collecting machinery has greatly eased the post-war economic strains in the United Kingdom. In the Gold Coast, however, wide sections of the public are untouched by income tax: approximately 90 per cent. is collected from companies. The only effective fiscal stabilizer is the export duty. In the case of commodities other than cocoa, this is mainly a tax on undistributed profits. But the export duty on cocoa, in its new form, with a high rate of tax once the world price exceeds £120 a ton, will make it easier for the Marketing Board to stabilize the price paid to farmers. Nevertheless, it still permits considerable fluctuations in the incomes of cocoa farmers. Voluntary saving cannot be relied on to finance much of investment. Habits of thrift are not widespread, partly because of the family claims on accumulation discussed above. In fact, a large proportion of the public lives close to the limit of what they can borrow. The upshot of this discussion is as follows. Port and transport facilities impose a limit on the flow of goods from abroad into the markets of the Gold Coast, while the supply of home-produced goods, even food, cannot expand rapidly. A wave of new purchasing power, unable to expend itself on goods or to find financial outlets, can therefore swing backwards and forwards across the economy, with sharp inflationary effects.

A situation in which the buying price of cocoa is set so high that there is a serious inflation may benefit the cocoa farmer in the short run: it means that he would probably be able to increase his living standards at the expense of other sections of the community and of development, since he would be able to consume more imported goods. But, as imports cannot be increased very easily, this would mean that imports available for development and other consumers would be reduced. If economic stability is impaired and development retarded, the cocoa farmer cannot benefit in the long run: he loses by the general economic instability, he has to wait longer for the hospitals, schools and roads, without which a permanent improvement in his way of life is impossible. So if he really wants the Development Plan to succeed, he may have to postpone any great improvement in his standard of living for a few years. To offset the extra income due to rising development expenditure by reducing the cocoa farmers' standard of living would, on the other hand, be putting the whole burden of development on one section of the community. The solution suggested is this: the Marketing Board should fix the price which it pays for the year's crop at a level which ensured that the income paid out to the farmer should be just sufficient to buy the quantity of imports that he bought in 1951-52. This implies that no large destabilizing increase in income would occur, but the farmer would have his present living standard guaranteed to him by the policy of the Board. The original purpose of the Marketing Board was to try and prevent large fluctuations in the price paid to the farmer, and by this means prevent the insecurity and uncertainty which was the principal feature of the inter-war period. A policy that relates the price paid to the farmers to the prices of consumer goods would mean that the farmer could look forward to a secure standard of living that would rise as fast as economic stability permitted.

The Development Plan proposes the expenditure of £74,000,000 over an unspecified period. Analysing this expenditure according to the type of economic activity involved we get:

	£m.
Building and Construction	40·0
Water Supply	3·7
Roadmaking	8·1
Industrial Development .. .. .., ..	1·5
Total New Capital Works	53·3
Railway Building	11·0
Development not involving Capital Works ..	9·7
	74·0

We must now estimate how much increase in the labour force this involves. Additional labour required each year for new capital works, 1952-60:

	All	*Skilled*	*Unskilled*
1952	2,000	800	1,200
1953	2,800	1,100	1,700
1954	3,600	1,450	2,150
1955	2,200	800	1,200
1956-60 ..	Nil	Nil	Nil
	10,600	4,150	6,250

In addition there would be by the late 1950's a substantial increase in maintenance work, so that the building labour force would need to continue growing after 1956—unless the output of labour rises substantially. If the Volta River project is approved there will be a further large demand for labour. If we assume that the Volta River project is begun in 1952 or 1953, the total increase in the labour employed on development during the period up to 1956 will be nearly 40,000—or about 10,000 a year.

A substantial fraction of the labour needed is skilled labour. There are at present only a few facilities for providing men with the necessary skills—the trade training centres and the Government Technical School at Takoradi. It is intended to establish technical institutes in the main towns, and to provide much more technical training at the school and college levels; four secondary technical schools are planned (one of which is being obtained by converting the Takoradi School), and at the top of the structure will be the Kumasi College of Technology. The difficulty about technical education in schools and colleges is that it rarely supplies craftsmen. The skilled craftsmen must, therefore, be largely recruited from those already in the industry. This means training not merely the unskilled, but also those who are already allegedly skilled. There are a number of ways of passing on European techniques, and the needs over the next few years are so urgent they should all be pursued simultaneously. In the first place, inspectors of works and other responsible supervisors, even contractors and engineers, could more frequently set an example. One of the causes of slackness is the widespread, and generally wrong, belief found among artisans that the inspector could not do the job himself. Europeans could also be hired to work as artisans, alongside the men. There are thousands of unemployed building workers in Italy who would welcome the chance to emigrate. The cost would superficially be high. But it would make supervision easier. The proposed technical institutes, which will offer both part-time and full-time instruction, are needed urgently. They could use temporary premises, such as schoolrooms, for evening classes; and of the many activities planned for them,* training craftsmen is among the most urgent.

* See "The Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951", para. 60.

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The Artisan Training Scheme, under which tradesmen and artisans are sent for one or two years to the United Kingdom, has a wider significance than just providing technical training. It will introduce workers to European civilization—and to the European pace of working. But considered solely as a solution to the skill shortage it is too expensive to help much. The £1,000 which it will apparently cost to send a man to England for two years (without allowing for overheads, such as the extra work in the Commissioner's Office), would surely be better spent in bringing an artisan from Europe for a year to train scores in a technical institute or set a working example to hundreds. Apprenticeship has not taken root easily in the Gold Coast. Because of the shortage of supervisory staff and the costs of the scheme, employers have been unwilling to take on many apprentices, and those entering the industry have continued to do so mainly by acting as mate to a relative. More adequate provision for training is needed within the industry, and it may be possible to work towards a more formal system of apprenticeship with agreed rates of pay and obligations on both sides. Any attempt, however, to enforce an apprenticeship system on an overseas model too rapidly would be dangerous, for the co-operation of contractors must be won.

The Volta River project raises special problems, because it requires so many workers, all concentrated in a small and remote area. The recruitment can hardly be achieved without an intensive training scheme, along the lines developed in Britain and America during the war. Such training should start well before the labour is needed; it should be designed for the specific jobs required, rather than for the general needs of a trade; and it probably should be in the vicinity of the dam site, if the labour is to be kept. During training, the workers should be employees of the Volta River Authority, with a definite promise of future employment, perhaps on long-term contracts. Continuity of employment could be encouraged by providing well-built townships with family quarters, and also by seniority bonuses and clauses penalizing desertion. Such a policy almost certainly involves having an excessive labour force at first, but there is not likely to be any other way of having labour available when it is needed; and to hold up the scheme for labour would be even more expensive.

In the long run, Gold Coast development will have to be looked at as part of West African development. Indeed, one rather extraordinary feature about Gold Coast planning is that so far it has paid little attention to what is going on in other territories. This indifference cannot continue for long. Although the markets for the products of the Gold Coast are at present almost entirely outside Africa, as are the resources of imports, the growth of secondary industries will change the geographical pattern of trade. The Gold Coast will find coastal territories an expanding market for new products and she will buy more of their products as their national outputs become more diverse. These possibilities are worth considering while development is being planned.

Some Medical Aspects of Central African Federation

Condensed from an article by Dr. W. E. Orchard in "NAPT Bulletin", April, 1953.

W. E. ORCHARD

CECIL RHODES was responsible for the establishment of the British sphere of influence in Central Africa, for in 1889 he formed the British South African Company to develop the country north of the settled South African Colony. He had obtained a concession from the African chiefs and his rivals were the Portuguese, who claimed a central belt across Africa along the Zambezi. In 1891, agreement was reached whereby the Rhodesias and Nyasaland came under British protection, administered by the British South African Company. 1911 saw the formation of Northern Rhodesia by the fusion of the two northern territories, and the growing Colonies began to outstrip the administration. A Legislative Council had been in existence since 1898, and in 1920 it asked for responsible government. In 1923, after a referendum when union with South Africa was rejected in favour of responsible local government, Southern Rhodesia was granted a constitution. The administration of the South Africa Company was terminated in Northern Rhodesia in the following year, when a Governor and Legislature were created. Nyasaland is similarly administered and Africans have seats on all Legislatures. In 1945, a Standing Central African Council was formed to co-ordinate the regional administrations, including within its purview a variety of subjects, among them communications, education, agriculture, medicine and veterinary services. The Zambezi hydro-electric scheme was initiated by the Council, which could well serve as a model of realistic co-ordination, not only in its concept but in its firm direction. The original proposal has been by-passed in favour of one more in accord with the changed conditions in the area since 1950. Thus the Standing Council has established the value of integration of services.

The vital statistics of the areas under consideration are as follows:

	Population	*European Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 live births*	*European Death Rate*
Southern Rhodesia:			
1949	2,022,400	29	7
1950	2,094,800	35	6·7
1951	2,158,330	25	6·9
Northern Rhodesia:			
1949	1,644,800	27·09	5·28
1950	1,885,100	29·1	5·2
Nyasaland:			
1949	2,279,255	No information available.	

The total population in 1949 was, therefore, 5,946,455, roughly equivalent to that of Scotland, and composed of Europeans, Coloured Persons, Africans and Indians.

In 1949, Nyasaland had a crop failure which was met by a good year in 1950 so that, beyond a few localized areas, insufficient diet had no major impact on the public health. Improvidence, however, is a powerful factor in keeping up a state of sub-normal nutrition, wastage of food in a period of plenty leading to actual hunger between seasons. In Southern Rhodesia, in the same year, a pressing need for protein, fats and meat is recorded, and the groundnut and vegetable staple commodities were in short supply. Free supplementary meals of milk and bread were issued to children. In 1951, the Nutrition Council of the Colony recommended that the utilization of new foods from existing cereals and the production of foods of higher value from the existing milk supplies (*e.g.* cheese rather than butter) should be undertaken, as it is considered that the dietetic conservatism of the African is conditioned by availability of foodstuffs rather than by preferences. In Northern Rhodesia, nutritional problems are complicated by heavy infestation with parasites (though this is presumably the same in the other areas), reducing the food value of otherwise adequate diets. Changing food habits are reported by a dental officer, who says "generally speaking, the children in this territory consume too many sweets . . . and not sufficient fresh milk and vegetables". African labour is paid partly by rationed foodstuffs. Where this is done, the worker is assured of a basic working diet but there is a growing tendency on the part of employers to pay in cash instead of in kind, and the money is dissipated. In the recent Copper Belt wages arbitration the value of the ration was appreciated by the African union representatives, but the additional costs of "clothing and household requisites" influenced the demands for increased wages. It will be interesting to see how this added purchasing power is applied.

As far as diseases are concerned, Nyasaland is affected by trypanosomiasis, and the prevalence of tsetse fly limits stock production. Tuberculosis is increasing and bovine infection is now regularly reported. Considerable progress in housing Government employees is being made but not so notably in ordinary African housing. In Northern Rhodesia, pneumonia, malaria and tuberculosis in that order account for the majority of deaths in hospital. This Colony is singularly fortunate in having a highly organized and lucrative industry, which provides a complete range of medical and surgical services, and whose officers co-operate well with the official medical services. If copper were to slump, however, it is probable that the first retrenchment of the companies would be in medical services, leaving the Government to fall back on its own resources, at present inadequately developed. In addition, the missionary societies maintain hospitals and out-patient clinics, and dealt with some 26,000 in-patients compared with some 1,600 in the Government establishments. These activities are subsidized by the Government. The medical problems of Southern Rhodesia are similar to those of the other territories, with pulmonary tuberculosis, smallpox and poliomyelitis high on the list of diseases. Increasingly effective measures against malaria and bilharzia have been taken. The contribution

of the industrial medical services, with their co-operation in preventive as well as in curative medicine, cannot be over-estimated. In addition, fifty medical missions maintain 1,099 beds, caring for nearly 500,000 in-patients annually. Eighty-five Government native clinics with 3,715 beds provide in- and out-patient facilities throughout the Colony. The Government gives financial aid to the medical missions and thus statistics are more readily obtained from them than from the industrial medical services. So long as industrial development is maintained there can be no more advantageous combination than these synergistic organizations.

From these facts it is perhaps permissible to deduce certain resulting benefits from Federation. The main ones are:

1. A common health policy, with better control of boundary areas, pooling of resources and more even spread of available medical staffs, and co-ordination of special surveys and the approach to nutritional problems.
2. Control of movement of labour for medical reasons in the presence of specific health problems, *e.g.* smallpox, leprosy and tuberculosis.
3. A common nutritional policy in the development of new dietary habits and more effective use of available foodstuffs, with particular attention to seasonal variations.
4. Strengthening of the Government medical service, less dependence on industrial medical assistance for tasks which are properly " official ", and the ensuring of a reliable information service from medical staffs whose compliance is obligatory. Accurate statistics are essential for the control, direction and development of any medical service, and must be made available from all medical personnel working within a unified service.

A Constitution for the Caribbean

Condensed from an article in " The Economist " of April 11, 1953.

THE protracted discussions on the federation of the British West Indies were carried a stage further at the conference of representatives of the Colonies concerned which met in London in April. The inherent difficulties of the scheme—as well as the Caribbean temperament—have dictated the pace. It is fully two years since a draft constitution for the region was produced by the committee under the chairmanship of Sir Hubert Rance. It is four-and-a-half years since delegates from all the territories met at Montego Bay in Jamaica. There, they accepted the principle of federation and set up the Standing Closer Association Committee to prepare a constitution, together with other committees to draw up plans for a customs union, the unification of public services, a single currency and other matters. Eight years have passed since Mr. Oliver Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, urged the West Indians to federate, not only to form a viable economic entity, but also a viable political unit to which full self-government could be granted. It cannot be said, however, that progress has been sure if slow. Federation is still a long way off. There is nothing final about the deliberations now to take place. No Colony is committed in more than the principle, and anything that their representatives recommend jointly with the others will have to be further debated by their own legislatures. Moreover, several Colonies have gone back on the degree of conviction that they achieved at Montego Bay. Faced with an actual draft constitution which makes clearer the sacrifices involved in federation, British Guiana and British Honduras, the two mainland territories, have retreated—though they are sending observers to London. The Bahamas and Virgin Islands are also out of the scheme, which has thus lost a sixth of the population and more than nine-tenths of the land area originally conceived for it. The scheme is now reduced—at least for the time being—to proposals for an archipelagal union of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and the Windward and Leeward Islands; the largest unit, Jamaica, with a population of 1,500,000, is a thousand miles away from the rest—about as far as West from East Pakistan. It is already clear that the ten Colonies of this archipelago are themselves having extensive second thoughts about the Rance constitution. The islands are more inclined to hold on to their own local powers, and have become more conscious of the cost of the central government; the trend of discussion within the West Indian parliaments seems to have been that a far weaker federal agency should be given far more sovereignty.

Yet federation was to be based on the economic benefits accruing from closer association. Individually, the islands are too small to be viable economically, or to make their voices heard in world affairs. Their greatest interest is sugar—yet they produce only 2 per cent of the world's supply. Necessity has forced them to combine to negotiate with their customers; the same necessity dictates that they should ask with a single voice for financial aid from Commonwealth or world lending agencies. The cost of effective diplomatic and commercial representation could only be met by pooling it. It has also been urged that federation, implying a customs union, would enable the economy of the whole area to be strengthened by providing adequate markets for secondary industries and some greater diversity of production; it would make planning possible, and permit migration of labour from over-populated areas to those whose resources remain to be developed. There is substance in the argument; it is at least clear that such enterprises as a university and agricultural research can be supported only on an intercolonial basis. But scope for increasing intercolonial trade among primary producing countries is, in any case, small. Regional West Indian trade accounts for a tiny fraction of the total; the losses of customs revenue from a customs union will in most cases be less than 5 per cent. But with the mainland territories out of the federation the opportunity of developing an economic entity, based on their exports of rice and needs of manpower, will be lost.

The draft constitution worked out by the Rance committee was an ingenious attempt to find a lowest common multiple in a diversity not only of economic but political conditions. Yet even on the political side it failed to satisfy British Guiana, which under its new constitution is about to be granted a large degree of self-government. These powers would thus be conferred only to be in part resigned to the federal legislature in Trinidad. Guianese spokesmen asked, " Why give us a liberal constitution with one hand and take it away with the other by making us slaves to the islands of the Caribbean? The Guianese, like the Hondurans, have little trust for what they call the " ranting politicians of the West Indies ". Nor do the people of East Indian race wish to be cheated of their electoral predominance in these territories by a large influx of West Indian negroes. But the Rance constitution has also failed to satisfy the politicians of the islands. In Barbados the powers to be surrendered to the federal legislature are felt to be too great; in Jamaica, and perhaps in Trinidad, the surrender of powers to the federation is clearly only acceptable on condition that the federal government is going to have greater powers than the islands have—to achieve Dominion status more quickly than Jamaica might hope to do on its own. The Rance committee recommended that besides a short list of exclusive powers reserved to the federal government, such as defence, external affairs, customs and communications, there should be a concurrent list, on which both federal and territorial legislatures might legislate, federal law prevailing; this list would enable the federal government gradually to take over more functions, such as the control of trade, as it grew in experience and won the confidence of the constituent Colonies. But " the spirit of Colonialism " which runs through the Rance proposals has drawn fire from all shades of opinion in the islands, from extremists and moderates—in Jamaica, from Mr. Bustamante and Mr. Manley alike. Though the lower federal house is to be elective, the senate would be wholly nominated by the Governor-General; though the prime minister would be elected by the lower house, the council of state would contain six nominated to eight elected members and be merely advisory to the Governor-General; and many of the federal powers would be wholly reserved to the Governor-General. Such arrangements were criticized as amounting to the creation of a " super Crown Colony " and representing no advance on the " existing federation " achieved by the powers still concentrated in British administration in the islands, and therefore ultimately in Whitehall.

While demanding more popular control of federal powers the Colonies have also suggested that the expenses of the whole venture should be underwritten by British financial guarantees. It thus cannot be said that the West Indies have, as a whole, yet shown real faith in the effort to invest them with greater control over their own destinies—for which a stronger economic foundation is at least as important as more political power. The very real advantages of the Rance proposals are: they give the islands an opportunity of attaining Dominion status and at the very least of learning a more responsible approach to their problems. However a new scheme is drawn up, the way should be left open for the mainland territories

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to join at a later date, when the working of the constitution shows that, with energy and good will, it is no paper "federation of miscellaneous poverties". British Guiana has already indicated that it will continue to support all useful forms of joint representation and endeavour. The political education that has been achieved in getting the territories as far as the London conference should not be underestimated. In the nature of things the making of a West Indian federation offered greater difficulties than a federation of Malaya, Central Africa, or Nigeria; it may of necessity have to start with a very limited authority. If, in the making of it, West Indians learn more of the economic as well as the political realities, the effort will have fully justified itself.

Social Changes in the Western Pacific

Condensed from a paper by Professor Raymond W. Firth, read to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts on March 12, 1953.

R. W. FIRTH

THE Second World War brought major changes into the lives of the native peoples of the Western Pacific. Even apart from this, the influences of commerce, Christian missions and the Governments have had an immense cumulative effect over the last century. An analysis of the main changes, and of the social processes at work, is important, for two practical reasons. One is that much of the Western Pacific is administered by members of the Commonwealth, and we have an interest in those local problems. The second reason is that the native peoples there have shown some originality in their reactions to civilization, and a more exact knowledge of those reactions bears on wider questions of the chances of achieving our democratic and humanitarian aims in the less developed parts of the world to-day. There is also another reason, less practical, but of even more concern to me as a social anthropologist—the varieties of combination of rational and irrational elements in the activities of these people are very illuminating for our understanding of human behaviour.

For the most part, my discussion refers to New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, where most of my personal experience has been.* But I think that as far as major trends go, some of the conclusions will be found to apply more generally. Let us consider briefly some of the modern goals of the people of the Western Pacific, and their implications.

The first point to be made is that these people are now, without exception, committed to the *material* civilization which is the hall mark of the West. There was a time when white men, not least anthropologists, could talk of leaving the more isolated groups of the Western Pacific alone, so that the Natives would not be disturbed and destroyed by our interference. That time has long passed. Every Pacific community has declared its avid interest in the goods of the white man. In the most remote areas it is little more than the traditional trade goods that are in demand—axes, knives, calico, beads, tobacco. But so far has this gone that even in the remote interior of New Guinea there are few stone tools in use to-day; they have been replaced by steel. On the isolated islands of the Solomons, such as Tikopia (where I lived for a year a generation ago, and recently again, for some months), mosquito nets and electric torches used to be looked on as white man's goods alone, whereas now they are regarded as legitimate native requirements. Native people near the towns such as Port Moresby or Rabaul have a keen interest in a wide range of clothing, foods, toys, musical instruments, bicycles and tools. Though dwellings are still for the most part of a simple thatch type, a few of more elaborate structure are symptomatic of standards towards which native consumers are beginning to rise. One such I saw near Rabaul, of asbestos board and corrugated iron roof, neatly finished and tastefully painted. It was built for a chief by his three sons, all trained in mechanical crafts, and cost mainly in materials alone £300.

A second point is that native political aims are changing. Until recent years most government of Natives in the Western Pacific was by direct control, with nominated headmen or other agents as intermediaries. Even when there was some measure of responsibility for local affairs, it was only in minor matters. In many spheres Natives and non-natives were subject to different laws. In taxation, regulations about firearms and liquor, rules for marriage and divorce, treatment of adultery and many other offences, provision was made for Natives quite separately than for other members of the society. Natives had no part, either as representatives of their own people or as citizens of the wider community, in decisions on territorial policy. Nor did they show any particular interest in these matters. Since the war, in particular, native political attitudes have taken on a wider scope and a clearer definition. There is much keener interest in securing local executive and even judicial functions. Some Natives are concerned with major policy issues, especially in education and economic development. The war, especially by the entry of United States forces into the Western Pacific, brought home the notion of differences in national sovereignty and national attitudes between white men. In some native minds it gave rise to at least the theoretical possibility of change in political allegiance. There has been some positive response to this by Governments. A strong development of Native Councils has been fostered in some areas. Natives have been appointed to the New Guinea Legislative Council, and to the Advisory Council of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Yet these measures, mild as they are, have not gone without challenge by some Europeans as giving the Native responsibility at too fast a pace. On the other hand, from the native side it still appears that the real direction of affairs, at both the local and the central levels, remains in European hands.

Underlying much of this new atmosphere is the alteration in the native income structure. Since the beginning of the war there has been a great increase of overall native income in monetary terms, and, to a considerable extent, also in real terms. This is largely a direct reflex of the world increase in raw material prices. A quarter of a century ago the local price of copra in the islands was generally less than £20 per ton, and in the depths of the depression years it went at times to even below £5 a ton. But recently copra has been fetching more than £60 per ton on a guaranteed price basis, and very much more at times on the free market. Native copra producers in New Guinea, New Britain and the other western islands have taken full advantage of this situation and, with relatively low overheads, have increased their net incomes accordingly. Similar income changes, though on a much smaller scale, have taken place with trochus shell and green-snail. And a few Natives have begun to get a substantial income from a new crop in the Western Pacific—cocoa. The price reaction has also been felt in the labour market. Before the war, it was common for unskilled labourers in the Solomons and New Hebrides to receive £1 per month in cash wages and to be "found" with rations and a few other supplies. Similar labourers in New Guinea got substantially less. Now, after the war, these rates have been doubled or trebled. Moreover, there has been extension of the scale. Semi-skilled labour—cooks, launch-boys, hospital attendants, get considerably more, while in New Guinea at least, skilled men such as carpenters, plumbers, electricians, can earn £20 a month or so at wage or contract rates. Though they must then provide their own housing and food, it is clear that at these levels the labour élite are beginning to touch the fringe of European conceptions of appreciable income.

But another reason for the increase in native incomes is the provision by Natives of goods or services of a new kind, or for cash, in a way unknown before. During the war, some Natives received payments of some size for laundry or other services rendered to troops, while others made a considerable income by sale of curios. At the present time one way of getting an income is by the supply of fish or vegetables to a cash market, either European or native. A type of service which has contributed significantly to native income is transport. A peculiarly post-war phenomenon in the transport field is the ownership of large motor-trucks by New Guinea men. These earn considerable incomes by the carriage of passengers and goods, including some European goods. In a village about five miles out from Port Moresby, for example, there are four trucks, native-owned; they are hired out at a pound a trip to the town or at a shilling a head if the party is a large one. These developments of native enterprise have had an effect on the general labour market. While the demand for plantation, mining and public works labour seems as keen as ever, there has been a definite falling off in supply, especially of unskilled labour. In some areas,

* The recent field work on which this paper is based was done as part of my association with the Australian National University, to which I am indebted for this opportunity of renewing my contacts with the Western Pacific. I am also indebted to the authorities in Papua and New Guinea, and in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, for much help in my travels and inquiries.

especially those in which a " Cargo cult " or analogous movement developed after the war, there was a disinclination to work for the white man as such. But for the region as a whole, the opportunity of alternative occupations offering a greater return or more attractive work has probably been more important. Much more investigation, of the kind Dr. Belshaw has done in Milne Bay and near Port Moresby, is needed to establish precisely the degree to which such alternative occupations offer valid preferences. But the shortage in supply may well be a function of several related variables: disinclination to accept low wage employment in the light of modern native standards of consumption; inability of employers to pay higher wages for labour of low efficiency; lack of an adequate training system to fit labour for more skilled work; lack of enough general education to allow them to take proper advantage of training and give them understanding of the incentive-output-cost relationship. The situation is complicated by three further elements. One is the fact that in some of the new reservoirs of unskilled labour supply, as in Chimbu in the New Guinea Highlands, or Tikopia on the distant south-eastern fringe of the Solomon Islands, to go away and work for the white man is still an adventure, attractive as much for the new experience abroad as for the wages earned. The result is that, unused in any case to European standards of regular hours and diligence, much of this labour is of low quality. The second element is the lack of any clear general policy among European residents in the islands, of training to raise the general technical standards of the Natives. Many Europeans seem quite content that the Natives should continue indefinitely to supply unskilled labour, and that no attempt need be made to integrate them more fully into the technological patterns of the economy.* The third element is the apparent lack as yet of any clear notion of what should be, or is likely to be, the broad distribution of native manpower through the economy. One hardly ever hears such questions asked as these: What proportion of the people should be engaged in peasant or native plantation agriculture? What in European enterprises of a private character? What in public works? What therefore should be the relative inducements offered to attract the people accordingly?

What has just been said will have indicated some of the impediments still in the way of the direct advance of the Western Pacific Native to economic and social standards comparable to those of Europeans or even markedly superior, for the mass of the people, to those which they have at present. Something more may be said here about the educational factors. There is no colour bar in labour in the Western Pacific, and it is not too far-fetched to anticipate the time when all mechanical work, of whatever grade, will be done by New Guinea or Solomon Islands men. But as yet the technical training offered is elementary and for the most part rule-of-thumb. The low level and sparse distribution of mechanical skills among the Natives of the Western Pacific often mean that their equipment is poorly serviced. Yet this is not inevitable. Oil engines in boats, for instance, are often carefully looked after. Capacity and interest are there: they need development and on a much wider front, outside the technical or mechanical sphere, the standard of education is still inordinately low. The gap between what is taught in the schools and the complex requirements of a modern social life is still immense.† One retarding factor here is " pidgin-English ". This has developed sufficient individuality to be considered a language in its own right, and is capable, especially in native use, of a high degree of fluidity in expression. Perhaps its greatest service is the ease with which its rudiments can be learned by any Native, and its use as a unifying medium. But great as its developmental contribution has been in the pioneering phases of the Western Pacific, it is definitely inadequate as a long-term investment. Its most obvious and greatest defect is that its user has no key to any but the most restricted literature; the riches of English thought are barred to him, let alone the stores of general knowledge contained in even an ordinary newspaper. The native desire for education, especially education in English, is keen, and during the last generation the proportion who have received some kind of higher education has risen appreciably. But it is still far too small a fraction. One reason is of course the great discrepancy between the cost and the capacity of the people to pay. To break the vicious circle of economic and educational inadequacy may require more substantial and better planned financial outlay than at present.

One factor retarding the economic and social advance of Western Pacific peoples is poverty of natural resources. It is coming to be general knowledge that limitations on agriculture in the Western Pacific, as elsewhere in the tropics, are fairly severe. Soil exhaustion and soil erosion are taking their toll. The disturbance of the ecological balance by man is accentuated by the change-over from stone to steel tools, which has led to increase in the rate of clearing of the all-important natural vegetation. Communications and transport services are poor almost everywhere. The coming of the aeroplane has facilitated some kinds of contacts. But it is a vehicle for high-price cargoes, and freight costs do not allow of transport of ordinary native exports by air. Ironically, the development of air communication may even have worsened the economic position of many Western Pacific islands by removing part of the incentive to improve road and sea services. As it is, now that the tide of war logistics has receded, many of the ports of New Guinea and the Solomons are in worse condition than before. Developments in new crops, such as cocoa or "wet rice", in some areas may raise the productivity of native agriculture there substantially. But in other areas the coco-nut stands are old and need replacing. The Natives gain no royalties from mineral developments. The sellers' market for primary products may not last for many years. All in all, then, while individuals may advance, a general increase of income to substantially higher figures will be difficult to achieve. Yet the interest in higher incomes has developed.

One of the most relevant indices of participation in a Western economy is the capacity to save money as well as to spend it. This is a social as well as an economic phenomenon. It indicates not merely a new set of preferences, but a conviction that these preferences are justified as against the more conventional older native ways of getting rid of money. Such saving is one of the pronounced features of the native economy of the Western Pacific in the post-war period. In some cases considerable sums have been accumulated. One Mailu village I visited on the south coast of New Guinea had paid £960 into the local Savings Bank, representing about three months' accumulation. In the Sohano area of Bougainville, according to official information given me, the co-operative societies started with a capital of about £3,000, collected by a European organizer in the form of small subscriptions in a couple of days. Two Natives came in with £700 each to invest, not knowing that only limited subscriptions were called for. In New Guinea, in many cases the process of capital accumulation has been given a fillip by War Damage compensation, which was on a generous scale. But in the British Solomons Protectorate, which received no War Damage compensation payments, and where the native people play a lesser role as copra producers, the build-up of savings has been less but not negligible. I heard of one man who gave his employer £500 to invest for him, and while this is exceptional there must be many Solomon islanders with small capital accumulations. In significant measure, especially in New Guinea and New Britain, some of these capital funds have been invested in productive equipment. A shot-gun for hunting game, a copra-drier, a saw-bench, a transport canoe, a motor-truck, are examples of such investment. One of the most spectacular was the purchase a year or so ago of a schooner of European type, with a cargo, for £8,500. This was the effort of an organization known as the Toaripi Co-operative Societies Association, using funds they had accumulated mainly from copra sales.

The recent introduction of co-operative societies has distinct possibilities of helping the New Guinea Native to strengthen his capital position. After experience of the limitations of co-operative organization in Asia, there is now no great tendency to imagine that such a movement can be a cure for all the social and economic ills of the peasant. But the Western Pacific seems to offer a good field for a moderately conceived programme of native co-operation. For producers' organizations the major crop, copra, lends itself to co-operative handling, since it is fairly easily treated, can be stored with little deterioration, and can be received in any amount. Similarly with trochus shell, bêche-de-mer and most of the few other native products. On the consumers' side also, the native co-operative store has some advantages. In particular, its overheads are relatively small compared with those of European stores. Where, as in southern New Guinea, the large European firms have few branch establishments in the villages, and there are no Chinese traders,

* I was struck in New Guinea by the way in which much work that could be easily performed by trained Natives—*e.g.* serving behind shop counters, driving motor vehicles—is performed by high-cost European labour, often imported especially from Australia.

† Recent proposals for vocational training may start such a development.

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prospects for development of the co-operative store seem good. Where on the other hand, as in the vicinity of Lae, Rabaul and Honiara, the Chinese are rapidly re-establishing themselves as traders, the success of native consumers' co-operatives may not be easy. In any event if through a severe fall in the price of copra, or a severe contraction in the native wage-labour force, the amount of native expendable cash were to decrease substantially, the organization of the native co-operatives would suffer and might not be able to stand the strain. Be this as it may, the size of some of these consumers' co-operative societies at present is not negligible. The most successful of them in New Guinea, the Poreporena and Hohodae Co-operative Store, at Hanuabada, had a turnover in 1951 of £16,000, a profit of £1,750 after all costs of administration, etc., had been met (including a monthly wage bill of £35) and it distributed about £250 among its 300 members. The books of this society were kept entirely by its native secretary, as a private job apart from his ordinary work as a government employee. He also acted as auditor for other native societies in the vicinity. From the broader point of view, one of the useful services that the co-operative organization can give is to introduce notions of elementary book-keeping into native trading.

My aim, in giving all these examples, is to bring home to you the reality, and the quality, of the native economic advance in recent years. But my primary concern is not with the economic data as such, but with their social implications. The first point to make here is that the native economic development connotes a wider social horizon. The men of New Guinea or the Solomons—at least the more intelligent and more highly educated of them—no longer look at the things and achievements of the white man's world as being utterly beyond their reach. They see themselves as participants, not simply bystanders, in the sharing out of the goods of civilization. Nor are they any longer content to be passive recipients of the allotted tasks; they want some more creative roles producing things with their own capital, their own equipment, their own management. They have recognized, moreover, that with such new roles comes a new dignity, that the assumption of economic responsibility makes for social status.

In this acquisition of new status a double process is at work. On the one hand, there is much greater opportunity than before for individual differentiation. In the old native economic system the entrepreneur was a man who channelled the wealth of a group rather than operating on and building up his own private capital. Modern conditions are allowing the emergence of some men into more individualistic roles—as middlemen in trading, as petty capitalists, as organizers of the labour of others. On another line, but as part of the same general process, is the tendency of some of the more highly educated men to assume administrative functions as clerks to Native Councils, or secretaries to co-operative societies. One outcome of such developments may be the formation of a new native social and economic class, with different conceptions of the use of resources, and different standards of consumption, than the mass of their fellows. The members of this class, at the apex of a native economic pyramid, may find support from, and intermingle with, the group of mixed-bloods. Though small in numbers, these mixed-bloods tend to exercise an important influence on the native society, and some of them are often media of communication between European and Native in social as well as economic situations.

But against such an interpretation, of economic differentiation as an index of growing social differentiation, can be set one important factor. This is the marked tendency to communal solidarity which still displays itself in Western Pacific communities. Despite the decay of so much of the traditional institutional life, economic advance is still conceived very largely as community or group advance. This is partly an expression of an attitude towards one's village or other group which on its more negative side can be called parochialism, and on its more positive side, civic pride. The former can be seen in the narrow, atomistic view which sometimes leads people of a small area to refuse to combine with their neighbours in a Native Council organization. The latter is seen in the care given to the Native Council meeting houses, and in the enthusiasm shown for even an informal co-operative enterprise which gives some concrete achievement in which the whole community can share.

In all economic movements the Western Pacific Native has preserved his attachment to his social system. This system has suffered many changes, especially on the ritual side. The old institutions of totemism, with their respect for animals and birds with which social groups were believed to be allied, have largely been abandoned. The marriage rules of clan exogamy with their prohibition on union between man and woman of the same unit, have tended to be disregarded or evaded. Rules about theft, adultery, killing, have been radically altered. The relative distribution of compensation and of bodily penalties for offences has been changed. Amounts of property handed over in symbolic exchange for a woman at marriage have been substantially reduced in some cases, while in others the greater earning power has led to an increase. In some cases the traditional social system has been looked on by the people themselves as a stumbling-block in the way of their quick attainment of western goods and ways, and they have tried to sweep it away or radically alter it by novel means. Villages have been rebuilt in lines on a military model, the people have been organized into groups, drilled with sticks, given flags, and fitted out with a hierarchy of officers, or even with kings and queens. Dances and other ancient ceremonies have been abandoned. The spectacular rites of the *hevehe* of the Orokolo have been given up by the people, who burned all their masks and regalia. The resettlement of the Purari people in quite new villages, under the influence of their leader Tomu Kabu, has involved the destruction of all the large ceremonial houses which were formerly the centre of the cultural life. Such rejection of traditional elements is in part a recognition, however dim, that modern demands cannot be geared effectively to old ways. The modern type of economic activity, with its emphasis on building up capital by individuals, individual saving, regular time schedules of work, fine adjustments of price to market conditions, is not easy to fit closely to patterns of kinship obligation, village loyalty and other demands of the old native social system. Hence the notion that by starting with a clean slate the people can get at once on to the basis of the new economic order, the benefits of which they desire. But this rejection of traditional custom is as much symbolic as real. The people are not simply casting out their native heritage. They are abandoning one kind of native life, which they have cherished, in order to try and build another more in tune with their wants, as swiftly as possible, with the notion that formal abandonment in itself is a part of means to that end.

It is against such a background that the spectacular movements known as " Cargo Cults " in New Guinea, as " Marching Rule " in the Solomons, as the " Naked Cult " and the " John Frum " movements in parts of the New Hebrides, have occurred.* These movements are part of a process of imperfect social and economic adjustment to conditions arising from contact with the West. They are not mere passive responses, the blind stirrings of people who feel that they are being pushed around. Absurd as they may seem when considered as rational solutions, they are creative attempts of the people to re-form their own institutions, to meet new demands or withstand new pressures. In the broadest sense their ends are to secure a fuller life. Some of these ends are defined in terms of economic prosperity—the receipt of the " cargo " which is to equip every one with all the goods he wants. Some emphasize political autonomy, with freedom from the hampering machinery of white government, and enlistment under the banner of " Marching Rule " or other leaders. Some emphasize the importance of more satisfactory ritual relationships—the forging of new ties between man and God, or man and the spirit world. Different combinations of these elements occur in different areas. But some component of freer economic choice is usually involved. Usually, too, there is a tendency for some rejection of European influence and guidance—even of the missions. This rejection, psychologically an equivalent of the adolescent's throwing off of the parents' authority, is the basis for the term " nativistic " often applied to such movements. While in earlier periods this aspect often involved the notion of a reversion to traditional institutions—a revival of the golden age—in later periods it has represented a more forward-looking type of essentially new native society. Symbolic features often appear in highly developed form: language, gestures, material objects associated in some elaborate and arbitrary way with the organization or with its aims. Sometimes as signs of real participation in the movement there appear marked personality disturbances—bodily tremors or trance-like states. Characteristic of these movements is an element

* There is a long history of such movements, both in the Pacific and outside it, and a considerable literature, mainly descriptive, has grown up on the subject. (See *South Pacific Commission, Bibliography of Cargo Cults and other Nativistic Movements in the South Pacific*, compiled by Ida Leeson. Technical Paper No. 30, July, 1952. *Cf.* also Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization*, 1951, 74-75.)

of fantasy, of desire outrunning performance, coupled with a conviction of faith in achievement. Linked with this, too, is a cohering of the people in new group patterns which in themselves are regarded as having virtue.

In these respects there is no absolute hard-and-fast line to be drawn between such movements and the mass economic enterprises discussed earlier. They too have their symbolic elements, which in some cases may block positive material achievement. But to give an economic and a symbolic value may be a good thing. It may provide an extra spur to activity, and may facilitate rather than inhibit realization. The object of those responsible for administrative control then should be to see that as far as possible there is a solid basis of technical training and general education to give reasonable chances of judgment and achievement to the native peoples when, as is inevitable from time to time, they try to re-define their goals in their own terms.

In all this, some basic values of the native social system will continue to be preserved and used. Throughout the Western Pacific there is retention of the essential features of the kinship system, with its complex rights and obligations as a pattern for working groups, and for the multitude of small services of daily life, whether in village or in town or on plantation. Despite the widespread use of money, there is still adherence to the need for symbolic equivalents such as pigs or armshells or strings of shell discs to act as "native money" and give some kinds of transactions the proper authenticity. Even the very forms of village alignment of houses may be regarded as a proper part of the correct plan for living.*

The Western Pacific Native is not always sure about the adequacy of his social system, and is content to let some parts of it change. But some of its values, especially those connected with relationships between traditional social units, he treats as basic. They provide a range of interests and satisfactions, a pattern for arranging people in groups, which gives impetus to many kinds of economic and social action. The importance of continual study of them will be obvious.

Industrialization in the South Pacific

Reprint of an article by Dr. Cyril S. Belshaw in SPC Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1.

C. S. BELSHAW

PRACTICALLY every account of programmes for the advancement of under-developed territories, among which the Pacific Islands must be numbered, emphasizes the role of industrialization. In the Orient and the West Indies we hear that over-population in agricultural areas will be relieved through urbanization or through the development of cottage industries. In Southeast Asia, South and Central America, and emergent Africa, industrialization is often proposed as a means towards independence from the "economic imperialism" of the major powers. In the major industrial countries themselves it is sometimes suggested that the development of industries in "backward" territories might do something to relieve world shortages of certain manufactured goods—through export from those territories, or by enabling Western manufactures to be diverted elsewhere, or by producing the goods required to assist and stimulate the production of raw materials that Western industry needs. These points have only limited relevance for the Pacific. Areas of over-population in relation to agricultural resources are as yet small, though there is sometimes scope for the use of under-employed labour. Seldom has it been suggested that Colonial powers might be withholding industrial "know-how", though, in a confused form, this is one of the main tenets of the cargo cults of Melanesia. Further, the most optimistic estimates of the possible extent of industrial development which might emerge in Oceania would agree that the contribution to world production would be small.

The recent development of migration in towns in some territories evidences a taste for urban life which, if opportunities for industrial employment are not developed, could be followed by migration overseas. This has, in fact, been taking place in some areas, as, for instance, the migration from Cook Islands to New Zealand and from American Samoa to Hawaii. Similarly, industry is needed in those areas where agricultural resources are limited in relation to population. If economic industries could be devised, they would be one answer to the plight of atolls, and possibly also for some of the hill villages of Melanesia where large garden or plantation areas are not available. By far the greater proportion of island peoples are, however, living in good agricultural areas where the prime need is for the improvement of farming methods and levels of efficiency under the guidance of adequate and sympathetic extension services. Here cottage or small-scale craft industries may provide the opportunity for fuller employment and extra earnings in those periods when labour is used far below the optimum. Many articles are imported into Pacific islands which, technically speaking, could be locally produced. A large proportion of these imports are foodstuffs and other agricultural products. Some, such as made-up clothing and furniture, are manufactures. Many imports, because of their nature and high cost, are for Europeans only, as for example the imports of furniture into New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. For social and economic reasons, however, it is desirable to devise a means whereby the demands of the local peoples could be met cheaply from local production. Such industrial developments would result in raising the level of living of the island peoples. There would be a direct increase in personal incomes. This would expand the local revenue of the territories, enabling dependence on overseas sources of revenue to be reduced. Further "snow-balling" effects would also be likely. The new industries would need local raw materials, and this need would widen and increase the demand for production from agricultural and extractive industries, and for the facilities provided by middlemen and various servicing industries. Although some of the personal income of those engaged in industry would be spent on imports, some would also be used to buy local foodstuffs and other products, providing a further stimulus to local agriculture. In short, the judicious development of local industries should result in improvement in the level of local economic activity through increased division of labour, fuller employment and a larger volume of internal trade, a greater and more rapid circulation of wealth, and an increased volume of savings available for capital investment.

However, the many advantages of industrialization, conceived in a form suitable for island conditions, would not necessarily be achieved. There are numerous problems and dangers which must be recognized and faced in any programme of industrial development. In the first place, industrialization must not be allowed to compete unduly with agriculture: it is, indeed, fundamentally related to agricultural improvement. On the one hand, industrial development depends upon an increased supply of food and raw materials with the same or less agricultural labour, and upon the diversion of under-employed rural labour to more intense activity. On the other hand, agricultural improvement implies a greater dependence upon industry to provide machinery, fertilizers and incentive goods, some of which may be produced by local industry. An industrial development programme which deprived agriculture of essential labour could raise more serious problems than those which the programme originally aimed to resolve. A second danger is that new industries might survive only under conditions of uneconomic protection. Past experience suggests, however, that under-protection rather than over-protection has been the rule in the Pacific. A further danger is the possibility of destruction of resources. Although this is mainly a problem of primary industries, as the tragic history of whaling and sandalwood shows, manufacturing industry may hasten the process by increasing the demand for local raw materials while problems of conservation await effective solution. Sociological difficulties associated with industrial development also need careful attention. The standard of island education, particularly in technical and commercial matters, is notoriously uneven. Unless the extent and degree of industrialization is closely related to the abilities of the people, frequent failures may result, frustrating later efforts to promote the development of industries. Successful industrial development is likely to increase urban concentrations of population, or to make a large proportion of local population fully dependent upon wages. Unless industry can bear the costs of labour consistent with reasonable standards of housing, hygiene and social behaviour, we may expect slums, malnutrition and social malaise. The main alternative to urbanization and migrant labour, so far hardly tried, is that of bringing industry to the traditional rural environment, making use of transport to tap labour supplies. In this regard, it is not usually realized how much

* Raymond Firth, *Notes on the Social Structure of some South-Eastern New Guinea Communities*, Man. Vol. LII, May and June, 1952.

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island wage scales assume that wage income is supplemented by family agriculture. Some forms of industry may eliminate the opportunity to enjoy this supplementary source of income, without giving adequate compensation. Past experience has shown that industrialization programmes are likely to go astray unless community welfare is a conscious objective. Where this has not been the case, the financial benefit of new industries has often been found concentrated in a small, newly-rich class who spend mainly on imported luxuries and re-invest locally only a limited proportion of funds accumulated. Unless there is education in better living, increased earnings may be misapplied and no genuine advance in the level or standard of living will take place. Finally, the development of industry in island communities will create new employer-employee relationships which involve the establishment of industrial standards and safeguards, the organization of groups representing management and labour, and the provision of negotiating machinery.

The list of dangers and problems should not be interpreted as arguments against industrialization, but rather as guides to further study in the interests of orderly and beneficial progress. The type and extent of industrial development appropriate to the Pacific Islands must be considered in the light of a number of factors. Where it is proposed to undertake production for the export market, it is necessary to compare anticipated production costs with those obtaining in competing countries, the nature and cost of capital investment required, transport costs involved, and the effect of fiscal charges upon local industry. Numerous social factors affect production costs. These include the standard of living of the working population, whether production is organized along factory or cottage industry lines, the skill of labour engaged, the strength of commerical incentives, and the extent to which European employment is necessary and the cost involved. With few exceptions, manufacturing production for export is not likely to be highly successful in the Pacific Islands, which have to compete with much better adapted industrial economies elsewhere. The possibilities of production for the local market are now encouraging. The development of such production has the advantage of location within controllable tariff boundaries and close to the market. Most potential customers will, however, have limited purchasing power. This factor must be considered, surveys of household budgets made and patterns of community earning and spending studied, if governments are to place industrial development on a practical and constructive basis. Policy should anticipate the " snow-balling " effects that follow from the close relation between industry and agriculture. The development of industry should stimulate further industrial development. Industry need not be limited to the use of local raw materials. Dr. Leubuscher has shown that the popular belief that Colonial raw materials can be processed most economically in the raw material producing country is not borne out by many examples. It is usually more economical to transport raw material to places where power and skills are readily available, and where there is a large local market. To a certain degree the corollary also applies. Imported raw materials may be processed in tropical dependencies by low-cost labour to give a product more suited to local requirements than the more expensive imported product. This may be applied to the cutting and painting of cloth and the design of furniture. Handcrafts are often suggested as a significant field for development. It has been customary to think in terms of the production of curios for the tourist or export trade, or the introduction of new crafts such as wool-spinning for local needs. The prospects of further expansion along these lines do not seem great, but the development of traditional handcrafts to meet local demand at a new cultural level may be the most important. Thus, if raw materials can be found on a suitable scale, rope-making and allied industries such as seine-net making may have a future. Similarly, traditional pottery, carpentry and canoe-making skills might be adapted to meet modern demands in brick-making, coral cement work, furniture-making, house building and boat building.

It must not be overlooked that certain Pacific islands may be able to supply others with needed goods. We tend too readily to think of trade as being canalized between island and Western industry. Cross-wise trade between the islands could also be important as, indeed, it was in the last century. Certain key supporting services must be considered in relation to industrial development in the Pacific Islands. The development of hydro-electric potential as an alternative to imported oil as a source of power may be a practical consideration in many areas. The possibility of providing power to rural homes for domestic industry has so far not been examined. Similarly, transport could often be developed not only to move raw materials and finished products, but also to united wider areas and market hinterlands. Bus services may have a role in Melanesia. Vocational training services and the organization of suitable credit facilities are most important and are receiving attention in South Pacific Commission research projects.

To sum up, there are distinct possibilities for industrial development in the Pacific Islands, even though we must be resigned to the fact that these territories are not likely to become major industrial units. There have been many instances of failure in the past, for reasons which require careful research before they can be definitely stated. There is great need not only for research, but also for balanced imagination in assessing the possibilities for further industrial development. We must get away from the rooted habits of production for export only, and look rather to the territories as organisms, not self-contained, but growing into complex structures socially and economically. We need to found basic institutions of commerce—peasant production, habits of cash earning and spending, stores and market places, transport services and banking facilities—and then industry will find its natural role and level.

Co-operative Beginnings in the Sudan

Abridged extracts from an article by K. Sandiford in the " Review of International Cooperation ", Vol. 46, No. 3.

K. SANDIFORD

THE Sudan extends over 967,500 square miles. The country's industrial area is small and centred mainly in Khartoum (population 79,000), Khartoum North (41,000), Omdurman (128,000), Atbara (35,000) and Port Sudan (56,000). Such industrial developments as have taken place—the most striking is the Gezira Scheme—have been carried out in the main by the Government, on behalf of the people. For capitalists there are few and foreign money has so far found little to attract it. Cultivable land, on the other hand, is plentiful, particularly in the riparian areas, but systems of irrigation are necessary to ensure good crops. One of the main tasks of the Sudanese cultivator is to get water to his land, and the first stirrings of co-operation in this vast country have been associated with efforts to secure the villagers against the disasters of periodic famine. It was during the depression of the early thirties that several groups of people employed outside the Sudan, but with roots and relatives there, joined together to collect capital to start mechanical pumping schemes in their home villages along the Dongola reaches of the river. These schemes were labelled " co-operative ", though, in fact, none was registered under any Ordinance. None the less, they prospered and during the war years made large profits and inspired many similar schemes. Their success attracted the attention of the Government, which in 1946 extended an invitation to Mr. W. K. H. Campbell, a man with wide experience of co-operation in under-developed countries, to visit the Sudan and advise on co-operative possibilities in the country.

In the Report which Mr. Campbell rendered at the conclusion of his tour, he stated that he was not " in the least doubt that the Government should attempt to place at the disposal of the Sudanese the advantages which co-operation has proved capable of conferring ". But before co-operatives could be started, a fundamental knowledge of co-operative principles would have to be instilled into *every* member and not merely into a small intelligent clique. Cash trading was a difficult thing to enforce and constant inspection would be necessary. Provision would have to be made in the rules (which should be written) that all payments and withdrawals, etc., should be recorded, with dates; that accurate accounts should be kept and periodically checked and balance sheets struck at convenient intervals. A properly trained staff to carry out these duties simply did not exist in the Sudan. His estimate of the Dongola Pump Schemes was that in their present form they did not pass muster as co-operatives. A very high percentage of their members were absentees; their by-laws provided for the distribution of all surplus accumulated in proportion to the share capital yield by each member; dividends in fact had been as high as 35 and 40 per cent. Campbell's recommendations were that membership should be limited to village residents actually engaged in cultivating the soil and that the share capital should be collected from all those eligible for membership. Only if that proved insufficient should the balance be made up from fixed deposits by the prosperous absentees. A fair rate of

interest should be paid and the remaining surplus set aside for renewals and reserve funds. Provided the schemes could be re-organized on these lines they would offer a very attractive proposition. Campbell also drew attention to a considerable movement in favour of co-operatives that was beginning to manifest itself in the Khartoum North District, where seven applications for the establishment of co-operative societies had been received by the District Commissioner. These were genuine, spontaneous movements of the people. Each was aiming at irrigating 1,800 *feddans* of land; and shares valued at £5 each were to be apportioned one per member. The cost of each scheme would be £3,000 and at the time of Campbell's visit one society had already collected the necessary capital and the others were not far behind.

One of the most pressing needs, Campbell observed, was for the provision of credit. Although the degree of peasant indebtedness was not serious when compared with the situation in India, China and the Far East, cases were not uncommon of merchants charging interest on loans at 200 or 300 per cent. The value of credit societies, where liability was unlimited, and where each member lived his life in a glare of local publicity, was undeniable, but Campbell also knew that for people like the Sudanese, who were completely untrained in the use of money, the most thorough supervision would be required. He suggested that the Government should encourage the formation of societies in suitable areas but for the present they should be urged merely to collect savings and work only with their own capital. The main recommendations of the Report were put into practice. In 1948 a Co-operative Ordinance was passed, a Co-operative Registrar was appointed and a new section of the Department of Economics and Trade was created to foster and direct the development of co-operative societies.

The results achieved since the passing of the Ordinance offer grounds for sober confidence in the movement's future. Forty out of the eighty-four pump schemes at present existing have become registered societies under the terms of the Ordinance and efforts are being made to persuade shareholders in societies which still do not qualify for registration to reorganize their schemes on a purely co-operative basis. It is evident that in every way the villagers are gaining from running their own schemes on their own land. But pump irrigation is an expensive undertaking, particularly in those areas which are farthest away from the markets. They require first-rate management and good discipline, and one of the greatest handicaps they have to overcome is the lack of an adequately trained managerial staff. The Government has acknowledged the importance it attaches to these societies, the most successful of which are located in the Wadi Halfa and North Khartoum Districts, by granting medium-term, low-interest loans for the provision of plant and equipment. Several credit societies have been started during the last five years. These are centred mainly at Shendi in the Northern Provinces and in the Fung area of the Blue Nile Province, and all reports indicate that they are making excellent progress. There are seven societies in the Shendi District, and their 500 members, instead of awaiting the visit of a town merchant and then finding themselves compelled to accept a less than fair price for their produce, now deliver their crops to warehouses, specially built by the societies, where they are sold in bulk. The Government has helped to finance them, and in 1952 the amount of money loaned amounted to £E120,000. According to a report recently issued by the Public Relations Office of the Sudan Government, ninety-one similar societies are now operating throughout the country. This is a promising start.

Consumers' societies made a slower start but are now developing rapidly, particularly in the Khartoum and Gezira areas, where they are meeting the worker's needs for household goods at reasonable prices. These societies, too, lack experienced staff, but perhaps their most urgent need is for a Wholesale Society or Purchasing Federations. Yet, without these, the societies recorded a turnover of £E240,000 among their 17,000 members in the year 1951-52. Five agricultural societies, with between 500 and 600 members and a subscribed capital of £E48,000, have been formed in the Shendi District, but at the moment only two of them are registered. In teh Dongola District five other societies are seeking registration, while the Yirol Co-op Society in Bhar-El-Ghazal, the first agricultural society in the Southern Provinces, which was formed on a tribal basis to help cultivators to market their crops, has completed a successful first season. It sold fifty tons of grain for which it was able to pay the cultivators a good price: it also marketed 190 tons of sesame and retained six tons of seed. The promotion of similar societies had been discussed in Southern Provincial Councils and it seems probable that this method of ensuring fair prices to growers will win local approval and lead to an expansion of agricultural activity. According to the latest Government figures there are also nine miscellaneous societies—a pharmacy in the Gezira, two flour mill societies, four transport societies, one savings society and one communal cultivation society—and the total number of societies of all types has reached 269, with aggregate membership of 70,000. This start, it is estimated, is influencing the lives of approximately 4 per cent of the adult population, but there is a lack of trained personnel. The Co-operative Section of the Department of Economics and Trade, however, which now has six officers and seven assistants, who have studied co-operative methods in England, Egypt and Cyprus, is making strong efforts to remedy the deficiency; the staff has recently been increased by the appointment of an expert in consumers' co-operation from the English movement; further staff is undergoing training and the Ministry of Agriculture is also giving instruction to pump scheme managers in its training schools.

Land Distribution Plans in the Near East

Reprint of an article in the "Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics" (FAO), Vol. II, No. 3.

HISTORICAL developments, particularly during the Arab Empire and subsequent Ottoman régime, have resulted in a pattern of land ownership which is common to almost all the countries of the Near East. Most of the land is owned either by a small class of absentee landlords or by the state, large areas, often uncultivated though potentially cultivable, having fallen into the hands of the latter because of confusion over title to the land. The vast majority of the agricultural population are either landless sharecroppers or proprietors of holdings which are often too small for efficient production. Land distribution schemes are at present being introduced to ameliorate this situation by the splitting up of large estates and the distribution of state domains among landless peasants. This note describes plans in four countries.

Egypt. In Egypt, where about half the agricultural land is owned by only 1·5 per cent of the landowners, a new law limits agricultural holdings to 200 feddans, or about 85 hectares. Industrial societies and religious endowments (waqf) are exempt, and there is also provisional exemption for individuals or associations holding waste or desert land set aside for future reclamation and redistribution. The implementation of the law will be spread over a period of five years, with the requisition each year of about one-fifth of the total area covered by the law. Land thus requisitioned will be paid for at ten times the "local" value (seven times the annual land tax) of the land, plus the value of buildings, other fixtures and trees. The land is to be distributed among agricultural labourers, who will receive from 2 to 5 feddans according to location and quality. The recipients may choose whether to make a down payment of the purchase price paid by the government plus 15 per cent to cover administration expenses, or to take a 30-year mortgage loan at 3 per cent with the option of paying in full at any time. The land may not be used as security for other loans, and only the Government and the State Agricultural Bank have the right of seizure in the event of the owner's failure to discharge his contractual obligations. About a quarter of the present agricultural area is affected by this law, though only about 2,100, or less than 1 per cent, of the total landowners in the country will be involved. The law will help to establish from 200,000 to 500,000 additional holdings.

Iran. In Iran, 60 per cent of the peasants are tenants or sharecroppers, while less than 300 families own about half the cultivated land. The distribution of state lands to landless peasants began in 1951, the total area to be distributed amounting to over half a million hectares. The land has been priced well below its estimated value for taxation and payment may be made over a period of twenty-five years. The proceeds of the sale of these lands are to be devoted to setting up "productive enterprises" and agricultural societies. Credit, tools, seeds and farm machinery will be made available on a co-operative basis. As the next step, the Government intends to take up the distribution of the religious endowments, which account for 15 per cent of the crop land, and, ultimately, some of the biggest privately owned estates. Under the provisions of a new law, aimed at increasing the farmer's income, 20 per cent of the cash revenues will be deducted from the landlord's share and

allocated in equal proportions to the farmer and the proposed "Improvement and Co-operative Funds". These funds will be used for such purposes as the improvement of rural communications and medical facilities, assistance in controlling animal and plant pests, the construction of schools and the creation of agricultural co-operatives for production, consumption and credit. The Planning Organization and various ministries will be called upon for technical financial and practical help in the implementation of this law.

Iraq. Although Iraq is sparsely populated the large majority of the population are landless. At least 85 per cent of the land belongs to large proprietors and is cultivated mostly by sharecroppers. The redistribution of land is being carried out under two major laws: the Dujaila Law of 1935, and the new Law No. 43 pertaining to the "Development of the Real Estate Domain Lands" of 1951. The former provides for the distribution of 30,000 hectares of state-owned land in Dujaila District, in units of 25 hectares. The estimated cost of this scheme is 1·2 million dinars. Under the new law of 1951, 25,000 hectares are to be distributed in each district, in units of from 5 to 100 hectares, according to quality and location. In both cases the land is free of rent and other charges for the first ten years; after ten years the settler acquires full legal title to the land, except that he may not sell or otherwise dispose of it until he has completed a further ten years of continuous cultivation. By the middle of 1951 over 1,000 farmers had been settled under the Dujaila Scheme. The new law is expected to enable the settlement of up to 5,000 farmers in each district. The Department of Agriculture intends to put into effect a further scheme for the settlement of 250,000 hectares and the establishment of fifty new villages in the rainfed zone.

Syria. Over 60 per cent of the land in Syria consists of medium- and large-sized properties. Vast areas belong to the state, and absentee ownership is widespread. The new land reform programme provides for the redistribution of state lands. Land is to be offered for purchase on long, easy instalments. Individual acquisitions of land are limited to 100 hectares in the Euphrates and Jezirah areas and 50 hectares elsewhere. The land may not be sold or otherwise disposed of for fifteen years after purchase, and it can be mortgaged only through the State Agricultural Bank. To avoid the division of the land into uneconomically small units, co-operatives of twenty to fifty families will be set up, holding a total of 1,000 to 2,500 hectares. Should the state-owned land now under distribution, estimated at 300,000 hectares, prove insufficient, the Government may take over part of the larger estates held by private owners.

Notes on Articles

Fundamental and Adult Education, January, 1953. "*Leadership Training and Values in Fundamental Education*", by T. R. Batten. The author discusses the nature of the problem, and some aspects of the London Institute of Education Course. He sets out the aims of the course as follows: to help students to examine the values which control their working behaviour; to understand more clearly some of the cognitive and emotional factors which may affect and limit effective inter-personal communication, *i.e.* communication which actually results in desired changes of behaviour; to develop greater skills in effective communication; to experience in practice problems and difficulties of democratic interaction by providing the students with a democratic work group as a study medium; to be aware of the effect on others of various types of behaviour, especially administrative behaviour, *e.g.* through socio-drama and role-playing; to consider problems of helping others to train themselves democratically, *e.g.* colleagues and assistants.

African Studies, Vol. 11, No. 4. "*Some Reflections on the Sociology of African Education*", by F. Musgrove. The author examines the theory of social change through the influence of an educated, creative minority, and, from his investigations of relationships between schoolboys and their families in Uganda, concludes that the educated few are in fact being imitated and causing social change along a broad front. His evidence leads him to the conclusion that new skills are more easily acquired when they have no direct counterpart in the tribal situation, and when the school is not in competition with traditional institutions such as family occupational castes. The author points to changes in social attitudes under the conditions of culture contact, and to the difficulty of predicting the nature of these changes. He questions whether Christian teaching does in fact produce Christian behaviour and characters, but gives evidence of the strong moral influence of the separatist sects. He argues that the accumulation of far more empirical data is needed before we can tell what new social attitudes and types of behaviour arise in particular social contexts and from particular academic and moral teaching. He gives his own account of changes which he has observed with respect to co-operation, practical pursuits, attitude to women and family, physical courage and aesthetic values.

Gold Coast Education, No. 2, 1953. "*Rural Science in the Middle Schools of the Gold Coast*", by A. Smith. The article discusses some factors which govern the design and teaching of a Rural Science syllabus for Middle Schools in the Gold Coast. When preparing to design a suitable Rural Science syllabus, there should be a clear idea of the aims of the syllabus. These would seem to be: 1. To give a child an understanding of the simple techniques of farming, gardening, orcharding, stock-keeping and homecraft. 2. To provide a basis for healthy living. 3. To give an understanding of the cultural and sociological implications in science. The idea that a Rural Science syllabus should be wide enough to include facts and principles touching many national problems conflicts with an educational principle which seeks to correlate the syllabus with the main economic activity of the environment in which the school is set. It is suggested that the application of educational theory may need some revision in view of the special needs of the Gold Coast during these crucial years of political and economic development. There will be many views on how far the middle school boy can assimilate and apply the principles necessary to an understanding of national problems, but there should be little disagreement with the view that an attempt should be made to design a course which will encourage to the maximum the acquisition in later years of a thoughtful approach to national problems.

Statistical and Economic Review, No. 11, March, 1953. Under the heading "*Trading in the Gambia*" all the United Africa Company's activities in that territory are, for the first time, outlined in a single article. The Gambia is a one-crop country, with virtually no manufacturing or extractive industries. Apart from trading staff and Government officials whose duties take them into the interior, there can be only a handful of Europeans who have visited the upcountry trading posts in the Gambia. In the present article, the Company hopes to interest both the expert in West African trade and the student of West African economics.

Colonial Cinema, Vol. XI, No. 1. "*Visual Education in Jamaica*", by M. A. Rennalls. On October 1, 1951, a branch of the Education Department was established by Government for the proper integration of the services of Film Production, Projection and Library Services. These services provide the nucleus of a comprehensive scheme aimed at increasing the efficiency of the methods of instruction to all ages through the medium of films, filmstrips, photographs, charts and all the other media of Visual Aids. In the library, accommodation is provided for twenty-five persons and projection services made available for the previewing of film and filmstrips. Owing to the keen interest in visual material exhibited by many schools in close proximity to the Organization the services of the library have been extended to include class teaching where films and filmstrips play an important part in lesson illustrations. The establishment by Government of a Film Production Unit attached to the Central Film Organization is a step of inestimable value towards the providing of a satisfactory visual education service for the island. Its policy is to produce films for Jamaicans, by Jamaicans, with Jamaicans, designed to assist in the solution of Jamaica's problems—educational, social, cultural and economical. For the present, the Unit only produces films, filmstrips and visual materials for adult audiences dealing with problems affecting industry, health and education.

The Royal Geographical Journal, Vol. CXVIII, Part 4. "*Land and Population Problems in Fiji*", by Eila M. J. Campbell. The Crown Colony of Fiji is an interesting example of a tropical country in the process of settlement and development. Its problems are many: to reconcile the interests of Fijians, Europeans and Indians is no mean task, and the Colony's peaceful atmosphere speaks highly of a Government by a Legislative Council on which all three peoples are represented. Fiji's economy is based essentially on agricultural production for export, although it has been broadened since 1935 by gold mining. Gold is, however, a vanishing asset. Other mineral resources are of very limited value and do not exist in sufficient quantity to justify commercial exploitation. Thus Fiji's chief resource is the productivity of its soil, but unfortunately its agricultural land is very limited in extent; less than one-fifth of the total area is considered to be suitable for arable farming or grazing. But the population is increasing so rapidly that within a generation, even if the estimated

potential agricultural land becomes a reality, the acreage per head per population must in fact diminish. An active policy of developing the plateau country of the two principal islands is thus of first priority and there can be little doubt that the situation calls for the immediate setting up of a Land Settlement Department. A Homestead Scheme would probably be most opportune.

Pacific Affairs, Vol. XXVI, No. 1. "*French Oceania Takes Stock*", by Nancy Robson. To the east of the South Pacific region, the widely-scattered islands of French Oceania jut from an ocean area roughly equal in extent to the whole of Europe. A hundred and twenty or so in number, they are divided into five groups: the Societies (Windward and Leeward Islands), the Tuamotus or Low Archipelago, the Mangareva Group (formerly known as the Gambiers), the Marquesas and the Austral Islands. The numerous islands of Oceania were brought together in a political and administrative unit by France during the past century. When France annexed the islands between 1842 and 1888, the native institutions were for the most part rapidly replaced by French organs of government. Until the recent war the large Polynesian population, although accorded social equality with the French, had virtually no political status. Under the pre-war system, the territory was managed by the Colonial Ministry through a local administration, all of whose key posts were held by metropolitan officials. Limited representation was introduced shortly before the recent war in the form of a semi-nominated council called the Economic and Financial Delegations. The delegations discussed fiscal and budgetary matters but only in a consultative capacity; in any case, their composition enabled them to express no more than a small section of local opinion. Although its administrative organization has undergone no radical alteration, major changes have occurred in the political structure of the territory, where, as in many French dependencies, the earlier close control is yielding to a demand for an increasing measure of freedom. Oceania now elects a member to the Council of the Republic, the National Assembly and the Assembly of the French Union in France. The most significant new departure, however, has been the establishment of the Territorial Assembly of French Oceania, a fully-elected body having a large measure of control over local affairs. Oceania's Assembly consists of twenty members, elected by universal adult suffrage. Candidates for election must be over 22 years of age, have resided in the territory for at least three years and be able to speak French fluently. The Assembly is renewable as a whole every five years, and may be suspended or dissolved only by decision of the Cabinet in France. Between sessions its work is carried on by a small Permanent Commission of its members. The economy of French Oceania depends in the long-range view on its agricultural resources. Apart from the extensive but expendable phosphate deposits of Makatea, copra is the outstanding source of income. Since the war, with copra prices remaining high, Oceania's trade balance has been consistently favourable. The organization of labour in Oceania has now reached an advanced point. Virtually every type of employment has its union. Machinery for easing relations between employers and unions is provided by joint labour committees and by a labour inspector attached to the Administration. The indications suggest that Western democratic forms of political expression may still be alien to a majority of Oceania's population. Possibly conditions are present that will allow the people to adapt Western forms to their indigenous political concepts as they gain experience in their use. In the outlying islands, the introduction of universal suffrage for district council elections should be of help in promoting this experience.

"*The Crisis in Malayan Education*", by Victor Purcell. The people of Malaya, who are divided into several races, are divided also, and quite as effectively, by the kind of education they happen to receive. In 1951, out of 81,000 pupils attending aided English schools, 41,000 were of Chinese race; and out of 30,000 attending private English schools, 15,000 were of Chinese race—a total of 56,000 Chinese pupils in such schools as against 206,000 (almost all of Chinese race) who attended Chinese schools of all kinds. That is to say, the proportion of Chinese-educated to English-educated Chinese is about four to one. The Malays and Indians are similarly divided according to whether they attend English schools on the one hand or Malay or Tamil vernacular schools on the other. Since the war, British policy has been to intensify measures for encouraging a spirit of common nationality among the communities on the basis of a common language, namely, English. The drive to build English schools in order to achieve this aim and to reduce illiteracy, together with the re-formulation of educational policy, has given rise to apprehension among teachers in Chinese schools that the existence of their schools is seriously threatened, and they have reacted strongly in the hope of persuading the Government to change or modify its policy. The writer discusses the Barnes Report, the Fenn-Wu Report and the two reports by the Central Advisory Committee on Education and the Special Committee, published at Kuala Lumpur in 1951 and 1952 respectively. He concludes that the establishment of a National School would have been far easier twenty years ago. Since the war the intensification of racial nationalism has made the problem much more delicate. The matter should, therefore, be approached by both parties—the Government and the Chinese schools—in a spirit of compromise. If the Chinese schools can prove that they are capable of self-reform and are also able to teach English as well as Chinese up to the standard of the School Certificate, they will have gone far towards making a case for their survival. And until there is room in English schools for all Chinese children, and until provision is made in such schools for the effective teaching of Chinese as an extra subject, there will continue to be a need for Chinese schools as well. If this fact were recognized and an attempt were made to raise the salaries of teachers in Chinese schools to the levels prevailing in English schools, the Chinese schools would probably accept the competition of the English schools in a better spirit.

The Middle East Journal, Vol. 7, No. 1. "*The Disposal of Eritrea*", by Duncan Cameron Cumming. The solution of the Eritrean problem was international. The decision of the Four Powers—the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France—to transfer the whole question to the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, in the event of their failure to reach agreement, and to accept and implement its recommendation, was an event of some importance in the annals of the United Nations. On no other occasion did the Four Powers renounce so clearly their privilege to settle a problem which stemmed from the Allied victory in favour of a settlement through the General Assembly. It is the purpose of the present paper to explain the solution recommended by the United Nations, to describe how it was put into effect, and to assess its prospects of satisfying the many different interests which the General Assembly tried to take into consideration in deciding its course of action.

United Nations Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 5. "*Aids to Libya's Economic Progress.*" The most urgent need is for teachers and for the skilled personnel necessary to carry out the tasks of government and to give effect to the economic and social development programme. As far back as 1951 a Clerical and Technical Training College was established in Tripoli with the aid of UNESCO. At present the international teaching staff is provided both by UNESCO and ILO, but the College is now managed by

NAPT

THE PROTECTION OF THE NURSE AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

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the latter organization, which after the end of this year will be responsible for providing all internationally recruited personnel. A few teachers are now Libyan and it is intended that their number should be steadily increased as training progresses until they staff the whole college. There are two general sections—a clerical section and a technical section. The former gives two three-year courses, the one secretarial and the other clerical. The technical section gives one three-year trades course and one four-year technical course. At present there are about 270 full-time students attending the College. It is proposed gradually to increase this number to a maximum of 470 by 1957-58. In addition to the Clerical and Technical Training College, there are two Teacher Training Colleges in Tripoli, one for men and the other for women, both receiving international technical assistance. The Women's Teacher Training College in particular represents a considerable innovation in a country in which women's education was virtually unknown. Many doubts were expressed by Libyan authorities and others as to the advisability of starting such a women's college but in fact the institution has proved surprisingly popular and many Libyans are now eager to see the idea expanded. UNESCO has supplied both the Teachers' Training Colleges, and an Educational Training Centre and Education Materials Production Centre which have been set up, with lecturers in history, geography and general sciences, specialists in physical training and manual work and a child psychologist who is also organizing model kindergartens and primary classes. An expert has been provided from a neighbouring Arab country who is assisting in the preparation of curricula and text-books history and in geography. A specialist on the particular problems involved in developing education among nomadic peoples is now working in Cyrenaica and an expert on adult education is organizing educational programmes in the sparsely populated Fezzan.

Portugal, Nos. 170-173. "*Overseas Development Plan.*" In so far as Portugal's overseas possessions are concerned, the mother country has given or arranged for large credits, destined for development work, to the provinces of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea and Timor; the Government participated in the expenditure for the building of lighthouses along the coast of Angola and for a mineral survey in that territory; lastly, a great number of private enterprises have been directly financed or otherwise helped by the Government. In September last, the Government approved the final draft of a five-year plan. The principal objectives for the years 1953 to 1958 are as follows: large-scale development of agriculture, production, transportation, distribution of electrical energy, industrialization, means of communication, schools, etc.—with an identical programme of development work to be put into effect in Portugal's overseas possessions. Details of the Development Plan for the Overseas Territories are set out in another article in this journal.

Race Relations News, Vol. XV, No. 3. "*Civilisation in the Belgian Congo.*" The technically and specially trained African labourers form only a very small part of the total number of civilized Africans. More than 60 per cent of the Congo labourers have no trade-training whatsoever, 30 per cent are only partly educated, and a mere 5 per cent to 10 per cent have received vocational training. Notwithstanding the small percentage of technically trained Africans, however, a great deal of important work is being done in various parts of the Colony by African labourers. In Jadetville, in the workshops of the Union Minière, numerous simple spare parts for locomotives are manufactured by Africans under the supervision of only one European. The work in the smelting shop is left entirely to Africans, as is much other work requiring high degrees of skill. Forminière, in Kasai, employ Africans as chauffeurs and as drivers of electrically driven tractors capable of removing six tons of earth at a time. In the military technical school Africans are trained to repair aircraft and to overhaul them. The Government statistician employs forty Africans to service and maintain the mechanical equipment of the department. In the offices of the Leopoldville airport, African radio operators maintain a non-stop service receiving morse messages from their colleagues in weather stations throughout the Congo. In the geological service, Africans copy plans and charts and classify microscopic samples and specimens. In the harbours of Leopoldville and Matadi, Africans are employed to operate the diesel and steam locomotives. Finally, there are many trades in which both Africans and Europeans are engaged. These include electricians, mechanics, carpenters, etc., both in private concerns and in the Government employ. Recently four Africans passed the Government examinations for Second-class Administrators. Other Africans serve in the Bank of the Belgian Congo, or in senior clerical positions with the Union Minière. A slowly developing class of African employers, especially within the large centres, has a lready been established. Among these employers are those who own and run small industries. In Leopoldville, there are already several carpenter shops employing between twenty and thirty workers. One of these shops is equipped with the latest modern electrical machinery, in itself representing important capital expenditure. African-run commercial firms have developed into important undertakings with branches throughout the large provinces. Some of these own their own factories. In agriculture, too, Africans are operating large establishments, some of hundreds of acres, bringing about a stable peasant worker force with agricultural societies that farm on a national scale.

Zaïre, Vol. VII, No. 3. "*African Music re-examined in the Light of new Materials from the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi*", by A. P. Merriam. In recent years the study of the music of non-literate peoples has begun to be recognized as of considerable importance both in its own right and in relation to broader problems in music and anthropology. This renewed interest has led to an upsurge of activity in the field of comparative musicology, or ethnomusicology, with a consequent emphasis on the training of young scholars in the combined fields of anthropology and music. Four major points seem outstanding in the music of Congo and Ruanda-Urundi when viewed in broadest perspective. These are: a lack of specific emphasis on percussion; an enormous variety of musical instruments and musical styles; a heavy influence from the Arabic world; and a considerable amount of current change in process. These characteristics do not necessarily apply to every regional or tribal style. They are generalizations based on the author's experience and must be treated flexibly rather than as immutable musical laws. Of considerable interest to the ethnomusicologist is the vast amount of change which has been taking place and which is continuing at a rapid rate. Perhaps the foremost influence instrumental in making change in the past has been the missionary who, through his efforts to destroy indigenous religious patterns, has also invalidated a large body of music. More and more Congolese to-day are learning European traditions of hymn singing, to the extent that casual and informal singing in the home or in the fields often tends to be expressed in this form. But it is probably the phonograph and radio which are at present most influential in the processes of change. It is through these media of communication that the guitar has emerged with ever-increasing popularity in recent years and that the rumba and samba are fast becoming highly popular musical forms. The changing patterns of music in the Congo reflect the rapid changes to be seen in almost all aspects of indigenous culture, and provide the ethnomusicologist with a wide new field for acculturation studies. It must be emphasized that the author is speaking about the general characteristics of the music of interior Congo. The music of the coastal area, the Mayombe, resembles the music of the Guinea Coast. The five outstanding musical characteristics of the Guinea Coast have been listed as follows: "the metronome sense, dominance of percussion, polymeter, off-beat phrasing of melodic accents, and overlapping call-and-response pattern". It seems fairly clear that from the coastal area of the Congo there stretches a belt of peoples whose interest in drums and drumming is fairly high but diminishes as one penetrates farther and farther into the interior. And finally, there are scattered throughout the Congo certain ethnic groups in whose music drums and drumming seem to play an important part; for example, the Bushongo, Mangbetu and, in certain ways, the Wagenia.

Indonesian Affairs, Vol. II, No. 5-6. "*Public Libraries.*" There are several types of libraries in Indonesia, but the small local ones, called "people's libraries", serve more people than any other type. These libraries, of which there are 2,500 in the country, are both reading and free lending libraries and contain a wide range of books generally appropriate to the aims of the mass education programme. The body charged with the organization of people's libraries is the Mass Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture. As regards library personnel, there is not one Indonesian with full qualifications. No official course for librarians exists, apart from one for assistant librarians in Djakarta. As far as possible the training of library personnel is given in the libraries by a few qualified foreign librarians. The shortage of books written in the Indonesian language is another problem affecting libraries. There is very little reading matter in the regional languages (Javanese, Sudanese, Batak, etc.) and the other widely spoken language, Arabic, and foreign languages such as Dutch and English are inadequately understood outside the towns. Thus Indonesian which is understood by many people in all parts of Indonesia is the language of the reading public—the more so as it is the medium of instruction in all schools throughout Indonesia. The number of library users has been growing rapidly in recent years. Statistics show that whereas there were 12,000 who borrowed from the people's libraries in 1947, and 20,000 in 1950, this figure had risen to 47,000 by the end of September, 1951. In addition to these book borrowers there are also the library users who do not take books out of

the library buildings but read them there. There are about 2,570 Information Offices in Indonesia. Most of these have received 160 books each from the central offices of the Ministry in Djakarta in addition to the books they have acquired locally. All Information Office libraries are open to the public and books may be borrowed from them. In the larger towns there exist special libraries, most of them under the auspices of Government subsidized private foundations, museums, etc., catering for the more specialized needs of readers and students. Among these are the Hatta Foundation Library in Jogjakarta, the Islam Library in Jogjakarta and the recently established Library of Social and Political History in Djakarta. Then there are University and Faculty Libraries in all the university towns (Djakarta, Bandung, Padang, Makassar, Bogor, Solo, Medan, Jogjakarta, Surabaja) and in Djakarta the libraries of the various Ministries and of Parliament.

Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XXI, No. 18. "*Nationalism and Religion in Indonesia*", by Amry Vandenbosch. Indonesia is a predominantly Moslem country. About 90 per cent of its population embraces the Islamic faith. Some sort of association was bound to develop between Islam and Indonesian nationalism. For a country like Indonesia, divided over a large number of widely separated islands, and with its peoples strongly attached to their ethnological and *adat* communities, a unifying and integrating force was desperately needed. The one common factor of Indonesian life was Islam. Here was a force that could be used to break down local patriotism and help create national unity. It is doubtful whether the propaganda for an Indonesian nationalism could have been successful without the activity of the religious elements. In Islam aggressive Indonesian nationalism found support for the exclusion of foreign elements and influences. It is not likely, however, that Indonesia will set up a Moslem theocratic state. The minority population groups are too large and important. The 1,500,000 Hindus on Bali, some 2,000,000 Chinese and the fairly important Christian groups, would offer substantial resistance to such a move. Furthermore, a large percentage of the politically active and influential young men have a thorough-going secularist point of view. They are committed to the principle of the separation of Church and State. On the other hand, Islam in Indonesia will not immediately become disentangled from nationalism and politics, but will continue for some time to be a troublesome issue in public life. Moslem leaders in recent months have complained bitterly about a widespread underground movement to discredit and undermine Islam in Indonesia. They assert that extreme leftists are making a bitter attack on Islam because they know that the loyal adherence of the vast majority of Indonesians to this faith constitutes the chief obstacle to the conquest of the country by Communism.

International Labour Review, Vol. LXVI, Nos. 5-6. "*Land Reforms in India*", by M. L. Dantwala. This article reviews the background of land ownership and tenancy systems in India and legislative and other action taken in this field, and appraises some of the results achieved.

The Journal of Education, Vol. 84, No. 1,001. "*The Teacher's Place in Society of Ceylon*", by T. L. Green. A major study of the sociology of the teacher in Ceylon—or elsewhere in the East—has yet to be undertaken. In Ceylon the teacher in the past enjoyed a very considerable prestige which sprang from two sources, both intimately related. On the one hand the teacher was venerated because religious precept demanded it, on the other he was both feared and respected because his knowledge and skills gave him a position of power in an illiterate society. Nor must we forget that the teacher (the *guru*) was for long the priest, whose prestige in Ceylon was, and is, high. In rural Ceylon this social prestige of the teacher still exists. In urban life, while the mantle of the *guru* still sits on the teacher, he has little real prestige in the eyes of society at large—though he may have considerable power in the poorer districts. Despite the prestige attaching to the teacher (who ranks very high in most studies of vocational rating) the profession suffers drawbacks in its low economic reward and the controls exerted over it by tradition, public opinion and various authorities. On the whole, despite the *guru* tradition, teaching is not given high prestige; in fact, it offers poor rewards and frustrating conditions of work, and it fails to attract more than a few of the most able and cultured. This may well be considered one of the greatest tragedies of the social scene in Ceylon. There is a little hope in the future. A Salaries Commission Report is expected shortly and the Director of Education has given the teachers unambiguous, even courageous, hints on the value of a unified front. Then there has lately been formed the National Education Society of Ceylon, with membership open to all because it is free of political interests. Through this body the teaching profession could achieve something of academic status and gain a hearing for itself because it commands respect.

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Book Notices

Personality and Conflict in Jamaica

MADELINE KERR. (University Press. Liverpool, 1952. pp. 221. 15s.)

This is an important book. The author has made a resolute attack on a series of problems, which have so far eluded educators, administrators and social workers, but which must be solved in order to achieve progress and development in the Caribbean. It is unfortunate that the presentation of this psychological study was not accompanied by the sociological study of the three centres chosen. We are left to guess at much of the social and economic life which was the background for the individual case studies and for the many interviews and field notes used as material for this book. The three centres for field work, chosen, we are told, for economic reasons, were near a sugar factory where there was a wage earning proletariat; in a banana growing area badly hit by banana disease; and in a more prosperous mixed farming area. There is a general comment on the book which most readers will probably make for themselves. In comparing Jamaican peasant life with Europeans or English domestic life and educational opportunities, the author seems to be making a comparison with the highly industrialized urban life of Britain and the west. She appears to draw conclusions, particularly in the educational sphere, from this comparison which are hardly justified. Jamaican rural areas are not the only ones where school education seems ill-adapted to the environment of and opportunities for the children. The same is true of many areas in Britain both rural and urban. Some reference to this in the analysis might have helped to link up with problems of maladjustment elsewhere, and also to some of the situations in Jamaica where adjustments to western life have been much more successful than in the areas selected for this study. There is a danger of this study pinpointing a set of conditions which undoubtedly exist and are a most serious challenge, but which need to be seen in perspective.

The book opens with the life histories of four individuals selected on the basis of the problems they present, and with a brief description of the three centres of observation. Chapters III, IV and V cover birth customs, the training of children and children's work and play. Chapters VI and VII deal with the family and with child-parent relationships. These are all mainly descriptive, and the fuller presentation and analysis of problems occur in the chapters on Sex and Marriage, Class and Colour, and Religion. The last four chapters review the evidence and the methods employed in the study and the conclusions drawn from it. In Chapter XV on Jamaican Personality the author puts forward her own theoretical approach to the problems of Personality and Culture. This will interest those educationists who have become slightly sceptical about the basic personality concept as it is presented by some psychologists. Dr. Kerr's approach is through a configuration of attitudes in individuals brought about by social situations in which they grow up. Among the situations causing acute tensions Dr. Kerr lists difficulties over colour, the tradition of slavery, reliance on magic, a lack of patterned learning in childhood, and a confusion of ideas about parental roles caused by the prevalent types of family grouping. Dr. Kerr makes a number of observations about the function of the school in the community, and on the kind of curriculum and methods of teaching which she saw in the five schools where she spent some time. At the end of Chapters VIII and XVIII she draws her conclusions about the effects of school teaching and school life on Jamaican children. These conclusions are concerned not only with the curriculum as taught in school, but with the pattern of behaviour enforced which she thinks is based on a "pseudo-European" standard which is alien to the teacher as well as to the children. Psychologists, educationists and social workers will examine with interest Dr. Kerr's conclusions on the lack of integration in Jamaican personality and its relation to her concept of "role deprivation". The analysis of the results of her field work in Chapter XVII is very challenging, and opens the way to comparative studies of a similar nature, both in different social situations in Jamaica and also in other parts of the Caribbean. All research workers will acknowledge the contribution made by Dr. Kerr to the complex social situation caused by mixed racial groups living in a small island and therefore sharing its economic as well as its social and political and religious life. Some social scientists may challenge her field techniques and the conclusions drawn from them, but they will all recognize the contribution she has made, and her theoretical analysis will provide the starting point for further research.

The Caribbean Commission. Background of Cooperation in the West Indies

BERNARD L. POOLE. (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1951. pp. 303. £2 4s.)

This book sets out to explore the causes, both economic and social, of the deplorable conditions under which the Caribbean peoples have made shift to live for the last hundred years or more. It examines the malicious after-effects of slavery, the domination of "King Sugar", the evils of absentee ownership, and all that lies behind the appalling material and cultural poverty of to-day. There follows a detailed description of the efforts made by the four colonizing powers to improve conditions in their own territories and to strengthen the bond of partnership with the home country in each case. All have the same ultimate purpose, but they approach it by different roads, and it is interesting to observe some of the differences; for instance, the British, Americans and Dutch have a mild colour problem, but the French see no "colour" and so have no problem. In the latter half of the book is described the work done first by the Anglo-American Commission, and later by the Four-Power Caribbean Commission, with all its ramifications. It is an encouraging tale of international co-operation, which is by no means yet finished. There is an excellent bibliography. A more detailed map than that provided on the end covers would have been useful.

The Teacher was Black

H. E. O. JAMES and CORA TENEN. (Heinemann, 1953. pp. 120. 10s. 6d.)

This book describes an experiment in international understanding sponsored by UNESCO. The purpose of the experiment was to find out how far and in what way good personal contacts with some members of a people can change attitudes towards the people as a whole. To this end, two school classes of English children aged 12-14 years were taught for two weeks by two African women teachers from the Gold Coast. The attitudes of the children towards Africans, before and after being so taught, were elicited by interviews and the results are recorded in this book. They show that attitudes towards Negroes improved and they not only relate the improvement to personal contact, but also point to the aspects of personal contact that were important in bringing about the change. "These new attitudes towards Negroes are not purely intellectual: they give the impression of having a solid emotional or motivational basis and of being capable of withstanding a considerable strain." (Page 55.) Among the educational implications of this experiment, the book asserts that "the part played by the schools in the thinking that children do about other peoples was disappointingly small . . . if the teacher does not play his part in building up both accurate and systematic knowledge about other peoples, and mature attitudes towards them, who else will do it?" (Pages 115-16.)

African Heritage

EMORY ROSS. (Friendship Press. New York. 1952. pp. 145. 16s.)

Dr. Ross is the Executive Secretary of the Africa Committee, Division of Foreign Missions, National Council of Churches. He has forty years of missionary experience in Africa behind him and has a world-wide reputation for his knowledge of her problems. His book, written by an American for Americans, is an analytical study of Africa, and he discusses human rights in Africa, the Christian Community and Mother Earth, widening educational needs, Communism versus Christian Community, a strong free Church and, in the final chapter, North America's responsibility. "The closely linked struggle of Western individualism against African communalism, and of Western Christianity against African animism, has pulled 150 million Africans into perhaps the most confusing situation that has ever been faced by an emerging primitive society. . . . Africans are being asked—and forced—to change their whole way of life faster than any comparable group in human history. The change originally demanded three or four generations ago, and still largely required, is from a primitive communalism to an advanced individualism. But in the midst of this demand and change, its initiator, Western society, has suddenly shifted its direction from extreme individualism to some kind of advanced and more productive communalism. The African, shaken in his belief in tribal control by the forces of Western individualism and eager to gain the strengths of that individualism, is checked in mid-flight. . . . Is he to follow, but in speeded tempo, the West's thousand years' trek from communalism to individualism and around to a saving communalism, only to arrive late at each stage and suffer the consequences of such lateness? Or can the African move from a primitive communalism to a form of advanced community having a sufficient degree of individualism in it, without paying the penalties of adoption and then rejection of the more extreme individualism from which the West is recoiling?" Dr. Ross has many interesting things to say about the impact of the West upon African processes of thinking and ways of living. He also provides his American reader with a good picture of what is being done, all over Africa, by missionaries, educators, administrators and others, to help the African. The long list of welfare and development includes accounts of the Kambini

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experiment in Portuguese East Africa, Kenneth H. Prior's work in Nigeria, Mrs. Hay's work in Northern Rhodesia, and Dr. Laubach's literacy campaigns.

Indians Overseas in British Territories 1834/1854.

I. M. CUMPSTON. (Oxford University Press. 1953. pp. 198. 21s.)

There was no historical precedent for the mass departure of labourers from India to British Colonial territories. When the traffic first began in 1834, it was a new phenomenon, and at every stage it was to challenge traditional ways of life and contemporary principles. By 1854 the traffic had become regular and systematic. This book deals with the impediments to its establishment as a routine, especially humanitarian opposition in England and India. It deals with the economic decline of the West Indies and the struggle over the sugar duties. The sociological problems which would ultimately arise, if Indians did begin to settle in the Colonies in large numbers, were lightly held in the early years of immigration. But Indian immigration laid the groundwork for permanent colonization of British territories by Asiatics, and established a precedent for the settlement of regions in Africa and the Pacific by Indians, sowing the seeds of racial conflict and the problems of multiple government. This book is a timely contribution to our knowledge of the origins of multi-racial societies.

Religion in an African City

GEOFFREY PARRINDER. (Oxford University Press, 1953. pp. 256. 15s.)

The city is Ibadan, in which Dr. Parrinder is a Lecturer at the University College. The religions represented are Pagan Religion, Islam, Christianity and the " Separatist " Sects. They are first studied one by one and then general chapters treat specific subjects, such as " Worship in Churches ", " Personal Religion ", " Religion and Morality ". Of seven appendices the most useful are those giving statistics of Mission Churches; but those supplying lists of " Religious Mottoes " on " Motor Lorries and Taxis " and on " Houses and Shops " respectively are of almost " rare and curious " value. If the book were entitled " An Outline of . . . ", or " Sketches of . . . ", a better indication of its significance would be conveyed. It contains a great deal of factual information, troublesome, but not difficult, to acquire. Such assessment as is attempted is superficial. Inevitably, one thinks of a guide book for a tourist " interested in religion " and desiring to sample sights and knowledge. As the Introduction says: " The study of what is called, somewhat clumsily, ' the actuality of religion ' should give a more complete picture of present-day conditions, and of the effect of the meeting of several cultures, than has been available. Such a study is undertaken here." The words " more complete " are as misleading as they are tautologous. Any one going to Ibadan for the first time to undertake sociological work of any kind could usefully pack this book with his other prolegomena to local studies. In so far as Ibadan is religiously representative of other places in Nigeria it might assist a recruit to other centres. A studious resident would soon exhaust it, but might be stimulated by it to particularized research. There is no bibliography but a few useful books are referred to in footnotes.

Copper Venture

KENNETH BRADLEY. (Mufulira Copper Mines Ltd. and Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd., 1952. pp. 112. 15s. (16s. 3d. post free.)

The story of copper in Northern Rhodesia goes back into the unwritten past of the African tribes who found and used the copper, and fought over the land to possess it. The author here refers briefly to this period and at greater length to the early pioneer period in Northern Rhodesia. The main theme of his book is the development of the modern " Copper Belt ". This covers the fluctuations in the production of copper up to the outbreak of the Second World War and the provision for the recruiting, housing and feeding of the African mine workers. There is an appendix on the successive processes carried out from the underground mining to the final article which is exported. The photographs and maps are excellent.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate

A. SILLERY. (Oxford University Press, 1952. pp. 236. 30s.)

The author was Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 1946 to 1950, and he knows the country and the people well. When he took over his post he found that there existed no single book on the Protectorate and he decided to compile a history from official papers, existing books and other publications. The result is a scholarly and useful book. Part I is a summary of the events from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when authentic records are first available, that led to the Protectorate becoming a part of the British Empire. This record ends in 1939, except for an account of the part played by Tswana troops in the 1939-45 War, which forms the epilogue to the book. Part II gives the history, part traditional and part factual, of each tribe until the present day. Part III contains three short chapters on " The Protectorate To-day ". A comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book should aid the student in further research.

Highways for God in Congo

GEORGE WAYLAND CARPENTER. (LECO Press, Léopoldville, 1952. pp. 88. 6s.)

This booklet commemorates seventy-five years of Protestant Missions, from 1878 to 1953. It describes the history of the missions in the Congo, from the establishment of the first mission station by five members of the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain in June, 1879, to the creation of the Congo Protestant Council and the work of such men as Emory Ross, H. W. Coxhill, J. Ohrneman and others. From a box of medicines and some rudimentary medical knowledge which was all the pioneers in the Congo could offer, the medical service provided by the Protestant Missions has grown to 171 Protestant hospitals and dispensaries in 1950, served by 56 doctors, 166 missionary nurses and African medical personnel numbering 1,097. Of particular interest is the chapter dealing with education. Throughout the years the teacher-evangelist has been the key figure in the growth of both church and school in Congo. Until 1948, Protestant Missions had to find their own resources to provide schools. But to-day nearly all the mission schools follow the Government curriculum (which provides for complete freedom in the teaching of religion) and most of the missions receive substantial Government aid for this work. The book is illustrated and contains useful maps.

Public Administration in Malaya

S. W. JONES. (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1953. pp. 229. 15s.)

This book gives an account of the administrative system in the territories of Malaya, as a contribution towards a study of the requirements of efficient public administration in the countries of Eastern Asia. This study has been projected in the international research programme of the Institute of Pacific Relations, in which Chatham House is collaborating. The development of the system of public administration in Malaya from a historical and constitutional point of view is dealt with in the earlier chapters of the book; the later deal with the emergence of political problems and rehabilitation after the war, and finally there is a chapter on the planning of economic and social development.

A Pattern of Islands

ARTHUR GRIMBLE. (John Murray, 1952. pp. 250. 18s.)

Sir Arthur Grimble has spent a lifetime in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, a group of atolls in the Central Pacific, as an officer of the British Colonial Administrative Service. To him, life in these unknown parts of the world was an adventure, and in spite of hardships, deprivations and dangers, a cheerful adventure. What makes the account of his experiences so readable is not merely his sense of fun, his positive approach to persons and happenings, but the deep, humble interest and devotion he brought to his task, his human understanding and his humane behaviour towards the native peoples under his care. He has dedicated the book to his fellow District Officers and their wives, and among the many sound and mature counsels he offers, not in so many words but by revealing his own way of life, a few phrases stand out and " sum up the whole of anthropological and administrative wisdom ": "A simple folk is strengthened to abide the ferment of alien ideas not by the destruction but by the affectionate husbanding of its age-old loyalties. A tree without roots dies, but new grafts thrive on a trunk that stands deep-rooted in the soil of its homeland. The worst of interfering with the customs of simple peoples, all for their own good, is that it can end by leaving them bereft of their national will to live. The fiddler is a killer on a grand scale. There have been in the past some grim cases of depopulation—especially in Melanesia—due to the premature blotting out of interests that kept people alive in their environment." " It is clearly up to a District Officer to be listening and learning all the time. But there is a mortal difference of spirit between genuine research and prying." " The District Officer's job is to find ways through to his people, not to leave them groping for ways through to himself." *A Pattern of Islands* shows how it can be done.

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English by Radio. A Broadcast English Course for Beginners, Book VI
A. V. P. ELLIOTT and J. A. NOONAN. (Macmillan, 1953. pp. 147. 3s. 3d.)

The Unit Method English Course
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Africa. An Anthology. (pp. 144. 2s. 6d.) By ADOLPH MYERS. (Longmans. 1953.)

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Book 2 for Infants' Class 2. D. I. BAGGOTT and S. J. BAGGOTT. (Longmans. 1953. pp. 136. 3s.)

New Nation Arithmetics. Books I, II and III
A. TAYLOR. (Nelson, 1953. pp. 48. 1s. 6d. pp. 96. 2s. 3d. pp. 128. 2s. 6d.)
These are the first three books in a series of Arithmetic Books for Primary Schools by Mr. A. Taylor of the Institute of Education, University College of the Gold Coast.

Collins-Longmans World Atlas for Malaya
Planned, compiled, drawn and produced under the direction of a Joint Advisory Board. English Edition. (1953. 5s.) Malayan Edition. (The Malay School Series, No. 74. Published for the Department of Education, Federation of Malaya. 1953.)

South Africa
JOHN F. HOUSTOUN. (Oliver and Boyd, 1952. pp. 91. 3s. 3d.)
This book is part of the One Approach Geography/History Series. The aim of the series is to provide material about foreign lands, so selected and presented that a child who has used it will retain an impression of the country and its origins sufficient to make him aware and appreciative of its place in the pattern of his times. The book is illustrated.

A Brief History of Nyasaland
MARTIN MORRIS. (Longmans, 1952. pp. 65. 2s. 3d.)
The story is made up of information found in a few handbooks and from reports and Government publications. It does not try to give any history of the African tribes of Nyasaland but tells simply of the things that were done to bring the Protectorate from a time of bloodshed and slavery to the present period of peace and progress. A selected bibliography is included.

English Manners and Customs
A. V. P. ELLIOTT. (Pitman, Nairobi, 1952. pp. 56. 3s. 6d.)
This little book is intended to be a brief and practical guide for Africans who are likely to meet English people and who want to know something of their manners and customs, especially those which consist of " the right things to say " in certain situations. It deals with everyday manners, letter-writing, an invitation to tea, an English home in England and a number of questions which Africans have asked. The African visiting England should find this book very helpful.

Health Science and Physiology for Tropical Schools
F. DANIEL. (Oxford University Press. 1953. pp. 304. 6s. 6d.)
This book is primarily designed for use in the upper classes of secondary schools in tropical and sub-tropical countries. Its main aim is to provide a substantial foundation of accurate knowledge that will enable the student to understand the principles that govern healthy living in tropical conditions, so that after he leaves school he may be equipped to play an active and responsible part in promoting the health and well-being of his family and community. The text-book follows the syllabus in Health Science introduced by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate for their Oversea School Certificate.

Pitman's Kabete Technical and Trade Series
Plastering and Floorlaying. By T. L. MOORE. (Nairobi. 1953. pp. 50. Unpriced.)
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A New Acholi Grammar

FR. ALFRED MALANDRA. (The Eagle Press, Nairobi, 1952. pp. 153. 5s.)

This Acholi grammar has been especially prepared for secondary schools and for all those Europeans, either Government officers or missionaries, who are continuously in contact with the Acholi people. For each rule many examples have been put down, so as to give the scholar the opportunity of learning as many words as possible without the help of an English-Acholi Dictionary which does not yet exist.

Studies and Reports Received

Her Majesty's Stationery Office

An Economic Survey of the Colonial Territories 1951. *Vol. VII. The Products of the Colonial Territories.* (Colonial No. 281-7. 1952. pp. 249. £2 2s.) This volume of the *Economic Survey* describes the principal products of the Colonial territories, and contains details of these products as well as a series of tables showing the level of exports both before and since the war. It therefore corresponds to Part II of the 1937 edition of the Survey, and roughly follows the same order as that part.

Vol. IV. *The West Indian and American Territories.* (Colonial No. 281-4. 1953. pp. 274. £2.) This volume deals with Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, Windward Islands, with the Bahamas, Bermuda and the Falkland Islands.

Overseas Economic Surveys. Portuguese East Africa (*Moçambique*), by G. Edgar Vaughan. (1952. pp. 83. 3s. 6d.) Moçambique is primarily an agricultural territory, producing tropical and sub-tropical crops both for subsistence and export, and is an important source of cheap raw materials for metropolitan Portugal. A vigorous, centralized and stable administration directs the economic life of the province and is bending its efforts to developing the province's natural resources and the productive capacity of the native population, as well as to improving and expanding means of communication.

The Administration of Justice and the Urban African, by A. L. Epstein. (Colonial Research Studies, No. 7. 1953. pp. 124. 7s. 6d.) Urban courts must be regarded as functioning within a field of social relations whose structure must affect every aspect of the urban courts system. The composition of the courts, their organization, as well as the law they administer, are all bound up in the social structure of the multi-racial communities within which they operate, and must be related to it. Accordingly, the study falls into three parts: the first of these is intended to be largely factual, setting out the history of the courts and the assumptions of administrative policy underlying their constitution and organization. The second part is devoted to an analysis, in general terms, of the work of the courts. Here the author discusses the kind of problems involved in the administration of native customary law in the urban context, and does not attempt a comprehensive account of the law administered. The final part attempts to draw together the various threads of the argument, and to indicate broadly the lines along which the courts may be expected to develop in the future.

A Bill. To provide for the federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; and for purposes connected therewith. (Bill 75. 1953. pp. 2. 3d.)

The Colombo Plan. Technical Co-operation Scheme. (1953. pp. 15. 6d.) This is the report for 1952 by the Council for Technical Co-operation.

Colonial Annual Reports

1950 and 1951. *The Gambia.* (1953. pp. 54. 3s.)

1951. *British Guiana.* (1953. pp. 129. 5s.) *Brunei.* (1953. pp. 79. 6s.) *Mauritius.* (1953. pp. 158. 7s. 6d.) *Nyasaland.* (1953. pp. 113. 4s.) *Trinidad and Tobago.* (1953. pp. 164. 6s. 6d.)

African Education, a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. (Oxford University Press, 1953. pp. 187. 8s. 6d.) This report, issued jointly by the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, contains the reports of the two study groups of educational experts which, in 1951, spent six months touring East and Central Africa and West Africa, and a record of the proceedings of the follow-up conference on African education held at Cambridge in September last year. The introduction to the report discusses education in the African setting, fifty years of education in Africa and the origins of the study. Then follows the Report of the West Africa Study Group,* the Report of the East and Central Africa Study Group and the Record of the Conference Proceedings. The latter contains the group papers which were discussed at the Cambridge Conference: (*a*) Responsibility and Control; (*b*) The Expansion of the Educational System; (*c*) The Teaching Profession; (*d*) Organization and Curriculum; (*e*) Education and the Adult.

The main criticisms of African education have been two: that there was too little education: too few children had a chance of any schooling at all, and of those few, too small a proportion carried their schooling to the stage at which it would be really useful to them; that the education was effective in breaking-up of the old African life, but not in adapting its pupils to the conditions of the new. It was bookish, divorced from reality, and gave its pupils a distaste for manual work and for rural life. There was general agreement that the state of the schools, and of too many of the pupils who had passed through them, left much to be desired. But there was disagreement on the causes of the trouble. An authoritative study was thus needed to settle the true causes of evils which were plain to all, and to help those intimately concerned with African education, whether as parents, as teachers, or as administrators, to make the changes in their thinking and in their policy which would be needed to remedy the evils. The two study groups were appointed with this object in view. During their visit to Africa the study groups discussed with anyone who had views on education; and on their return to England the Cambridge Conference was held, in which representatives of the African territories discussed African education in the light of their talks with the two study groups. The purpose of the Conference was not to make policy which should thereafter be imposed upon the territories which were participating, or to fix some common pattern of education on a considerable proportion of a vast continent. The object of the Conference was to place on record the best views which could be formalized and expressed, so that hereafter those who have responsibilities in the shaping of policies and in the carrying out of educational work should find in the record of this Conference opinions and conclusions which had been refined by discussion, but which had not been pressed into uniformity.

The Hansard Society

Problems of Parliamentary Government in Colonies. (1952. pp. 154. 12s.) This report has been prepared by the Hansard Society. It is of an interim character and does not claim to be research in the strict sense of the word. The report sets out to describe and explain various aspects of the problem and then to set down an account of some of the more significant ideas which either are being tried or are under consideration. It is concerned with the development of parliamentary institutions in Colonies in general. Though the main emphasis has been on British Colonies, most of the study is equally applicable to non-British Colonies. The report has seven chapters: I. The Nature of the Problem; II. The Clash of Ideologies; III. Colonial Policies (United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, the United States); IV. Some Obstacles and Some Hopeful Signs; V. The Plural Society; VI. The Role of Local Government; VII. Functional Co-operation; VIII. The Path of Progress. A number of appendices discusses *inter alia* Trust Territories, Protected States, and other non-self-governing territories; British Colonial Policy: a selection of representative statements; paramountcy and partnership; Parliamentary Government in the Belgian Congo: preparing the African élite; nationalism, race and the Plural Society in Mauritius; proportional representation, etc.

Central Office of Information, London

African Development in Kenya, 1946-1955, by F. Cavendish Bentick. (No. R.2589. 1953. pp. 14.) This document deals with agriculture, livestock, African settlement, water, forestry and fisheries.

International African Institute

Ethnographic Survey of Africa. East Central Africa. Part V. *The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya*, by John Middleton. (1953. pp. 107. 9s. 6d.)

Anti-Locust Research Centre, British Museum

Seasonal Breeding and Migrations of the Desert Locust in South-Western Asia, by J. Fortescue-Foulkes. (Memoir 5, 1953. pp. 36.) This memoir completes the series covering the distribution area of the desert locust, which stretches from the western and northern coasts of Africa eastwards to India. The present work was undertaken to analyse and describe the seasonal breeding and migrations of this species in south-western Asia,

* See page 37 of this issue.

to relate them, as far as possible, to the average climatic conditions. The area involved includes India north of 20°N., Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and Soviet Middle Asia.

UNESCO

The Race Question in Modern Science. The following studies in this collection are available: *The Significance of Racial Differences*, by G. M. Morant; *Race and History*, by Claude Lévi-Strauss. (Paris, 1952. 1s. 6d. each.)

Race and Society. Race and Class in Rural Brazil, edited by Charles Wagley. (Paris, 1952. pp. 160. 7s. 6d.) This report is the outcome of an agreement entered into by the Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia and the Division of Social Sciences of Unesco. It also represents the first results of a fairly extensive research programme in the fields of sociology and social anthropology undertaken by the Fundação in co-operation with the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University.

Meeting of Experts on the Use in Education of African Languages in Relation to English where English is the Accepted Second Language, Jos, Nigeria, November 17 to 29, 1952. (Paris, 1952.) The Place of African Languages and of English both in School Education and in Education Out of School (*e.g.* in Fundamental Education and in University Extra-Mural Work), by P. A. W. Cook (EDEX/Aflang/4, pp. 30). Problems of the Use of African Languages and Dialects in Education, by J. Berry (EDEX/Aflang/5, pp. 15). Problems of Production and Distribution of Reading Material in African Languages, including Problems of Orthography, and the Question of Development of General Literature, by C. G. Richards (EDEX/Aflang/6, pp. 14). The Teaching of Reading, by I. A. Richards (EDEX/Aflang/7, pp. 14). The Teaching of English as the Second Language in African Territories where English is the Accepted Second Language, by P. Gurrey (EDEX/Aflang/8, pp. 28). The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction, both in School and out of School, and the related Problems of Teaching in Languages other than the Vernacular in the Union of South Africa (EDEX/Aflang/Regional Paper No. 1, pp. 15), in Liberia (EDEX/Aflang/Regional Paper No. 2, pp. 3), in British Colonial Territories (EDEX/Aflang/Regional Paper No. 3a, pp. 6), in British Territories in Africa (EDEX/Aflang/Regional Paper No. 3b, pp. 38), in the South Pacific, by G. J. Platten (EDEX/Aflang/Additional Material No. 1a, pp. 19). Use of the Vernacular Among the Main Groups of Immigrant Peoples in Fiji and in the Australian Trust Territory of New Guinea (EDEX/Aflang/Additional Material No. 1b, pp 2). Vernacular Languages and French in Education in the French Union (EDEX/Aflang/Additional Material No. 2, pp. 14). The Language Problem in the Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi (EDEX/Aflang/Additional Material No. 3, pp. 10).

United Nations Department of Public Information, New York

Sharing Skills. Stories of Technical Assistance. (1953. pp. 49. 2s. 6d.) This booklet describes over a dozen examples of technical assistance in terms of how they appear to the people working in the field. The examples illustrate the work, jointly and individually, of the main participating organizations, and also indicate the world-wide distribution of assistance.

World Health Organization

Kwashiorkor in Africa, by J. F. Brock and M. Autret. (Geneva, 1952. pp. 78. 5s.) A survey was carried out during the period from mid-October to mid-December, 1950. The following territories or countries were visited: Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa (Middle Congo), Nigeria, Gold Coast, Liberia, Gambia and French West Africa (Senegal). In addition to the information obtained in this study, further information was available to Mr. Brock as the result of previous experience of the syndrome in the Union of South Africa. With regard to general preventive measures the report says that food production should be developed so that the foods which prevent kwashiorkor are made available in greater quantities. Among animal foods, fish is of primary importance, since its production can be rapidly increased, while to increase that of milk and meat will be a lengthy and difficult process. Cereals, and particularly millet and sorghum, should be grown wherever possible in preference to manioc. The production of pulse and vegetables should be expanded and steps taken to encourage the local consumption of ground-nuts. Educational campaigns to improve methods of feeding children, especially during the weaning period, should be developed. In particular, sustained efforts to educate mothers are needed.

Africa Bureau

Africa: Which Way Now? by Patrick O'Donovan. (1952. pp. 16. 1s.) This pamphlet introduces the work of the African Development Trust,

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founded as the result of an article by the Rev. Michael Scott in *The Observer* (reproduced in the pamphlet) in which he described the work of the St. Faith's Mission in Southern Rhodesia.

Central Africa Federation

L. B. Greaves. (Edinburgh House Press, 1953. pp. 11. 6d.) L. B. Greaves, who is the African Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies and has worked in both East and West Africa from 1922-50, discusses the pros and cons of the Federation. The best hope for the future of the Central African territories, he says, lies in their finding a way to the common citizenship of people of all races. This need not involve anything artificial and unrealistic like numerical equality of representation. It must imply the provision, as soon as practicable, of equal educational opportunity for all; the corresponding extension of the franchise; the genuine and unreserved acceptance of all citizens on their merits.

Uganda Protectorate

Community Development in Kenya. (Despatch No. 490/52. July 22, 1952. pp. 14.)

Proposals for the Expansion and Improvement of the Health Services in the Sudan 1951–1960. (pp. 72.)

The long-term plan aims at an expansion of all existing Health Services to meet the growing needs of the country and a higher standard in the medical care available. A major aspect of the programme is the division into Public Health and Clinical Medicine. The plan proposes a wide expansion in the Hospital and Dispensary services to give further medical help urgently needed in the rural and smaller urban areas. The most urgent medical need is undoubtedly an increase of all classes of medical manpower. The report deals with Province Public Health Services, Specialist Services, Hospital Services, Dispensary Services, Laboratory Services, Administration, Recruitment and Training, Building, Mechanical Transport, Cost of Proposals.

Government Printer, Accra

Report of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development 1946-1951. (1953. pp. 89. 2s. 6d.) This is the first report of the Department since it was established. The report is in four parts. Part I: Administration; Part II: " Citizens in the making "—The Work of the Probation and Delinquency Section of the Department; Part III: " Urban Welfare "—The work of the Welfare Section of the Department; Part IV: " Better living in the villages "—The work of the Mass Education and Community Development Section of the Department. There are five appendices dealing, *inter alia*, with the work of the Mass Education Team in Togoland, the curriculum at the School of Social Welfare and the students trained at the school, etc. The nine-month course provided at the School is designed as basic training for Assistant Welfare Officers and Probation Officers who have been selected for training and will be appointed, on the successful completion of the course, to the staff of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. The students come from a variety of occupations and backgrounds, and as the course is residential the students have to live together at the School except on those occasions when they are posted away for practical work training. The course has been planned in four terms: Introductory Term, Academic or First Term, Practical Work or Second Term, Final Term (refresher lectures and examinations.)

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Health Needs of the Gold Coast. (1952. pp. 64. 5s. 6d.)

Statement by the Gold Coast Government on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Health Needs of the Gold Coast. (1952. pp. 5. 2s.) The terms of reference of the Commission were: (1) to review the measures taken and projected in the Gold Coast, either by Government or by private enterprise: (*a*) for the development of preventive and social medicine, including health education, (*b*) for the development of curative medicine, including provision of hospitals, health centres and dressing stations and the training of personnel, (*c*) for medical research; (2) to examine the adequacy of the administrative structure and organization of the Medical Department in relation to such development; and (3) to make recommendations. The Commission recommends, *inter alia*, that the Medical Department should without delay be merged in the Ministry of Health and Labour. The officers of the Medical Department and of the Ministry should be welded into a single staff and except where the Director or Deputy Director or any other medical officer has duties specifically assigned to him by Ordinance, Order or Regulation the whole of the medical staff should be responsible to, and under the direction of, the Minister. The Labour Department should be removed from the Ministry of Health and placed under another Minister. The immediate and most urgent needs of the Gold Coast can be met by expanding the medical field units, setting up health centres, improving hospital facilities and increasing the number of dressing stations. The medical field units should be staffed by a specialist and six medical officers with appropriate technical staff. The junior staff should as far as possible be local so as to speak the local language. The organization should include two biologists, one of them an entomologist. In addition to three health centres now built or in course of building there should be a building programme of forty-three further centres to be completed in the next five years. The object of the centre should be to treat minor illnesses, to offer a limited maternity and child welfare service and to instruct the local community in matters of health and hygiene. The staff should normally consist of a clinic superintendent, a midwife and a sanitary inspector. In centres forming the base of several dressing stations there should also be a nurse. As soon as practicable, the midwife should be replaced by a fully trained health visitor. A school health service should be developed first in the towns of Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi. Elsewhere, district medical officers should include the inspection and care of school children in their normal duties. The establishment of a medical school in the Gold Coast is not recommended at the present time. The number of medical officers and private doctors in the Gold Coast is not likely to exceed 200 within any period for which it is reasonable to plan, and an annual recruitment of about ten would suffice. A medical school designed for such a small output would be very expensive and the cost of maintaining students in the United Kingdom would be substantially less.

Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society, Vol. 1, Part 1. (Achimota, 1952. pp. 31.) The first number of the *Transactions* contains four articles: 1. " The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast ", by Professor W. J. Varley; 2. " Traditional History ", by A. B. Attafua; 3. " Documentary Material available for Historical Research in the Gold Coast ", by J. M. Akita; 4. " Some General Considerations relevant to Historical Research in the Gold Coast ", by J. D. Fage.

Keiskammahoek Rural Survey. Vols. I, II, III, IV. (Shuter and Shooter. Pietermaritzburg, 1952.) I. *The Natural History of the Keiskammahoek District*, ed. Edgar D. Mountain. (pp. 85. 17s. 6d.) II. *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, Dr. Hobart Houghton and Edith M. Walton. (pp. 194. 27s. 6d.) III. *Social Structure*, by Monica Wilson, Selma Kaplan, Theresa Maki, Edith Walton. (pp. 222. 37s. 6d.) IV. *Land Tenure*, by M. E. Elton Mills and Monica Wilson. (pp. 154. 37s. 6d.) The National Council for Social Research initiated and financed an investigation into the conditions of life in a typical Native Reserve. The Keiskammahoek District in the Ciskei, in the eastern part of the Union of South Africa, was selected for this intensive rural survey, which was an investigation into the physical environment and the social and economic conditions in an area of about 220 square miles with a population of about 18,000 persons, the vast majority of whom were Africans. The first volume deals with the topography, geology, climate, soils, botany and the vegetation at river sources. The second volume describes the over-population, poverty, mass emigration and the low productivity of farming which are the main features of the prevailing economy. The third volume describes the existing social structure with particular reference to local organization and family life. The fourth volume is an investigation of four types of land tenure operating in the district and of their effects on social structure and production.

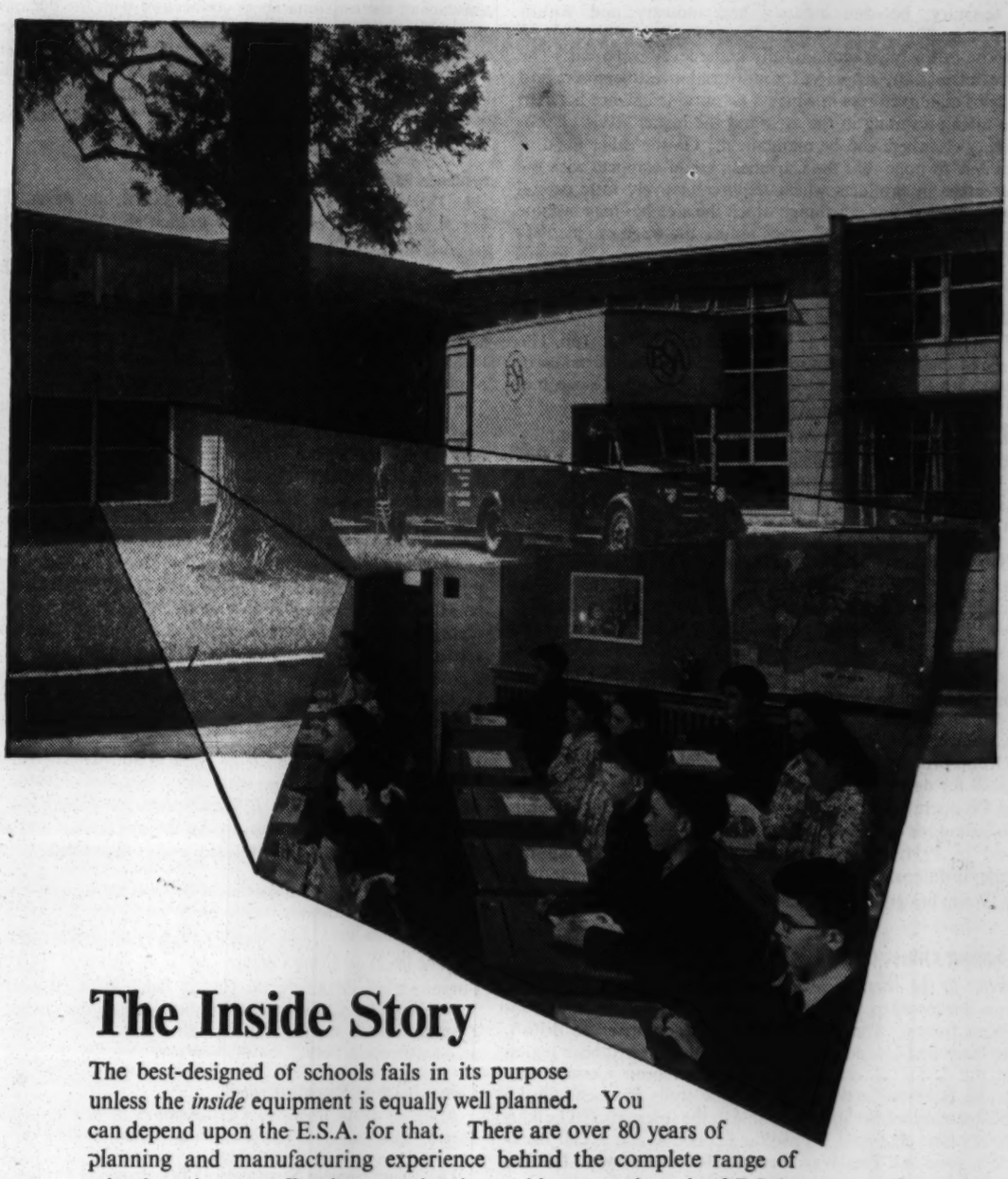
Mauritius Legislative Council

Five-Year Programme for Primary and Secondary School Buildings. (Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1952. pp. 20. 9d.) The Education Department has carried out a survey of existing school accommodation, both primary and secondary, and has prepared estimates of costs of capital and recurrent expenditure needed to provide for estimated school attendance calculated on the present voluntary basis over the next five years. The survey also includes figures showing the cost of introducing universal compulsory education. But it need not be emphasized that the large increase in the number of trained teachers required and in the expenditure involved render it inevitable that the approach to universal primary education must be by means of a series of progressive steps.

Caribbean Commission

Caribbean Economic Review, Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, December, 1952. This study contains " Cooperatives in the Caribbean ", "Agricultural Credit in the Caribbean ", by R. Colon-Torres, " Land Tenure in Relation to the British West Indies ", by A. de K. Frampton, and " Types of Farming ", by J. A. van Beukering.

The Promotion of Industrial Development in the Caribbean. (Trinidad, 1952. pp. 175.) The present volume contains an assessment of present-day industrialization policy in the area; the recommendations of the



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Puerto Rico Conference; and a discussion of some of the issues surrounding the subject-matter of some of these recommendations. It also discusses labour productivity, industrial standards and town planning in relation to industrialization. With regard to wages and productivity the report says: Present wage levels in the Caribbean area, though varying widely between territory and territory, between industry and industry and within industries, occupy a middle position between those of industrially advanced countries and those of the most economically underdeveloped areas. The area is, therefore, intrinsically attractive for industrial investment in regard to a whole range of manufacturers in which a favourable balance between the lower wage rates prevailing in the area and the higher levels of productivity obtaining elsewhere can be maintained. On the other hand, it would be unrealistic to hope that the Caribbean could compete with the cheapest labour areas in products which require relatively little capital and much labour. Indeed, any advantage which the area has may become negligible should upward pressure of wages reduce the wage-productivity differential as between the Caribbean territories and competing manufacturing countries.

University College of the West Indies, Jamaica

Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, February, 1953. (pp. 119. 5s. 3d.) *Social and Economic Studies* reports on the work undertaken by or in association with the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College of the West Indies, but other contributions will be considered. The present first number contains four articles: " Employment, Development, Incentive Financing ", by H. D. Huggins; " Productivity and Selective Industrialization ", by G. E. Cumper; " Family Organization in British Guiana ", by R. T. Smith; " Urban Research in the Caribbean ", by L. Broom.

The First Caribbean Seminar on Adult Education, 1952

An international Seminar on Adult Education in the Caribbean was held in Jamaica from September 1-17, 1952. The Seminar was organized by the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, the Co-operative Department of Jamaica, the Education Department of Jamaica, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College of the West Indies with the assistance of the Government of Jamaica, the British Council, and UNESCO. Four study groups dealt with libraries, co-operation, communication of ideas, and family living. The Library Group produced a statement of principles which might form an adequate basis for detailed planning of library work in any Caribbean country. The Co-operative Group has drawn for its detailed proposals upon work already done by a technical meeting on Co-operatives in the Caribbean held in 1951. The Communication of Ideas Group has produced a general statement and specific proposals for Jamaica, and the Family Living Group has given particular attention to the special problems of Jamaica.

International Labour Office, Geneva

Labour Policies in the West Indies. (1952. pp. 377. 13s. 6d.) The present report is conceived as a broad survey of labour policies and problems in the West Indies. The territories covered comprise the British, French, Netherlands and United States territories in the Caribbean region falling within the terms of reference of the Caribbean Commission, together with the Bahamas and Bermuda. The study is essentially an analysis of documentary information available to the International Labour Office. There are nine chapters: I. Pre-War Economic and Social Background. II. War-time and Post-War Trends. III. Man-power. IV. The Machinery of Industrial Relations. V. Wages, Hours and Conditions of Work. VI. Women, Children and Young Persons. VII. Social Security and Related Provisions. VIII. Labour Legislation. IX. West Indian Labour Problems and the I.L.O. A number of indices deals with statistics and labour legislation.

Government Printer, Kuching

The Natural Resources of Sarawak, by F. W. Roe. (1952. pp. 38. 1s. 2d.) This report comprises accounts prepared by members of the Natural Resources Board together with general information obtained from official records. It deals with population, economy, communications, agricultural resources, forest resources, land alienation, development and the Natural Resources Board. The study is illustrated.

Finnish Academy of Science and Letters

Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands, by Aarne A. Koskinen. (Helsinki. 1953. pp. 163. 800 mk.) The development of Colonial history is no mere story of political expansion. To an equal degree, at least, colonialism is a cultural conquest radiating from Europe. The connection between the political and cultural conquest is obvious. It can be studied most conveniently by examining side by side the most typical phenomenon of each of these forms of expansion, *i.e.* colonialism and missionary work. In the present study the question of the national value of the missionaries' activities is of secondary importance. An attempt is made to view the missionaries and their achievements against life in the missionary area itself. Efforts are made to see the political activities of the missionaries in connection with the background. Above all, an attempt is made to clarify the relation between these activities and the general aim and objectives of missionary work. The study is in four parts, dealing with the origin of the political influence of the missionaries, the missionary régime in practice, internal difficulties of missionary policy, and missionaries and annexation. A comprehensive bibliography and an index are appended.

Présence Africaine 13

Le Travail en Afrique Noire. (Editions du Seuil. Paris. 1952. pp. 427.) This is a collection of articles by French and English authors on demographic, industrial and economic questions relating to Africa South of the Sahara. It was the intention of the editors to present a fairly complete picture of different aspects of the labour problem, and the studies deal with Sénégal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey (French West Africa) and Brazzaville (French Equatorial Africa) as well as with Kenya, the Rhodesias, the Belgian Congo, Liberia and the Union of South Africa. Madagascar and the Portuguese Overseas Territories are not included. The book is in six parts; the first discusses climate and populations, the second traditions and customary occupations, the third the Native concept of work, the role of the African female worker, the fourth land tenure and agricultural problems, the fifth labour and capital, wages policies, the sixth racial questions, labour legislation and trade unions.

Pâturages et Fourrages Tropicaux. Fascicule I

Pâturages Tropicaux. B. Havard Duclos. (La Maison Rustique. Paris, 1952. pp. 88. 540 francs.) The study deals with tropical grazing lands and cultivation of fodder crops. There are seven chapters: Importance des Cultures Fourragères dans l'Agronomie Tropicale, Aspect Général des Pâturages Naturels Tropicaux, Composition de la Flore Agrostologique, Déficience en Matières Minérales du Pâturage Tropical, Utilisation du Pâturage Tropical, Amélioration des Pâturages Naturels Tropicaux, Les Pâturages Artificiels sous les Tropiques.

L'Oeuvre d'Education au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi

J. Vanhove. (Editions Bieleveld. Brussels. 1953. pp. 749-789.) These are extracts from *L'Encyclopédie du Congo Belge*, dealing with various aspects of education in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. The study contains useful statistics and is illustrated.

Organisation Financière du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi.

G. Verriest. (Editions Bieleveld. Brussels. pp. 555-626.) This study contains chapters on " Les Budgets du Congo Belge ", by E. Coart, " Le Régime fiscal du Congo Belge ", by Yvan Delhaye, " Quelques aspects de l'organisation financière du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi ", par J. Wertz, " La Comptabilité Publique du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi ", by L. Bache, and " La Situation Patrimoniale du Congo Belge au 31 décembre 1949 ", by G. Verriest.

Congo Belge et Ruanda-Urundi

Notes de Droit Public et Commentaires de la Charte Coloniale, by Th. Heyse. (Brussels, 1953.) (Fascicule III, pp. 65-96.)

La Lingua Somala Strumento D'Insegnamento Professionale. *Terminologia Medica E Sue Voci Nella Lingua Somala*, by Professor Mario Maino. (Allessandria, 1953.) This pamphlet discusses Somali as a medium of professional education and brings a short Italian-Somali, Somali-Italian medical glossary.

The Colonial Review acknowledges its indebtedness to the following newspapers, magazines, reviews and press summaries which have been used in the compilation of this issue: *African Studies, Colonial Cinema, Colonial Office Information Department, Commonwealth Survey, Economist, Far Eastern Survey, Fundamental and Adult Education, Gold Coast Education, Indonesian Affairs, International Labour Review, Journal of Education, Marconi News, Middle East Journal, Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics (FAO), Napt Bulletin, Pacific Affairs, Portugal, Race Relations News, Review of International Co-operation, Royal Geographical Journal, SPC Quarterly Bulletin, Statistical and Economic Review, The Times, United Nations Bulletin, Zaïre.*

Subscriptions to *The Colonial Review* (5s. per annum) may be sent to the Secretary, The Department of Education in Tropical Areas, University of London Institute of Education, W.C.1.

Oxford Books for Learners of English

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

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THE TIMES

BRITISH COLONIES

REVIEW

QUARTERLY No. 9 SPRING 1953 PRICE 6d

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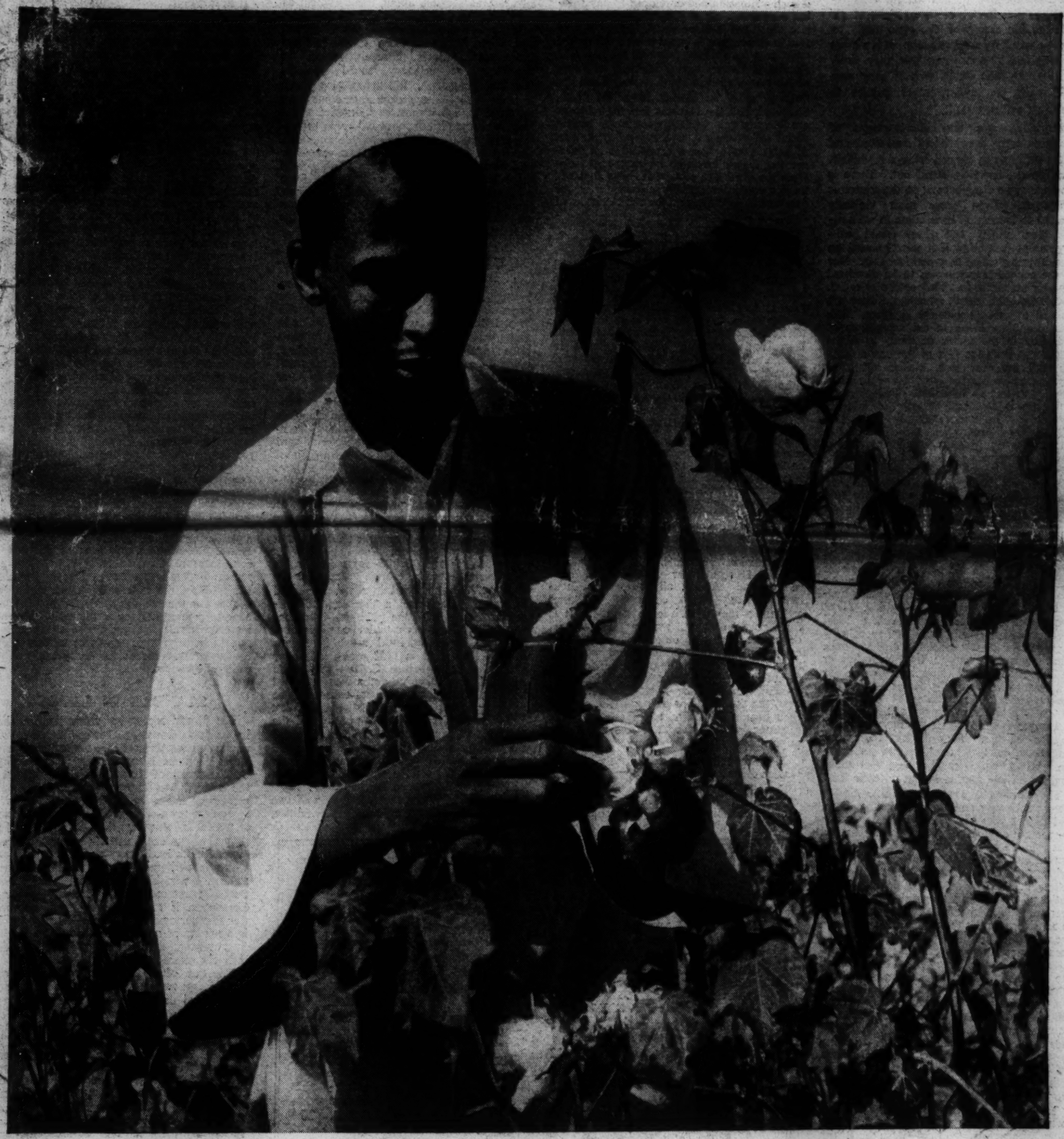

Abdullahi Jada is a young member of the Fulani tribe of Northern Nigeria who is training to be a Government agricultural assistant. Here he is picking cotton at Samaru.

TIMES PAST — THE TIMES

BRITISH COLONIES REVIEW

SPRING 1953 LONDON

THE FEDERATION ISSUE

EARLY in April the Southern Rhodesian electorate will be called upon to vote in a plebiscite on Central African federation. At this critical juncture their unique constitutional position has given them, alone of all parties to this enterprise, the opportunity to make or mar it by a referendum. It is a great privilege and responsibility that they hold, for there is little doubt that if they vote substantially in favour, other parties to federation will endorse it.

The advantages and disadvantages of federation have been widely canvassed and are too well known to need detailed repetition. Some points, however, stand out. There is now little or no disagreement on the economic advantages. Even those most violently opposed to federation have come to acknowledge them, and for this reason would probably accept federation if it were granted on political terms which they consider fair. Nor are the economic arguments to be dismissed as purely materialistic. They spell also social, educational, and health advances. They are spiritual as well as material in effect. The great stumbling block to the acceptance of federation in the minds of many in Great Britain has been the fact of African opposition and the fear that African protected persons may be handed over to a régime less liberal than that of Whitehall. That African opposition is real and widespread is true. That it is justified is more than open to doubt. Both the *intelligentsia* and the chiefs in the two northern protectorates have some grounds for opposing federation. The former, if they are aiming at the goal of an all-African self-governing State, quite rightly see that federation makes it virtually unattainable. But was such an objective ever really desirable or intended? Not according to the declared policy of her Majesty's Government of laying down partnership between the races. The chiefs, who are exceptionally powerful in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, are afraid that their powers will be curtailed and brought into line with those of the more closely controlled chiefs of Southern Rhodesia. That fear seems unjustified since African local government is one of the subjects specifically reserved for the territorial Governments. What seems more likely is that, federation or no federation, chieftainship in Central Africa will have to be drastically democratized. The rank-and-file Africans naturally follow the lead of the chiefs, while those in the towns and mines follow that of the more educated political leaders. They do not understand federation, but they have the solid instinct of the peasant, which makes them fear racial domination and encroachment on their land.

Their leaders have represented federation to them as the very embodiment of these fears, and that is why the leaders might count on support for opposition to federation. The fact that African opinion has been consulted and proved unfavourable does not mean that the British Government are *ipso facto* obliged to follow it. They would be abrogating their duties of trusteeship if they did. It does, however, mean that Parliament have very carefully to consider whether the grounds of opposition are valid. In this they have to weigh carefully economic advantages against the political disadvantages, if any. They have also to weigh the imperfections of the scheme—and no scheme is ever perfect—against possibly even less perfect alternatives, such as the permanent retarding of Nyasaland's development, the union of Southern Rhodesia, and possibly of Northern Rhodesia also, with Nationalist South Africa. There are grave problems, political as well as economic, that would follow the collapse of copper prices in Northern Rhodesia.

That native interests are thoroughly protected and cared for statutorily in the White Paper seems clear. Not only have the British Government the last word in the federal Parliament over matters affecting native interests, but they have also the first word in the northern territories. Six African members in the federal Parliament may not be numerically imposing, but in these matters they have the backing of the reserve powers and reference to the Home Government. It is for the British Government to see that these powers do not degenerate into a dead letter.

The territorial Governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by virtue of their retention of responsibility for African local government and kindred subjects, still have it in their say to initiate the lines on which Africans shall develop politically from the bottom up. There is the possibility, of course, that a wicked generation of white settlers might one day be brought to power and seek deliberately by craft and pressure to undermine African privileges and safeguards. That is what the African leaders who oppose federation declare will happen, and their fear is the key to their uncompromising refusal to take part in any discussions. It is a pessimistic assumption. If such were to happen, only the resolution of the British Government could protect them against it. But the same applies if such a situation had developed to-day without federation. In any case, it is a historical risk which has to be accepted. The Africans' fear in this respect is based principally on the misconception that the policy of the Southern Rhodesian Government is identical with that of the Nationalists in South Africa. Than this nothing could be farther from the truth. Striking a balance, it seems that the Africans are likely to gain by federation much needed social and economic advancement at the cost of some slowing down of political advancement at higher levels so far as the Africans from the north are concerned. But that will be to a certain extent compensated for by the accelerated advancement of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia.

LONELY STUDENTS

In the last 12 months or so, the colonial student has increasingly attracted public interest. Young men and women from Africa, Asia, and the West Indies are heard on the radio, speaking of life in their own territories, commenting on political events there, and discussing their experiences in Britain. It is as if the British people were gradually waking up to their existence, although Nigerians, West Indians, Malays and others have been in their midst in steadily growing numbers since the last war.

The reason for this sudden interest is due mainly to the impact, politically and economically, that these territories are having on Britain. Lancashire businessmen now pay attention to what Mr. Nwapa, the Nigerian Minister of Commerce and Industries, has to say about cotton exports. The Gold Coast is rapidly approaching self-government and, it is hoped, will become a full member of the British Commonwealth, while Malaya is our chief colonial dollar earner. At the same time tension and strife in Kenya and the Far East, together with political issues in Central Africa, all help to focus interest on the colonial territories and their representatives in Britain. It is these young men and women from oversea of varied race and colour who may well be the leaders of government and society in their own countries to-morrow. The treatment they receive in our midst, the slights, the misunderstanding, the warmth, the friendliness, the small actions of good will, each in their turn will have an effect on the future relations between the tutor and his former pupils.

Much is being done to help the colonial student to acclimatize himself to life in Britain. The Churches play their part, and voluntary organizations like the East-West Friendship and the Victoria League help to smooth the path of these young people. The British Council centres are extremely popular. It is there that the colonial student, in congenial surroundings, feels that someone is taking an interest in him, and it is there that they can reciprocate hospitality.

Although Britain is gradually becoming more free from colour prejudice, as it affects the colonial student, there remains much to be done to eradicate this barrier. There are few people, except isolated cases in the older age groups, who actually resent the presence of coloured peoples in their homes, but there are many who fear to take them in simply because of what the neighbours might think. Others who have daughters foresee all kinds of dangers in store when the coloured man enters the family circle, but again such fears are in most cases totally unwarranted, for the colonial student is generally just as sensible about these matters as any young man, irrespective of race or colour.

While the British Council, the Churches, and other bodies can do much to help the student, much more is needed in the way of ordinary social contacts with British families. But the effort required to make the initial approach must come from the families, and it must be spontaneous and free from any spirit of condescension. Furthermore, hospitality should be simple, continuous, and not designed to impress. There should be an increasing effort on the part of all to help these lonely young men and women from oversea. If the opportunity is not taken, there are others, as MR. HULEDE points out on another page, who will exploit the situation for their own ends.

CARIBBEAN PROSPECTS

A conference will be held in London in April which may be of the greatest importance for the future of the British West Indies. A federation scheme, similar in many ways to the Central Africa proposals but set against a totally different background, is to be discussed. The basis of the talks will be the recommendations of the Standing Closer Association Committee, under the chairmanship of SIR HUBERT RANCE, which were published over three years ago. These proposals have been accepted in principle by the Governments of Jamaica, Trinidad, and the Windward and Leeward Islands (with the exception of the Virgin Islands). All these territories have been invited to send delegates to the conference, and so has Barbados, where the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly are still considering the proposals. The legislature of British Guiana has rejected the scheme, and that of British Honduras has shelved it for an indefinite period.

The idea that the British possessions in the Caribbean, diverse though they are in character and far apart in distance, should ultimately federate as a first step to self-government within the British Commonwealth has long been under consideration. The first important local move in favour of federation was in 1938, when a Labour congress met in British Guiana and made proposals for federation and a wholly elected legislature based on universal suffrage. The cooperation during the war between the West Indies territories and the formation of the Caribbean Commission in 1946 further paved the way for a growing unity of outlook, and in the following year the Standing Closer Association Committee was set up after a conference at Montego Bay, Jamaica.

The next step was the publication of two reports—one by the Rance Committee, already referred to, and another by a Commission, under the chairmanship of SIR MAURICE HOLMES, on the unification of public services in the British Caribbean area. The Rance Committee's report was concerned mainly with the forming of a federal constitution, but an introductory chapter contained some interesting observations on the economic reasons for federation. The most important of these is the need for improvement in productivity and economic stability, and no single one of the territories is large enough, or rich enough, to provide the research facilities needed to attain these ends. Sugar, with its fluctuating prices, plays too great a part in the economy of the West Indies. Moves are being made to diversify this economy, but this could be done much better on a regional basis, to avoid unnecessary competition between territories.

It is, however, on the political side that the federation proposals will stand or fall. As in the Central African scheme there is to be a Governor-General assisted by a Council of State composed of eight members nominated by the Prime Minister, and six members, including three officials, appointed by the Governor-General. The Federal legislature will consist of a Senate consisting of nominated members and a House of Assembly of elected members from all the territories, the number from each varying according to population. Again as in the case of Central Africa, the Australian example is being followed in the division into "exclusive" and "concurrent" lists of legislative powers of the federal authority and the territories. The federal machinery will be financed to a large extent from a proportion of revenues from constituent territories.

All this looks well enough on paper but there are obstacles to overcome. While there is no hard and fast racial division as there is in Central Africa, there are great historical and cultural differences between the various islands. There is the danger that federation will whet the appetite of the West Indies for further advance before they are ready for it. New constitutions have already been granted, for example in Jamaica, where the elected members (or Ministers) now have a majority on the legislative council. But "Ministers" in colonial territories do not often have real departmental responsibility, and a problem with a new federal organization would be to find enough men with sufficient experience to run it. At the same time demands for a greater measure of self-government are bound to become more insistent. But the West Indies are still far from being economically self-supporting and depend to a large extent on grants-in-aid from the British Government. So long as this is so, some measure of control from Whitehall must remain. Federation, however, if run in the right spirit, offers the best and indeed the only chance for the peoples of the British Caribbean to gain experience in the art of government, to learn to get along with one another, and to develop their resources so that they can at last become economically and politically independent.

SCANDAL IN LAGOS

The Storey report on corruption in the Lagos Town Council makes sad if interesting reading. Last August MR. STOREY, who is the Town Clerk of Norwich, was appointed by the GOVERNOR of NIGERIA to inquire whether the council was carrying out its functions properly, "in a manner conducive to the welfare of the town of Lagos." After nine weeks of patient investigation, MR. STOREY issued a report which criticized the council not so much for its inefficiency or its inexperience, which is perhaps excusable in the circumstances, but rather for its neglect of public duty, its corruption and political jobbery. Corruption is known among local authorities in other countries besides Nigeria, and it is a matter of satisfaction that at least MR. STOREY found the record of the chief officials in Lagos blameless.

The task of implanting a system of local government among a people in various stages of political development is no easy matter. In the early stages there are bound to be instances of corruption, but much can be done to avoid inefficiency. One way, perhaps, is to establish in the territory a local government summer school. Here at round-table conferences African officials and councillors, and indeed Ministers, could discuss local government problems with lecturers and experts from England. An interesting experiment was started on these lines in western Germany after the last war and MR. STOREY himself can testify to the success of the local government school at Hahnenklee, in the Harz Mountains. A sound governmental structure in Nigeria, with responsible councillors and public servants who will serve the community well, is the lesson that must be learnt from the Lagos *affaire*.

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News of the Colonies

CHALLENGE TO MAU MAU

From Our Correspondents

ALTHOUGH savage destruction of human life and property by Mau Mau adherents continues unabated in the worst parts of the Kikuyu tribal reserve, especially in South Nyeri and Fort Hall, there are encouraging signs that the general picture of the situation in Kenya is less gloomy and more encouraging that it was at the end of last year. The conflict between the forces of law and order and the fanatical gang leaders for the loyalty of the passive majority goes on daily, and is reflected in the mounting list of murders by the Mau Mau terrorists and the now rapidly increasing number of casualties among gangs and individuals who, because of guilty consciences (though it may also on occasion be fear), fail to stand when challenged and, by the authority of the emergency regulations, are shot dead as they run.

The recent marked decline in the number of murders or raids on farms in the European farming areas round the perimeter of the Kikuyu reserve reflects the considerable success which has attended police and military measures, in combination, to clear the gangs out of the neighbouring forests of the Aberdare range and to evacuate farm labour and forest "squatters" from the fringes where their cooperation with Mau Mau gangs has led to violent crimes. What is now necessary, and is being done as man-power becomes available, is a substantial increase in the number of police posts in the settled area and along the line of the forest.

Major-General W. R. N. Hinde, whose task is to plan and control the campaign in the name of the Governor, has been making personal contact with the areas affected and the people in them and tightening up the Government forces. These, by their very variety, present problems. There are British and African regular battalions and the Kenya Territorial Regiment, thousands of police, African and European, both regular and reservists, native trackers from the less sophisticated tribes, resistance groups, static home guards, commandos, and independent groups of mixed origin with special uniforms. General Hinde is trying to sort them out into fewer categories for the duties they can best perform as police and soldiers.

Nigerian Crisis

A political crisis in Nigeria's history has occurred in the Eastern Region, where the executive committee and most members of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons came into conflict with their own party Ministers in the Government and sought to compel their resignations. Six of the nine Ministers refused to do so unless voted out by a two-thirds majority of the whole House of Assembly, and the resulting deadlock led to a completely fruitless Budget session in January. No legislation was enacted, and the Appropriation Bill was not even considered.

The first signs of unrest in the N.C.N.C. appeared last autumn, when it was suggested that neither the regional nor the central Ministers were furthering party aims and interests with sufficient determination. The situation was aggravated in December when the N.C.N.C. Ministers found themselves unable to attend a special party convention, one of the objects of which was to decide whether or not to continue to cooperate in the working of the constitution. The decision was then made to reshuffle the eastern Government. The tension increased during January, when Mr. Azikiwe, national president of the party, and executive members arrived at Enugu and many meetings were held. These culminated in a decisive one during the night of January 29, when nine regional Ministers put their signatures to letters of resignation, giving Mr. Azikiwe and the executive a free hand to reshuffle the Ministerial appointments. Three hours later six Ministers, having reconsidered their decision in view of the circumstances under which they signed the letters, informed the Lieutenant-Governor that they had no intention of resigning.

From this rather extraordinary situation the deadlock arose. The House met on January 30 and from then on the six Ministers stood firm, declaring that they would remain in office until each appointment was revoked individually by secret ballot, in accordance with the law. The N.C.N.C. majority in the House won a no confidence vote and rigidly opposed any ballot, saying that, in accordance with accepted parliamentary practice, the Ministers should step down as it was clear that they were no longer wanted. There were bitter debates in which much dirty linen was washed, and accusations of jealousy and the desire for self-aggrandisement were made on both sides. During this time the N.C.N.C. majority was reduced by resignations, but the immediate likelihood of a compromise appears to have receded through the formation of a rival party calling itself the National Independence Party, led by Professor Eyo Ita, regional Minister and former national vice-president of the N.C.N.C.

The Duke of Edinburgh greeting Mr. David Olurin, of Nigeria, at the new Alliance Club for oversea students in Bedford Place, London.

British Honduras Politics

The Secretary of State's dispatch approving the new constitution has given rise to surprisingly little comment in British Honduras, and has not yet been debated by the Legislative Council. The more conservative elements are inclined to think that the granting of universal adult suffrage is going too fast for the political development of the colony, but it is doubtful if there is any validity in this objection. Even with the locally recommended literacy test which the Secretary of State set aside, the franchise would have been almost as wide as under universal suffrage because literacy in the colony is very high, being estimated above 90 per cent.

Under the previous constitution, a small property or income qualification for the franchise was laid down. The application of universal suffrage will not greatly increase the number of wage earners who are eligible for the vote, but will mean a very large increase in the women's vote. In Belize this is likely to benefit the People's United Party, whose following consists very largely of working-class women. In the districts the main addition to the franchise will be the small farmers, and if they exercise their privileges the vote is likely to go against the People's United Party, which, because of its Guatemalan associations, has little support in the districts lying close to the Guatemalan border.

The disturbing fact is that the P.U.P. is the only effectively organized political party in the country. The National Party has ceased any form of political activity since the last City Council election in Belize, and is making no attempt to gain support either there or in the country districts. As a result there is a distinct possibility that the P.U.P. may win the election by default although their following is a small minority of the population of the colony.

"Election Fever" in B.G.

All other interest in British Guiana is subordinated to the General Elections to be held on April 27, when up to 200,000 voters, about half of them women, will go to the polls under a new constitution providing for universal adult suffrage and a Ministerial system. The Government has instructed its departments that priority is to be given to work concerning the elections, and political activity is growing daily. More than 100 candidates have already declared themselves, even though the major parties have not yet revealed their entire panels. Indeed, the two largest parties, the People's Progressive and National Democratic, are displaying fissile tendencies, and one or two small parties have been added to the previous number. Results are therefore unpredictable, and it is likely that no party will predominate in the House of Assembly.

Hongkong Disquiet

Not for the first time in the past few years it has been events outside the Colony of Hongkong which have most affected it during the past quarter. President Eisenhower's decision to withdraw the United States Seventh Fleet from Formosan waters would not in itself have seemed disturbing, but the talk of a blockade or an embargo, or increases in the list of prohibited goods which may be exported to China, cannot but disturb a place whose existence depends on peaceful trading conditions. Although in the past two years trade has fluctuated, in the last months of 1952 there was a welcome recovery in trade with China—over a fifth of the Colony's total trade—though the total figure for 1952 of HK$6,000m. compares with a total for 1951 of HK$9,000m.

Rural Welfare in Mauritius

The subject of rural welfare has been vigorously tackled in Mauritius and very encouraging progress has already been made. The Social Welfare Department and the Civil Commissioners take a large part in the work, and the recently created district councils and village councils are expected to contribute their share.

Four years ago the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund Committee, at the request of the Social Welfare Department, set up social welfare centres and community centres in the rural areas which are mostly inhabited by workers of the sugar industry, for whose welfare the fund has been created. The buildings are built of cement and cost between £3,000 and £4,000 each.

Trinidad Cocoa

The Trinidad Government has decided to spend almost a million dollars for increasing the supply of clones for rehabilitation of cocoa plantations in the Colony. The clones are plants grown from cuttings made from selected heavy bearing trees, and have the great advantage of running true to type, which is not the case with plants produced from seeds. While seedlings frequently take five years to come to bearing and yield an average of only one pound of cocoa a tree, some of the clones bear in two or three years and yield four times as much as seedling cocoa. For this reason, the Cocoa Board, which administers funds raised by a cess on cocoa and other special taxation, is now insisting on the use of clones as a qualification for subsidy where previously it allowed replanting with seedlings. At the same time it has made a concession to small proprietors by allowing them to retain up to 35 per cent. of old-type trees in bearing, instead of clear-felling all fields of cocoa in respect of which the replanting subsidy is applied for.

The demand for clones is growing rapidly, and smaller growers are now taking their places beside the large landowners—who were previously the main beneficiaries of the cocoa subsidy—in replanting their holdings with the help of the Government subsidy. The combined output of the Cocoa Board's propagating stations and of assisted estate propagators was estimated at 350,000 plants this year, but there is a demand for 800,000. The million dollar expenditure now approved will about double the output of clones, but the Cocoa Board has recommended that the target for the immediate future be fixed at one million plants a year.

THE COMMONS AND FEDERATION

IF issues were still decided in the House of Commons by debate, no one would be rash enough to forecast the verdict which 615 British members of Parliament will pass on the scheme for Central African federation. Opinion in both the main parties is only half-formed: only the six Liberals are clear and united in their attitude. They, of course, have no hope (or fear) of ever being called to the responsibilities of office. This makes the choice simple for them: they can recognize the dangers of imposing federation on a hostile or suspicious African population and on that ground they oppose it—without being forced to consider what alternative course they would propose if they were returned to power next month or next year.

It is precisely because the Conservative Party is now in office and the Labour Party liable to be recalled to office at a future (and not necessarily distant) general election, that their members (and, in particular, their leaders) must make a far more complicated decision than any which faces the comparatively carefree Liberals. Those who have no responsibilities can see every political issue as a choice between a "right" and a "wrong." Those, however, who are burdened with responsibilities know that the choice is always the more painful one between a greater and a lesser good or between a greater or lesser evil.

Although the Parliamentary Labour Party has now decided to oppose in the House of Commons any plan to impose the federation scheme on a hostile African population, this decision still leaves undecided the party's attitude to the scheme as a whole. Central African federation is one of the few issues which have divided the leaders of the Labour Party—and not along the lines of "Bevanite" against "non-Bevanite," though the Bevanites are all on one side—against the imposition of federation. For on the same side with them stands (after much honest heart-searching) one of the leading Labour ex-Ministers who is most hostile to the "Bevanites" on all other controversial issues.

Equally interesting is the fact that the firmest public support for federation from a former Labour Minister has been given by Mr. R. R. Stokes, who has a habit of making up his mind on what he considers to be the merits of a question—with little thought for the more trivial political consequences. That he should have been moved to declare himself so clearly and openly at this stage is proof that the dispute on this issue in the Labour Party is not going to be ended by a simple vote in the Parliamentary Party.

The Labour M.P.s must find a working policy for Central Africa before they are again in office, and for most of them (even for those ex-Ministers who now oppose the imposition of the present scheme) a workable policy implies some form of federation. The immediate attitude adopted by the Parliamentary Labour Party is of far less significance than the movement of opinion among the small minority of the party who are its effective leaders and will (in the event of another Labour Government) be its effective policy-makers. From this point of view the known views of Mr. R. Stokes are much more important than the views of, say, Mr. Fenner Brockway—though, on the immediate issue, it is Mr. Brockway who appears to speak the mind of the majority of the party.

The views of Labour M.P.s must anyhow be of limited importance, since the party has not a majority in the House of Commons. The Government have that majority, but it is small and could be chipped away by the defection of a few Conservative members of Parliament. It is known that about a dozen Conservative back-benchers are worried about the imposition of the scheme in the face of African opposition. But they do not appear to feel strongly enough about the issue to canvass more support. On the other hand, the possibility that they may abstain when the scheme is put before the House cannot be ruled out. Such an abstention—with the Liberals and the Labour Party voting at full strength against the scheme—would be sufficient to endanger both the scheme and the Government. But the Government is likely to be able to rely on the abstention of a number of Labour M.P.s—those who share Mr. Stokes's views—and in one sense the White Paper scheme may be approved, if not by a bi-partisan vote, at least by a bi-partisan abstention.

Men of the Moment

LEADERS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Paving the Way to Federation

UNTIL the further experiment in the development of constitutional self-government on which he has been working since his appointment to the Governorship of Jamaica in 1951 is ready to be tried, Sir Hugh Foot is required to operate a system of government which places responsibility in his own hands, but power in those of an executive council in which elected members of the House of Representatives form a majority and where he himself has no original but only a casting vote. Unlike governors under the old crown colony system, who were in general required only to consult their executive councils on matters on which they considered that they required their advice, the present constitution of Jamaica requires the Governor—or Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, to use his official title—to consult the council on all matters of importance, which means in effect on practically every matter. The Governor's sole power, other than the formally "reserved powers," is that of deciding what matters shall in fact be put to the council and the order in which those which reach its agenda shall be considered. In short the Governor is faced with the problem of operating the legislative and administrative machinery of government with nothing to help him other than the attributes of his own character and such talent for administration as he may possess.

The man who faces this task must be capable of exercising that inflexible gentleness, or gentle inflexibility, which is most commonly found in the public service among the more outstanding ambassadors. It involves, moreover, an ability to identify himself with the people in whose country he is working that is more usually associated with politicians than with Civil servants. This is not to suggest that the Governor of Jamaica, any more than any other Governor, is required to "interfere in politics"; nothing would be more resented by all classes of the people, or do more to reduce the Governor's influence on affairs.

Born in 1907, the second of the five sons of the Rt. Hon. Isaac Foot, Sir Hugh Foot brings to his present office an ability and intellectual power fortified by the liberal tradition of his family and sharpened by a brilliant scholastic career at the Society of Friends' school at Leighton Park, Reading, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, and a distinguished record in the Colonial Service. At Cambridge he was president of the Union, following the example of his elder brother, Mr. Dingle Foot, who had been president of the Union at Oxford, and handing it on to his younger brother, Mr. Michael Foot, M.P., who was president at Oxford later.

Thus equipped and having in addition not only his family connexions but also a strong sense of responsibility and service to the community allied to considerable powers of expression, whether on paper or as a speaker on the platform and after dinner, he seemed to be assured of a successful political career in this country. He chose, however, to follow a vocation for service in the colonial field, and in 1929 was appointed as an administrative officer to Palestine, where he remained until 1937. During this period his ability to identify himself with the inhabitants of the territory and his powers of impartiality and sustained devotion to duty led, so the story goes, to his name being placed on the lists which both the Arabs and the Jews kept of those British officials who would be better dead. In the interests, therefore, of his personal safety he was seconded to the Colonial Office, but in 1939 was back in the Middle East as Assistant British Resident of Transjordan. It would seem that at this time he was coming to be regarded as an expert on Arab affairs, more especially as in 1943 he was appointed to be Chief Secretary of the Military Administration of Cyrenaica after the final expulsion of the Italians. He did not remain there for long, but later in the same year returned to the main stream of the Colonial Service on being selected for appointment at the unusually early age of 36 to the Colonial Secretaryship of Cyprus. Two years later he was promoted to be Colonial Secretary of Jamaica and in 1947 became Chief Secretary, Nigeria.

If in Jamaica he had been called upon to play a prominent part in making a new constitution work, in Nigeria he was called upon to play the chief role in maintaining the functions of government unimpaired during the formulation of an entirely new one, while at the same time devoting himself to the detailed design of the new system. It is no secret that the constitution of Nigeria as it is to-day is largely the result of Sir Hugh Foot's own draftsmanship. He has, in fact, become an expert at any rate in the practical aspects of colonial constitution-making and, as has been said, is at present working on further developments in the constitution of Jamaica.

Apart from being a Civil servant of wide experience in responsible and difficult posts Sir Hugh Foot is an enthusiast in the ancient Greek sense of the word. He has, moreover, an aptitude for imparting his own enthusiasm to those who work with him, although the same quality tends to lead him to take too much upon his own shoulders. The same tendency springs, no doubt, also from the fact that he is a phenomenally hard worker, with a truly astonishing power of maintaining a meticulous standard of accuracy under pressure. His enthusiasm extends also to the polo field, where he goes as hard as in his office.

Mr. Grantley Adams, leader of the Barbados House of Assembly.

Sir Hugh Foot, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica.

Mr. Albert Gomes, Trinidad's Minister of Labour, Industry, and Commerce.

MR. GRANTLEY ADAMS

GRANTLEY HERBERT ADAMS is one of the most striking figures in the British West Indies to-day. A graduate of Oxford University and a Queen's Counsel, he has for nearly two decades placed all his gifts freely and unreservedly at the disposal of the labour movement in the Caribbean. Without any of the more flamboyant characteristics of the Jamaican labour leader, Alexander Bustamante, he has nevertheless, through sheer strength of character and ability, attracted a large following among the West Indian people. His advance has been due to a rare combination of qualities. He has shown himself to be at once the intellectual who can make out a reasoned case for Socialism and the shrewd politician who knows how to keep his finger on the popular pulse.

Grantley Adams was born in Barbados in 1898. In 1918 he won the Barbados Scholarship and went up to St. Catherine's, Oxford, and afterwards read law at Gray's Inn. On his return to Barbados he worked as a journalist and built up a large practice as a barrister. In 1934 he first won a seat in the House of Assembly as a radical member and from that time he began to make his voice heard. But his real opportunity came after the riots in 1937 and the visit of the Royal Commission, under the late Lord Moyne, in 1938.

In the changed atmosphere of that time he began the work that was to lead him from one success to another. In 1938 the Barbados Progressive League was launched as a working class organization, with Socialist ideas. Three years later the Barbados Workers' Union was started, and within a short time it attracted thousands of members. These two organizations were to bring about a remarkable transformation in the political and economic life of the island. The Barbados Workers' Union won substantial benefits for its members; the Barbados Progressive League gradually changed the composition of the House of Assembly.

There has been no one quite like Grantley Adams in the whole history of Barbados. More than any other man, he may be said to be responsible for the profound change that has taken place in the island. But it is in the wider stage of West Indian affairs that he has in recent years shown his true stature. From the time when he prepared a draft constitution for a Federated West Indies at the West Indies Labour Conference in British Guiana in 1938 he has been recognized as one of the architects of West Indian reconstruction. His appointment in 1947 as President of the Caribbean Labour Congress was a fitting recognition of the service he has given to the cause of progress and reform in the West Indies.

In 1948 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech Jones, appointed Grantley Adams a member of the United Kingdom delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. At that meeting Adams took up the cudgels against the Russian critics of the British colonial system and defended the colonial policy of the British Labour Government. The reaction to his stand in Paris convinced him that far too many people in the Colonies still believed that Russia held out more hope for colonials than the metropolitan Powers of the west. Accordingly, the following year, when he was appointed a vice-president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, he took the opportunity at the first congress held in London, to issue a grave warning. He declared that the western world would have to show positive evidence of its good will if it were to save the colonial territories from the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

In view of the part Grantley Adams has played in West Indian and international labour circles, it was not surprising that, when the I.C.F.T.U., through its Inter-American Organization of Trade Unions, began to organize a Caribbean area division, Barbados was selected as the headquarters of the division. And it was perhaps a tribute to the efficiency of the Barbados Workers' Union that its general secretary, Mr. Frank Walcott, was appointed the first chairman of the division.

To his many activities Adams has added, since 1949, the duties of a member of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions (I.L.O.), Geneva. The same year he was appointed a member of the International Institute of Political and Social Science. Two years later he became a member of the Caribbean Commission and a member of the Council of the University College of the West Indies.

It is small wonder that Grantley Adams is regarded as one of the foremost figures in the West Indian scene. A powerful platform orator and an effective parliamentarian, he is equalled by few in supple argument and controversial skill. Provocative, colourful, and dynamic, he fights his political battles with an uncompromising spirit that gives no quarter and asks for none. One gets the impression that he is determined to make his way not by tactical adroitness or by calculating finesse, but by the sheer weight of brains and will. Yet behind the robust methods of the politician who knows how to retain the support of the masses lies the sanity of the statesman who will not rush headlong into hare-brained schemes. Of the new forces that have come into being he is completely unafraid, and all the crises of the hour and all the futilities of the contemporary scene he views, like Philip Snowden, with a kind of rugged, ultimate optimism.

MR. ALBERT GOMES

FEW people would imagine that Trinidad's Minister of Labour, Industry, and Commerce, Mr. Albert Gomes, was destined by his father to be a shopkeeper and actually worked for a short time behind a shop counter. Mr. Gomes is one of two delegates chosen by the Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago to represent that colony at the conference on West Indian federation to be held in London in April. The leading figure in the quasi-cabinet system set up under the reformed 1950 Constitution in Trinidad, he has always been an outspoken, even militant, supporter of federation, and realizes more than many another British Caribbean politician that a scattered, unfederated group of colonies can never aspire to Dominion status.

Mr. Gomes was one of Trinidad's delegates to the conference on the closer association of the British West Indian colonies held at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in 1947. He was appointed a member of the Standing Closer Association Committee with Sir Hubert Rance as chairman which was set up as a result of a resolution of that conference, and was a signatory of the committee's report which has been accepted in principle by most of the territories. The committee recommended the establishment of federal headquarters in Trinidad, but Mr. Gomes has said he would not mind if they were "in Timbuctoo," so long as federation was made an accomplished fact.

Mr. Gomes has been to London half a dozen times in the last few years for important conferences, and his portly figure is almost as familiar in the West Indian department of the Colonial Office as it is in the Government buildings in his native Port-of-Spain, where he represents the well-to-do, conservative northern city constituency of St. Clair in the Legislative Council. He has been in the Legislature since 1945, and in the following year was nominated to the Executive Council, being later returned to that body by vote of the Legislature under the provisions of the 1950 Constitution. As Minister responsible for industrial and commercial matters he has devoted much time and effort to an industrialization programme for the colony, and has succeeded in having a number of new enterprises established. He has instituted a policy of freeing commerce and industry from Government controls by stages.

In the Legislative Council Mr. Gomes is a forceful and resourceful speaker with a mordant wit and a flair for the *bon mot* and the telling interjection. Like a naughty boy with a peashooter he stings his opponents to infuriated retort or to fruitless appeals to the Speaker for protection.

Mr. Gomes's father was in the retail provision business in Port-of-Spain, a trade which he had carried on in Madeira, whence he went to Trinidad as a young man. He prospered in it, and expected his son "Bertie" to follow his example. But Albert Gomes was a restless youth with radical tendencies, unfitted for the humdrum routine of the shop counter. Besides, he had literary aspirations, and speedily discovered at Greenaar's Secondary Institute, where he was schooled, that Napoleon overlooked Blake and Byron when he called Britain a nation of shopkeepers. He persuaded his father to send him to America, where for several years he attended night classes, studying philosophy, economics, and history in addition to English literature, and working by day to eke out the meagre allowance which was all he could manage to get from home. On returning to Trinidad in 1930 he edited a small monthly magazine, and published three volumes of verse.

The oilfield riots in Trinidad in 1937 and labour disturbances in neighbouring colonies about that time were a turning point in Gomes's life. After the magazine went under he had turned with a heavy heart to commerce, wishing to please his father. But the repentant prodigal could not endure more than four years in his parents' house. Gomes had reluctantly come to realize that his restless longing for the hurly-burly of life unfitted him for an academic career as much as it did for the daily grind behind a shop counter. So when the oilfield trouble broke out the die was cast so far as he was concerned. He decided to go into politics.

In the Port-of-Spain City Council to which he was elected in 1938 he served nine years and was three times deputy mayor. He became president of a trade union, led labour marches and demonstrations, campaigned for higher wages, and on one occasion lay down on the floor of the municipal council chamber after being ordered out by the mayor, and defied city police to move him.

Albert Gomes has been accused of changing from a stormy petrel to a homing pigeon. But the analogy is not apt, for his lightnings and thunderbolts still burst and flash though they are directed towards different objectives. And in any event greater men than he have turned what their enemies called political somersaults under the sobering influence of responsible office, and have been all the better for it. In the Legislative Council he is Gomes the Minister, but still Gomes the irrepressible, Gomes with the booming voice and the shock of unruly hair; Gomes the ardent pro-federationist, the far-sighted planner of a broader West Indian destiny, but still Gomes the naughty boy with the peashooter.

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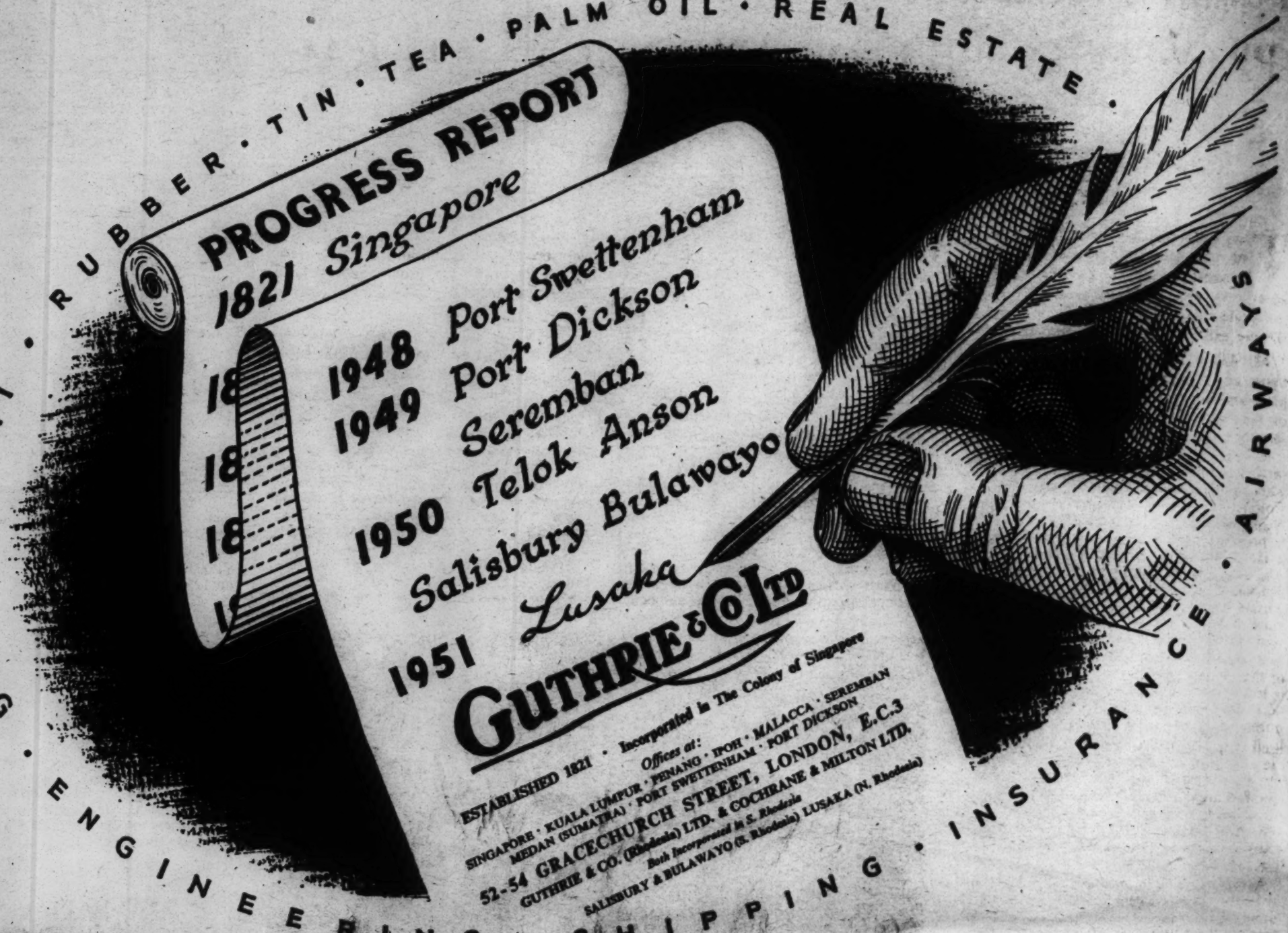

Economy

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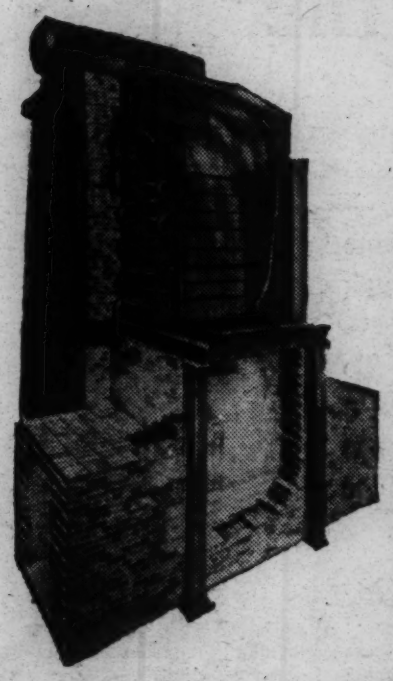

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Resources of the Colonial Empire—VIII

PROSPECTS OF GREATER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

By Professor J. F. V. Phillips

THE Colonial Empire comprises about 40 colonies, protectorates, mandates, trusteeships, and a score or more of lesser isles, most of them within the warm temperate regions or the tropics. In considering the existing and the potential resources of agricultural and related nature in the more important of these territories it is, on balance, preferable to deal with the more significant of the crop and livestock products than to attempt a description by territories.

As regards grain crops, there is a large net import in the Commonwealth ranging from wheat to maize and rice; in proportion the Colonial Empire is a larger net importer. Negligible amounts of wheat are grown in Cyprus, the Aden Protectorate, Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, and Basutoland—the annual total production being about 200,000 tons only. Kenya is the most important wheat-producing colony, growing more than half the total, and exporting more than 20,000 tons of wheat flour in 1950. Of oats and barley very little is grown. Because of the climatic range set for these crops this is less surprising than the limited production of maize, with its wide warm-temperate to tropical distribution. For the Commonwealth itself the acreage is less than one-tenth of the world total, while the import balance is one to several million tons. Although small amounts are produced in many colonial countries outside Africa, it is in the East, Central, and West African territories—notably in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Nigeria—that the bulk is grown.

World production of millet and sorghum exclusive of the Soviet Union is estimated at about 40 million tons annually. Although reliable estimates of yield are impossible to obtain for under-developed regions, it is clear that their total production is small by comparison and mainly by the African territories, the most important being by Nigeria (about 2,500,000 tons).

RICE SHORTAGE

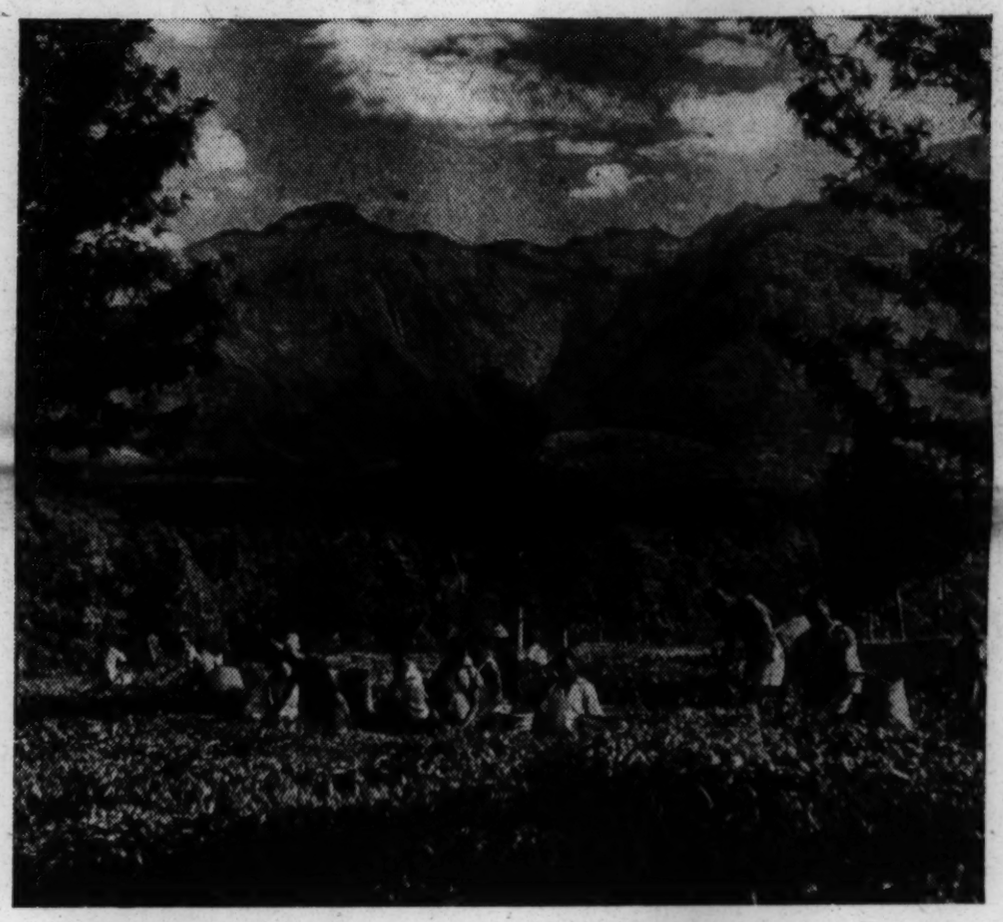
In consequence of the world shortage of rice, as again revealed recently at the F.A.O. rice conference in Bangkok—while production has not yet attained the pre-war level the consuming population has grown by one-fifth—there has been a tendency to extend production: about 8 per cent. of the yield being gained outside Asia compared with 5 per cent. before the war. Within our range the Federation of Malaya produces the largest tonnage of about 440,000, but has to import several hundred thousand tons to augment her needs. Sierra Leone produces about 200,000 tons and British Guiana about 62,000. Countries producing between 50,000 and 100,000 tons are British Borneo, Tanganyika, and Nigeria, while production over 20,000 tons is shown by Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, the Gambia, West Indies, Kenya, and Mauritius.

As regards the future of grain production the salient features are: little likelihood of any large increase of wheat, oats, and barley; great scope for maize, even greater for sorghum, and much promise for rice. For these three crops expansion could be best achieved in East, Central, and West Africa.

Among what is popularly known as "root" crops the potato plays little part in the colonies, being produced sparingly in the temperate climates of Malta and Cyprus and even more so in the uplands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Of the sweet potato and yams of various kinds, however, it is true that more than a dozen countries show large yields, and some of the remainder appreciable ones. Among the large producers are Nigeria (3,500,000 tons), Tanganyika, Uganda, Malaya, and the West Indies. West Indian Arrowroot (maranta) is a special crop-yielding arrowroot of the pharmacopoeia from its rhizomes, St. Vincent and Grenada gaining dollars thereby. A heavy total starch and special "tapioca starch" yielding crop widely cultivated for subsistence over a great range of territories, more particularly in Africa and the east, is cassava, the principal colonial growers being Nigeria (three million tons), Malaya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and the West Indies.

In the future there could be slightly increased potato production in the uplands of East Africa provided that new "seed" were available from temperate regions at short intervals. For sweet potato and yams there could be great expansion, particularly in East and West Africa. Cassava, in improved varieties resistant to mosaic disease, and better farmed, is worthy of wide extension; in due time mechanized establishment and harvesting, together with the provision of suitable fertilizer, should aid in gaining much heavier returns.

Cane sugar, which is grown in plantations and in small peasant plots alike, is produced throughout the colonies. While the Commonwealth is a net importer (up to a million tons), the Colonial Empire is a small net exporter, the principal countries responsible for this being Mauritius (458,000 tons in 1951) and the West Indies, including British Guiana and British Honduras (883,000 tons), and Fiji (113,000 tons). There is a small export from Kenya and Uganda. Tanganyika produces for home use about 60,000 to 80,000 tons, Malaya importing at present about 150,000 to 200,000. Expansion in higher rainfall regions in East and West Africa is feasible, while irrigation projects in those places and elsewhere would assure higher production. Such a possibility, for instance, exists in the proposed irrigation of the Accra plains in the Gold Coast.



Nyasaland is the leading tea producer among the colonial territories. Here Africans are picking tea on the 8,000-acre Lujeri tea estate in the Mlanje district.

The production of non-commercial or only locally tradeable kinds of legumes is considerable. Among the commercial and therefore to some extent recorded kinds are "broad-beans" (*Vicia*), "dry beans" (*Phaseolus*), "dry peas" (*Pisum*), and the chick (*Cicer*), all of which are grown to a lesser extent than possible. There is little doubt that both selected local and other legumes could be grown in appropriate areas far more extensively, both for the good of man and of the soil.

Turning to vegetable oils and oilseeds, it is encouraging that the latest world reports indicate a measure of relief of the war and post-war acute shortage of oils and fats. Groundnut production within the Commonwealth has expanded considerably, the pre-war import balance being converted to a slight export one in 1950 of about 50,000 tons, in terms of oil equivalent of nuts and oil. While East Africa has seen some change, it is in West Africa that impressive increase in production has been achieved, the 1951 acreages and yields of unshelled nuts being for Nigeria one million acres and 204,000 tons, and for the Gambia 220,000 acres and 65,000 tons. East African acreages were: Tanganyika, 300,000, and Uganda, 345,000—with yield in the vicinity of 150,000 to 200,000 tons each. Exports of shelled nuts for 1951 were from Nigeria 141,000 tons (8 per cent. of the value of total exports), the Gambia 54,000 tons (89 per cent.). In 1950 the Nigerian export figure was 311,000 tons. In oil equivalent of nuts British West Africa in 1951 exported 82,000 tons, contrasted with 129,000 for French West Africa.

Cotton-seed for extraction of oil for food and soap making and providing a residual cake for livestock is produced in the West Indies to some degree and more largely in Nigeria (30,000 tons), Uganda (13,000), with some from Kenya, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland. Sesame, giving edible oil, residual meal for human consumption, and a good cattle cake, is grown in Cyprus, the Aden Protectorate, Nigeria, and in Tanganyika and Uganda (1951 total, 33,000 tons).

COCONUT PRODUCTS

Coconut products—copra, coconut oil, and copra cake—normally show an export balance in the Commonwealth, the oil equivalent of copra and oil for 1950 being 94,000 tons. The chief producers are Malaya (1950 gross export, 125,000 tons copra), British Oceania (67,000), British Borneo (20,000), and East Africa (15,000). An outstanding oilseed source is the oil palm, yielder of kernel oil used for margarine, cooking oil, and soap, as well as of palm oil employed in soap and candle manufacture, and in extraction of edible fats. Much home use is made of oil palm products, there also being a growing export of kernels, kernel oil, and palm oil. Because the sources in West Africa are almost wholly "wild" palm the total cannot be assessed correctly. In 1950 the quantities of net exports of palm oil were: Nigeria, 173,000 tons; Sierra Leone, 1,900; Gold Coast, 255; and Malaya, 51,000 tons; the Commonwealth import balance being 16,500 tons. In Nigeria the Oil Palm Production Board promotes the industry by funds granted to two regional production boards for the purchase of small oil mills and in organizing purchases. A West African institute for oil palm research at Benin, Nigeria, serves the four British territories and provides experience in production and management under diverse conditions.

Of significance are many indigenous and introduced oil-bearing trees, shrubs, and annuals, which although rarely entering the export market provide edible and other oils for home use. Of these, examples are illipe nuts (*Bassia*), exported from British Borneo and providing a substitute for cocoa-butter; shea nut (*Butyrospermum*) of British West Africa, yielding shea "butter"; and niger seed (*Guizotia*), grown in East and West Africa for niger seed oil for cooking, soap, and paint oil.

It is likely that the outstanding future developments will be the improvement and extension of groundnut production in East, Central,

Palm products are Nigeria's biggest export industry. The fruit is being stacked to await processing.

and West Africa; the raising of yield from and the expansion of acreage of oil palm in the wetter parts of West Africa and perhaps Central and South America; and the use of better varieties and the extension of coconut in suitable habitats in South-East Asia, the Pacific, and East and West Africa. Less significant is expansion likely to be in sesame, sunflower, and tung (*Aleurites*), but when more is known about the strains of soya best adjusted to particular climatic (including length of day) and soil factors this crop should be more popular where such conditions exist. For castor, in giant and dwarf form, there is promise because of its wide adaptability and the demand for the oil for lubrication.

Tea production is limited compared with that from India (500-600 million lb.), Pakistan (44 million lb.), and Ceylon (300 million lb.), the 1951 exports from the colonies being: Nyasaland 15,700,000lb., Kenya 9,200,000lb., and other British East African territories, 3,700,000lb. These countries are not regulated by the International Tea Agreement Scheme, but Nyasaland has her own ordinance controlling expansion.

In the growing and export of coffee, of which the Commonwealth is a net importer, the leading role is played by Uganda (1951 export, 872,500cwt.), Kenya (191,800cwt.), Tanganyika (329,000cwt.), and Jamaica (22,400cwt.).

As a dollar earner cocoa is particularly important for West Africa, where, for example, in 1948 about $89m. and in 1949 about $65m. were thus earned. Exports from the Colonial Empire in 1951 were: Gold Coast, 365,800 tons; Nigeria, 121,500 tons; Trinidad and Tobago, 8,600 tons; Grenada, 2,400 tons; and Jamaica, 1,200 tons. Production is being encouraged in Malaya with perhaps an ultimate yearly potential of 100,000 tons, while pilot schemes are being planned for British Honduras and British Guiana, the ultimate possibilities being estimated at about 10,000 tons each annually.

The improvement and the expansion of tea production is likely to take place principally in suitable highland regions of Nyasaland and East Africa. Research in coffee is well advanced in British territories on the east of the continent. There is some chance of expansion there, but only limited opportunity in West Africa.

As for cocoa, it must be remembered that foreign interests in suitable climatic and soil conditions in Central and South America and South-East Asia are paying attention to this crop. Coupled with the depredations in West Africa of the virus disease, "swollen shoot," capsids, and "black pod" disease, this other production in the course of the next decade or two may profoundly change the export trade, hence the urgent need for increased study of the control of the disease. Problems in soil husbandry and management for well-sustained bearing also await solution. Suitable areas for expansion are becoming more limited in British West Africa. It may not be without meaning for the future that exports from French West Africa should be about 40,000, and from French Cameroons about 50,000 tons annually.

Of soft woods the Colonial Empire is extremely short, it being in British Honduras only that indigenous pine occurs. In Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Swaziland efforts are being exerted to grow exotic soft woods (*Pinus*) on a plantation scale. Hard woods, however, are abundantly exported from some of the Colonial territories, rough figures for 1951 being in the order of nine million cubic feet for the Gold Coast, 5,500,000 for Malaya, 17 million for Nigeria, six million for Borneo and Sarawak, one million each for British Guiana and British Honduras, 400,000 for Tanganyika, 200,000 for Kenya, and 132,000 for Northern Rhodesia—with much greater demands estimated for the near future. Forest conservation is still less effectual than is desirable in some territories, while silvicultural management and modern utilization, so as to reduce waste, are still all too rare in spite of efforts of the forest services concerned to accelerate progress.

As soft wood is at a premium, it follows that pulp-wood for paper and related needs cannot be obtained from it. It has long been the view that the obtaining of enough pulp of consistent quality from the tropics is unlikely, because of the wide range of hard woods and the somewhat heterogeneous nature of the various bamboos, other grasses, reeds, sedges, and sundry agricultural residues, and the difficulties inherent in collection and transportation of these. That there may be a complete change in attitude is shown by the conclusions of a large group of pulp and paper experts assembled by F.A.O. recently. They asserted that tropical woods, sugar-cane bagasse, straw, and various other agricultural residues constitute raw material suitable for the industrial preparation of pulp and paper, and that a variety of established processes could be used for the conversion of what is admittedly "unconventional" raw material. Should all this prove correct in practice the Colonial Empire may have much to offer—and to gain—in the future.

Apart from a number of indigenous barks of local value only, the tanning materials are provided by various species of mangrove in South-East Asia, East and West Africa, the Caribbean and Borneo, and to a small degree recently from established wattles in East Africa. Unless satisfactory conservation and management are introduced more generally into mangrove stands, the yield of bark is liable to diminish seriously. Wattle production in the moister uplands of East and Central Africa has promise, but only if the crop is soundly managed and if cheap transport is available.

Although in various Colonies a rich range of subtropical and tropical fruits is grown for local use, it is to enhanced production of banana, pineapple—fresh and canned—citrus fruit and extracts, avocado fruit and oil, and pawpaw for papain that serious thought must be given. The Panama and leaf-spot diseases of banana in both Africa and the West Indies are serious handicaps. Pineapple cultivation has much increased in Malaya and is attracting interest in the West Indies and Africa. Citrus production is being increased in Cyprus, the West Indies, and British Honduras, and there is also scope for expansion in parts of East and West Africa.

When the vast area of the Colonial Empire is remembered, it is remarkable how low is the population of livestock. It is only when the hazards of drought, scarcity and poor distribution of drinking water, pests, disease, carnivores, general "wildness" of many portions of the territories and local customs, and lack of management of livestock are appreciated that reasons for this are clearer. For instance, in British Central, East, and drier West Africa, the controls set by all these factors, and especially by tsetse fly, tick-borne disease, carnivores and drought, are severe indeed. Although some cattle of local, introduced, and crossed breeds are produced in more than 30 of the countries within our range, it is in a few only that the numbers are great. Thus those carrying from about 500,000 head are Tanganyika (seven million), Nigeria and Cameroons (four million), Bechuanaland (one million), Northern Rhodesia (800,000), Kenya (600,000), Basutoland (500,000), Swaziland (500,000), Gold Coast (330,000), and British West Indies (330,000).

Carried in about 20 of the territories, sheep are fewer in number than cattle, countries with about 100,000 upwards being Kenya

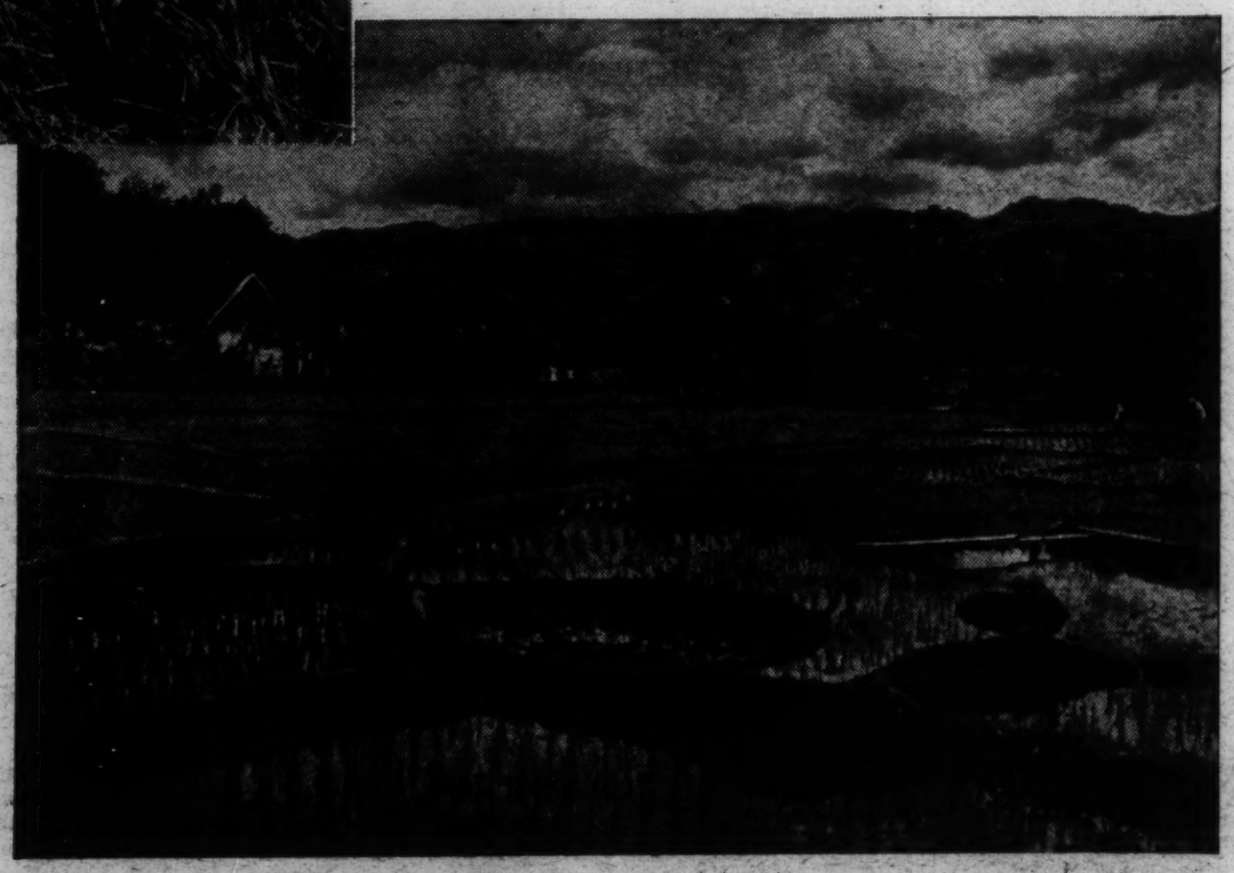
Splitting coconuts in Malaya. The fluid is spilled, revealing the white flesh of the undried copra.

(three million), Tanganyika (2,300,000), Nigeria and Cameroons (two million), Somaliland Protectorate (1,800,000), Basutoland (1,600,000), Falkland Islands (160,000), Bechuanaland (160,000), Aden Protectorate (160,000), and the British West Indies (100,000). Apart from some in the Falklands and West Indies, these sheep are not wool-bearing, but are run for mutton.

That hardy and, if not wisely managed, destructive animal the goat is more abundant than sheep in about 30 of the territories, those with 250,000 goats upwards being Nigeria and the Cameroons (six million), Kenya (four million), Tanganyika (three to four million), Uganda (two to three million), Somaliland Protectorate (1,400,000), Aden Protectorate (600,000), Bechuanaland (600,000), Basutoland (600,000), Gold Coast (500,000), and British West Indies (330,000). The products from these are milk, in some instances skins, less often—except in longhaired types—mohair, and, of course, meat.

In the greater number of the territories pigs are kept, often being allowed to forage and breed at will; notable exceptions are some farms in British Africa and in the West Indies. Countries showing from about 50,000 pigs upwards are the West Indies (350,000), Malaya (350,000), Nigeria and Cameroons (250,000), Nyasaland (100,000), British Borneo (100,000), Northern Rhodesia (50,000), and Kenya (50,000). In the West Indies, East Africa, and Nigeria some useful pork, bacon, and ham are procurable, but generally the Colonial territories in Africa carry "scrub" types.

Poultry, chiefly chickens and to a very restricted extent hardy ducks, are kept by many local peoples, but generally in a primitive manner not of itself permitting of improvement. Exceptions are found notably in the West Indies and locally in parts of East and Central Africa, where more progressive management of better-class birds is receiving attention. Newcastle disease recently made a sweep of the poultry



Efforts are being made throughout the Colonial Empire to expand the production of rice, of which there is a world scarcity. Above: Harvesting rice in Sierra Leone. Right: Padi fields in Pahang, Malaya.

population in West Africa, where official interest is endeavouring to restock with exotic breeds. Poultry being scarcely managed and not over abundant in most of the territories, it follows that egg production is still poor in quality and amount.

Dairy products—milk and ghee—are produced for consumption and local trade by the local peoples over a wide range of conditions in British Africa and elsewhere; little attention is given to butter production outside some of the European centres, while cheese is even less often made.

For the future the principal lines of development of livestock include selective feeding and management of some of the more promising indigenous animals, with the twofold purpose of raising production without impairing such useful natural immunity and resistance as they may enjoy against pests, disease, and rigours of the environment. Obviously no lasting progress is possible unless the local peoples increasingly learn better methods of managing and disposing of their livestock. Because of restrictions placed on export of meat from countries in which rinderpest occurs, it is unlikely that British and other markets could benefit from surplus production, unless these were canned or otherwise processed. For the better feeding of their own peoples, however, the Colonial territories have a great potential.

A Nigerian splitting cocoa pods. The seeds (cocoa beans) are the raw material for chocolate and cocoa manufacture.

Surveys made recently by the Fisheries Adviser to the Secretary of State and by the local Governments indicate that although there is a possibility of much increasing the production of fish in marine and fresh waters, such increase is likely to be consumed largely by the local population. Exceptions may exist in the Gulf of Aden, Hongkong, in the Mauritius-Seychelles regions, possibly Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and in the inland waters of Central and East Africa.

It is clear that any marked increment must depend upon the availability and the wise use of mechanized methods of catching, transporting and preserving, efforts being exerted to train staff and local fishermen as vessels and equipment come to hand. Study is being made of freshwater fish culture in various parts and notably in British Africa. It is likely that the next decade or so will see increased efficiency in the Colonial Empire fishery industry.

Even so brief a review of the resources of the Colonial Empire reveals that there is not only much activity and production, but also in some respects fair to good promise for the future. But there is more than this to ponder: the present and the future problems of production and development, in their range, variety and relative significance, demand thought, knowledge, experience, the formulation of policy and the planning of related detail, money and, emphatically, time for their solution. Some of the pressing difficulties, along with broad proposals conceivably useful in their solution, are mentioned briefly here.

The first problem to consider is that of the improvement of yield from land already in production. Apart from the hazards of serious diseases and pests of economic plants and livestock, the depredations of carnivores destructive to domesticated animals and of birds and large game harmful to crops, and the toll of drought and flood, there are inhibiting factors equally serious. They include: Low standards of field and animal husbandry in the less developed countries; inadequacy of tools and implements; usage of varieties of crops of staple and other kind that, although perhaps locally drought-hardy and disease-resistant, are poor yielders either in quality or amount; frequent loss of opportunity of production due to the dependence of the ill-equipped farmers, in countries with marked dry and wet seasons, on the coming of the rains before any serious effort is worth exerting to prepare the soil for the establishment of the crop; losses of harvested material due to lack of effective means of storage and protection against weather and pests; the combination of superstition, tribal tradition and ignorance in the keeping of livestock, resulting in overstocking and deterioration of natural pasturage; the rare use of sufficient organic matter in soil husbandry and the still restricted employment of balanced fertilizers because of shortage and cost; local land hunger due to increase in population together with the reduction in the time of return to given pieces of land in "shifting cultivation"; uncertain tenure, impeding replanning the usage of land for the benefit of the community; and insufficient and unsuitable major and subsidiary roads in areas potentially productive.

To approach the technical solution of all these problems is the aim of the numerous agricultural, livestock, veterinary, and other departments and research centres throughout the Colonial Empire, almost all of which need more funds, staff, and other facilities. Beyond the technical solutions, however, are those of an economic, sociological, and even political nature, calling alike for the knowledge and the wisdom of the political staff and those responsible for the administration of government.

It has become commonplace to propose the development of specific agricultural, irrigation, settlement, and related projects for the developing of land hitherto almost or quite unused. For better or worse the Overseas Food Corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation, local colonial Government-sponsored corporations, as well as organizations elsewhere in the Commonwealth, have attempted to open up new country—to clear the natural vegetation, to prepare the soil for production, and to bring about a system of economic agriculture that would be appropriate to the climatic, soil, and other natural phenomena, to the cropping or livestock possibility, and to the future tribal and political setting. That there will be, and certainly must be, further efforts to develop in reasonable time portions of the Colonial Empire is axiomatic. Indeed, it would be surprising if the outcome of the recent Commonwealth conference in London is not a presage of certain development schemes for winning additional food and other material. To be ready for such within the Colonial Empire it is imperative that lessons gleaned from the experience of those who went before in such kinds of venture be ingrained deeply in those charged to make further onslaught on the wildernesses of the underdeveloped countries. Among the topics claiming the attention of those carrying executive responsibility are these:—

1. Provision of high quality aerial photographic surveys supported by appropriate ground work so that the suitability of the region for a programme of crop or animal husbandry may be assessed, after all local knowledge has been critically examined.

A Nigerian farmer harvesting birds-eye chillies on his four-acre farm. He studied at the Oyo Farm School.

2. Planning and prosecution of the land-use survey—including the provision of soil and water conservation measures, the siting of various residential and work centres, and the alignment of lines of communication—so that no area is included that is not by nature suitable for development.

3. Early initiation of pilot projects to provide information on vital matters, such as technique and costs of bush clearing, the preliminary and subsequent preparation of the soil for arable use, and on the whole of the sequence of operations from seeding to harvest and storage, together with the costs and the results of all such activities.

4. Proceeding cautiously from the pilot stage to the projected larger scheme.

5. Organizing agriculture so that the mental and moral attachment of the farmer to the area he is working is intimate and his sense of responsibility rightly engendered, and so that the dimensions of the farms are manageable.

6. Integrating the local people into the scheme as early as possible, but only in such a way as to assure both their intelligent cooperation and their making a meaningful contribution to progress.

For the improvement and the expansion of the agricultural and related resources of the Colonial Empire for feeding her own peoples and increasing the export of certain commodities there are reasonably fair prospects, the degree naturally depending upon the country concerned. But encouraging as this may be it is nevertheless clear that no large advance is likely within the next decade, simply because the fundamental requirements of funds, experienced staff, and adequate facilities are not likely to be forthcoming within that time. It is also certain that the time is all too short for both learning and applying sufficiently widely the details of the art, science, and discipline of agricultural and related production in the under developed countries—their at present low standards of local husbandry and their lack of experience in planning and organizing being accepted.

To create in the local peoples an understanding of what development and improved methods mean for them and their land is not the least of the tasks to be accomplished. Herein lie both the opportunity of and the challenge to those who aim to develop the agricultural resources of the Colonial Empire. Roseate thinking and hasty action are less than of no avail—they are indeed enemies to progress. Inspired vision and planned, able, and very hard work alone will create the spirit for the assurance of victory. Above all, time gainfully used is the most precious need of the British Colonial Empire in feeding herself and the world beside.

Sugar is the West Indies' most important crop. Above: An estate worker cutting the cane with his machete. Left: Riding to the fields in a bullock cart.

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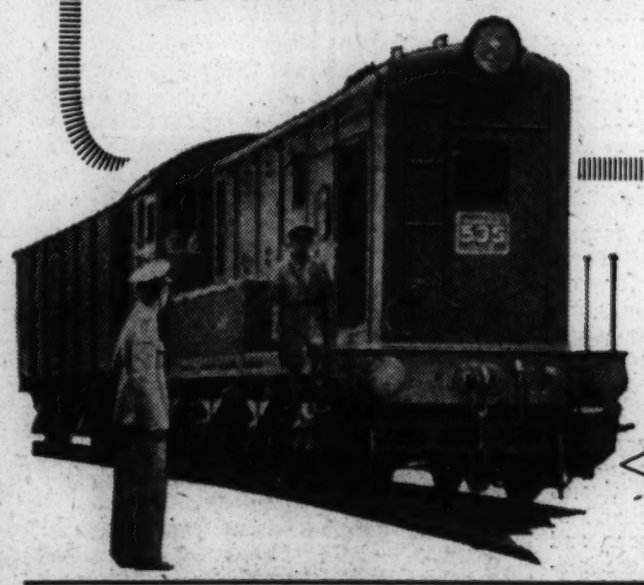

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Colonials in Britain

THE QUEEN'S COMMISSION FOR TWO NIGERIANS

By Our Special Correspondent

"YOU and I," said the young man from Africa on his first visit to Printing House Square, "You and I, what are we doing to build up a spirit of confidence and mutual understanding between the European and colonial peoples?" The visitor, a West Coast student, had been in England for well over three years, and during that time had learnt much about the way in which the British lived, but they in their turn had not learned much about him, nor indeed did they seem very interested. Few of his white friends, he said, could place accurately the territory he came from, and their conception of life in those parts was still based on *Sanders of the River*. Much of the trouble, he believed, was based on misunderstanding. He found that the English were rather reserved, and did not know exactly how to treat coloured people in their midst. The coloured student in his turn, not knowing the customs of the country and feeling in some cases a sense of inferiority, was ever too ready to take offence when there was no offence meant.

Yet many of these young coloured students are the potential leaders of society and government in their own countries. The slights and misunderstandings, the good will and the kind actions received in Britain in their turn, all will have a considerable effect on their future attitude towards the Mother Country. Helping to promote better understanding between colonial peoples and ourselves are organizations like the East-West Friendship and the much-maligned British Council, which does much to help the coloured student when he first arrives in Britain. There are also several magazines and periodicals which help to put colonial peoples in the public eye, and it is therefore especially gratifying to see a new magazine appearing on the market which aims to promote racial understanding. The magazine, *You and I*, is a non-profit-making concern with a strong West Indian flavour and should receive every encouragement.

* * * *

Many of the colonial students over here are themselves good news value. Early in February the first two Nigerians ever to receive the Queen's Commission passed out from the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. These two young men from Bornu, in the Northern Province, are SECOND LIEUTENANT ZAKARIYE MAIMALARE, aged 22, and SECOND LIEUTENANT OMAN LAWAN, a year younger. Soon they are to join the Nigeria Regiment at Kaduna as officers of the Royal West African Frontier Force. Both were at the secondary school at Zaria in 1949, when they were selected as potential African officers for the R.W.A.F.F. For some time it has been War Office policy to encourage the introduction of African officers to this force, and Maimalare and Lawan were the first officers to go through the course. First they received their basic infantry training at Zaria and Accra; then, with the rank of corporal, they reported in December, 1949, to the Officers' Training School at Eaton Hall, Cheshire. "There we were treated," said Lawan, "exactly the same as the other cadets." Both entered into the sporting and social life of the school, but the icy weather which swept down from Snowdonia was very exacting for Nigerian constitutions, and there were brief periods in hospital. One of their most vivid memories of Eaton Hall was the occasion when the Queen, then Princess Elizabeth, spoke to them on the passing-out parade. She was, it seems, most interested to hear they were going on to Sandhurst.

After clearing the hurdle of the Regular Commissions Board, they presented themselves at the Royal Military Academy, where they spent 18 months being moulded into regular officers. They received considerate treatment from the lecturers who realized that teaching subjects which the Africans had to translate in their own minds was not too easy a process. They remembered the drill square and the exacting high standards imposed by the warrant officer instructors, especially R.S.M. J. C. Lord, of the Grenadier Guards, "who," they said, "makes you shiver and makes you laugh." They seem to have had a good social time, staying at the homes of brother cadets, going to parties, attending the famous Commissioning Ball, and even found time to go ski-ing in Austria in spite of the cold. Maimalare boxed for the Academy team as a welter-weight, while Lawan showed prowess as a high-jumper.

These young officers are intensely proud of Sandhurst and the military traditions of the British Army. It is quite remarkable how they both, in appearance and bearing, have taken on the stamp of the Royal Military Academy. "It was a marvellous course," said Maimalare, "but anyone going there must have a good tradition of discipline behind him." (The two Northerners now speak with clipped English military accents.) Maimalare and Lawan are the vanguard of other African Sandhurst-trained officers. They will be watched carefully at Kaduna, but it is hoped that they will be handled sympathetically. Their training, however, should make them worthy members of any regiment, and their personality and good manners should be a credit to any mess.

* * * *

Another West African student who may well be one of the future leaders of his country is now approaching the end of his course in London. So many Africans read law and economics that it is sometimes refreshing to find someone doing something entirely different. MR. PATRICK EKOE HULEDE has been studying bookcraft in the Central School of Arts and Crafts in Southampton Row. Here he can

Mr. P. E. Hulede, a student of bookcraft, and lawn tennis champion of the Gold Coast.

receive advanced instruction in subjects like printing and book production, furniture and pottery, drawing, painting, textiles and weaving, silversmiths' work and industrial design. When he arrived at the school on a scholarship from Achimota Teacher Training College, Gold Coast, his work was sufficiently good for him to start immediately on advanced work on book-binding. His first task was to give a full leather binding with all-over gold tooling to the first edition of the *History of the Gold Coast*, by Dr. Florence Bourret.

Hulede's early history and how he came to Achimota is interesting. He was born in 1914 at Denu, in the Gold Coast. His father, who came from Anecho, in French Togoland, was cook to the late Mr. H. S. Newlands, a former Chief Commissioner in the Gold Coast who subsequently became Governor of the Barbados. Hulede's father was with him for 22 years, and as a debt of gratitude to the old man Newlands undertook to see to his son's education. So in 1929, after elementary school at Denu, Patrick Hulede entered first Achimota primary and then secondary school. Newlands was then the first chairman of inspectors at Achimota and foundation member of the council. Hulede was given a one-year scholarship to finish his course at Achimota and decided to concentrate on the art of book-binding. He was employed subsequently in the press department and in his spare time taught physical education—he has a very powerful build and looks rather like a benign P.T. instructor. In 1947 he returned to the Teacher Training Department at Achimota under Lord Hemingford, and in 1950 the College Council gave him a scholarship to come to Britain.

While in London Patrick Hulede has been living in Hans Crescent hostel most of the time, but he has taken an active part in getting to know the country and the people. A devout Roman Catholic, he has been especially interested in the work of Catholic Action and is vice-president of the Westminster Catholic Young Men's Society. He has also done much to promote understanding between the Gold Coast and Britain. For instance he has helped in establishing pen friends between some 45 members of the Wimbledon Commercial School for Girls and students of Kumasi College. Last year he attended the Catholic International Conference at Pontoise near Paris, and was able subsequently to have a private audience in Rome with the Pope. He also visited private collections of books and public libraries in Zürich, Fribourg, and Cologne, Hagen and Wuppertal, in western Germany. Indeed, through his interests in international friendship, he has found himself godfather to a German child in Wuppertal. A keen sportsman, he is lawn tennis champion of the Gold Coast and, through the good offices of Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, the former Minister of State for the Colonies, and others, he is now a member of Queen's Club, where he has received professional coaching. He also played in club tournaments against players such as Drobny, Frank Sedgman, Miss Hart, and others.

Hulede returns soon to Achimota. Interested in politics? "Well," he says, "I may go in for them." He knows Dr. Nkrumah quite well and feels that the present policy of the C.P.P. does not go against the grain. One point he does bring out about his impressions of life for colonial students in England, and that is their sense of loneliness when they first arrive. "Anybody coming to help them at that time is a godsend," he said. "It is the first three months that count, and it is at this period that Communists approach us with offers of help." "They are not shy," he went on, "like perhaps other English organizations are." Patrick Hulede strikes one forcibly as a sincere man with a mature outlook on life. If he should intend to enter the political field in the Gold Coast, his influence should indeed be a good one.

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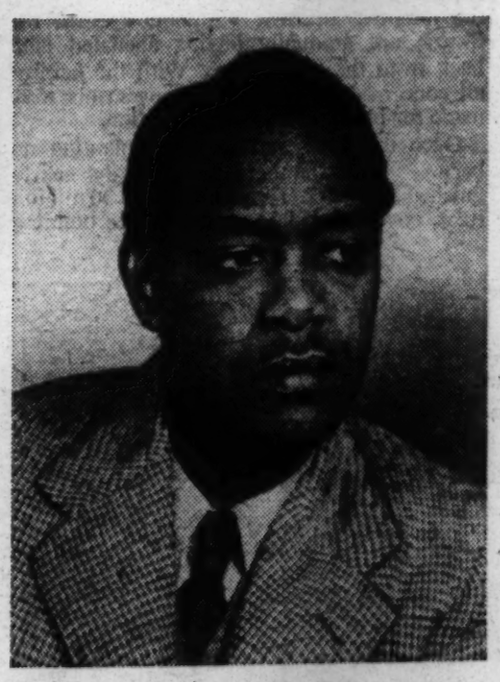
Another African who, if treated properly by Europeans in his country, will help to do much for it, is MR. CHARLES MUGANE NJONJO, now



Mr. C. M. Njonjo, a Kikuyu who is reading for his Bar finals at Gray's Inn.

reading for his Bar finals at Gray's Inn. He is a Kikuyu whose father, Divisional Chief Josiah Njonjo, lives at Kabete, near Nairobi. A shrewd, elegantly dressed young man of 30 years of age, he has been in England since 1946 and is an experienced broadcaster on East African affairs. Quite recently took part in an interesting and provocative radio programme concerning Colonial students in Britain. He has not perhaps decided what politics he really likes in Britain, having encountered at one time or another the blandishments of the Conservatives, Liberals and Labour Party. If anything, he sees more eye to eye with the Fabian Bureau, and has addressed public meetings on their behalf, but he has done the same thing for the Conservatives.

Charles Njonjo received his early education at the C.M.S. School at Kabete and then at the Alliance High School. From there he went on to King's College, Uganda, and Adams College, Natal, and from 1943 to 1946 read Social Anthropology at Fort Hare, the African University in the Union. From Fort Hare he obtained a scholarship in social anthropology at University College, Exeter, where he read for a time more social anthropology and colonial administration, but later went to the London School of Economics. However, law attracted him, and now he awaits his finals in May. About his return to Kenya and the conditions out there, he remains wisely reticent. "I would like to go into the Government service and become, one day, Crown Counsel," he says, "but that would depend largely on the terms of service offered me." If no suitable post is offered him and, at the moment there can be hardly grounds for optimism, then he will go into private practice.

During his stay in this country, Njonjo has made many English friends. He has also toured the Scandinavian countries, Austria,

Mr. S. H. Aljeffri, who comes from Kedah State in Malaya. He took part in the film *Planter's Wife*.

and Germany with the Socialist Youth. He has not met many instances of colour bar, but he has had difficulties with potential landladies over this question. Meanwhile he watches events in Kenya and waits. There is little else that he can do.

* * * *

Those who have seen the British film *Planter's Wife* may have remembered the scene in which a young Malay servant is shot by a Communist sniper. The actor who took the servant's part is a law student in this country, Mr. S. H. ALJEFFRI, who comes from Kedah State in Malaya. Indeed, Aljeffri was a technical adviser to the Pinewood studios during the production. He is the second son of Tuan Said Jan Aljeffri, J.P., who was the prime mover and head master of Ibrahim School at Sungei Padani. Born in 1920, he received his education at his father's school and then went on to the Abdul Hamid College at Alor Star. In 1939 he joined the Kedah Civil Service and two years later he entered the intelligence section of the Kedah Volunteer Force. During the occupation he was treated with considerable suspicion by the Japanese. After the war Aljeffri became an assistant district officer in his home town of Sungei Padani, and when the recent emergency was declared he was stationed in Baling district. He also joined the auxiliary police. Later he was seconded to the Federal Judicial department, and in August, 1949, was posted as Chief Magistrate of Alor Star, the capital of Kedah. It was here that he had the good fortune to work under Mr. Justice Callow, who was then judge to the Federal Supreme Court and now lives at Pewsey. It was largely due to the judge's help and guidance that Aljeffri came to Lincoln's Inn to qualify as a barrister.

Aljeffri is a mixture of lawyer and Civil servant both in his appearance and manner, but politics have a fascination for him, and in this he may be treading in the steps of his father, who, on retiring from the scholastic profession in 1946, became a member of the Kedah State Council. Aljeffri, who is sitting for his finals this year, has enjoyed his stay in England and finds that the community life of Hans Crescent is more to his liking than a flat in Battersea.

SWAZILAND'S NEW FORESTS

Potential Source of Wealth and Employment

By Our Special Correspondent

"WELL, now you've seen the mine all they've got to show you is a lot of wretched pine trees." So spoke the manager of the Havelock asbestos mine, producer of almost half Swaziland's wealth, as we said goodbye to him. It was pouring with rain, and the drops came through the gigantic holes, large as if torn by bomb splinters, which a recent hail-storm had drilled in his cookhouse roof. Slithering and skidding, our small cortège made its way through the mist up to Pigg's Peak. The red earth roads, liquified by the downpour and churned by traffic, looked like open veins on the mountain side. From time to time the mist parted, and then we could see, carpeting the slopes from ridge to ridge, the even green undergrowth serrated by hundreds and thousands of small, regular pit-marks. These were the advanced guards and outlying pickets of the extensive coniferous forests now being planted over Swaziland's hillsides with the object of giving her treasuries an assured income and her 200,000 inhabitants steady employment during the generations to come.

Altogether there are four concerns engaged in this experiment. Peak Timbers, Limited, under the management of Mr. R. P. Stephens, started work in 1947 and owns 78,000 acres, of which 60,000 are afforestable. Barclays Overseas Development Corporation has a large interest in this concern. Farther south the Colonial Development Corporation, under Mr. C. S. Hubbard, started two and a half years later and has 110,000 acres, of which 75,000 are the potential planting area. Smaller schemes are those of Swaziland Plantations, Limited (10,000 acres), started at about the same time as Peak Timbers, and Swaziland Timber, Limited (3,500 acres), which was the pioneer project begun about 10 years ago. The C.D.C. scheme is wholly financed and managed by the corporation itself. When completed these schemes will form the largest man-made forestry blocks in southern Africa. They will produce half as much timber as the whole of the Union of South Africa put together and in a much more concentrated area.

Afforestation, like laying down port, requires faith in the future. *Serit arbores quae alteri saeculo prosint.* Even quick-growing pine trees take 30 years to mature, and this is one of the reasons why, although it has long been known that much of the high veld in Swaziland was ideal forest land, capital had not been forthcoming to develop it. The credit for what has now been done goes largely to Sir Evelyn Baring, who, as High Commissioner for the three Protectorates, set himself to find out and make the most of their economic potentialities. He it was who both smoothed the way for private enterprise and opened the path for the Colonial Development Corporation.

The soil in these parts of Swaziland is perfect for forestry, and, being slightly sour, is not so good for agriculture, so that in putting large areas under forest there is little or no deprivation to other cultivators. It is reckoned that its carrying capacity is 6 : 1 in favour of forestry as against crops. Most important of all, the rainfall is one of the highest in Africa. Swaziland is ringed round on the west by a crescent-shaped wall of mountains—which is the strategic reason why the Swazis preserved their identity during the great Zulu aggressions of the nineteenth century. Inside this belt, extending towards Portuguese territory and the seaboard, the country falls in steps from high to medium and bush veld; the clouds break on the mountain ridge and deposit themselves in an even fall on the foothills and koppies beyond. This is no case of a scheme which has been started on insufficient knowledge of weather. Outside the Government buildings at Pigg's Peak stands the rain gauge which was erected in 1912. For 50 years it has been making its steady recordings.

There was some difficulty over the acquisition of land. Land tenure is incredibly complicated in Swaziland, and the different categories are contiguous and geographically interwoven.

Much of the Pigg's Peak area belonged to the Government-controlled Native Land Settlement Scheme and was acquired through the cooperation of the administration with exchanges and compensation to native settlers. The Colonial Development Corporation's area along the Usutu river belonged in the main to absentee European sheep farmers from the neighbouring Transvaal. Two farms were Government-owned native land settlements, and one had been purchased by the Swazi nation under the scheme by which, through the initiative of their Paramount Chief, the Swazis are gradually buying alienated land back from the Europeans. With the help of all concerned, satisfactory arrangements were made for purchase and compensation.

Once the land was acquired, planting up began. Peak Timbers has already nearly finished this work. They have put in 30 million trees, covering 45,000 acres, besides building

One of the nurseries at the C.D.C. Usutu Forest estate. Pin oak seedlings are in the foreground and pine in the background.

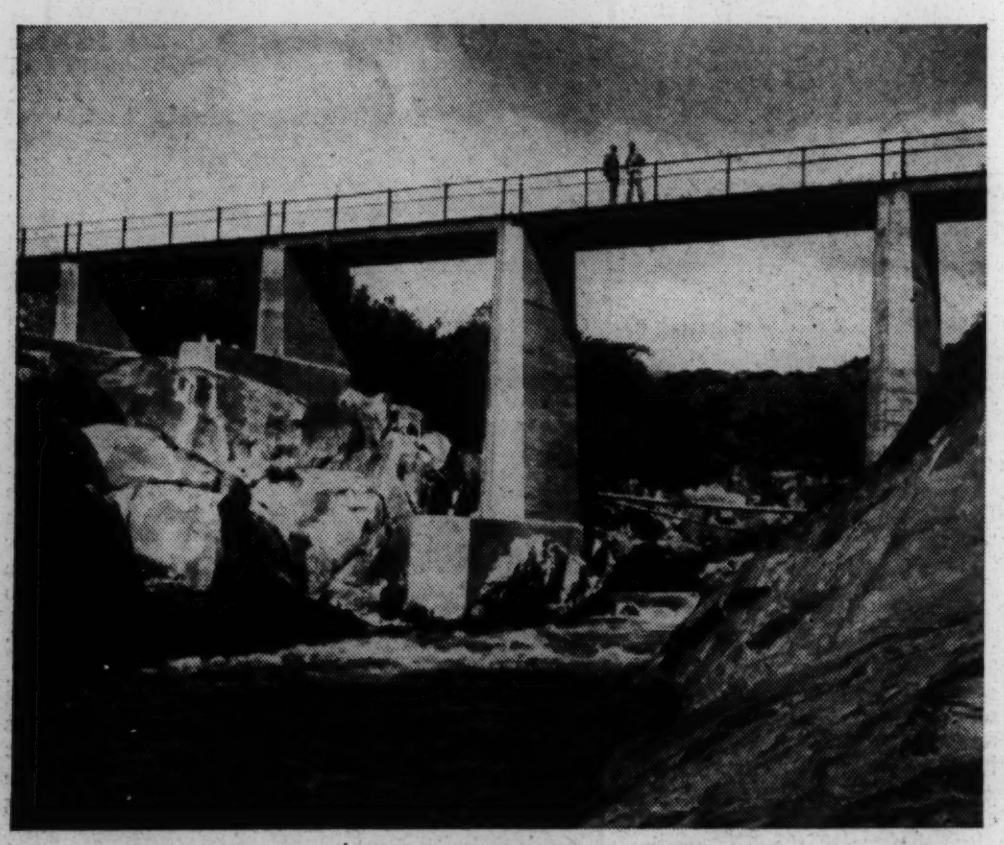
180 miles of roads. The C.D.C. had planted 27,500 acres by the end of December, and is well ahead of schedule. It has also built roads and bridges, including the Evelyn Baring bridge over the Great Usutu, where construction of a hydro-electric scheme is being studied. A home farm is already under cultivation to grow the rations for the labour. Although this takes up good forest land, the corporation felt that it would be ethically wrong in the present state of the world's food supplies if the scheme did not grow its own. The trees planted are mainly *Pinus patula*, but there is occasional wattle and eucalyptus in the firebreaks. Peak Timbers will sell its first load of timber in 1954. That sale should amount to one million cubic feet. Maximum production, for which the target is 15 million cubic feet, should be reached in 20 years. The C.D.C. expects to make its first remunerative sales in 1963, though it may be making pulp before then. The target at full production is 18 million cubic feet. Peak Timbers' product is mainly intended for manufacture of rough building material, boxes and crates. The important question, as yet undecided, for the C.D.C. is whether to make pulp.

Transport from the northern area will be by lorry to railhead at Hectorspruit. When the scheme is in full production, thirty 10-ton lorries will be required to haul the daily load that 55 miles. Hectorspruit is on the line from Lourenço Marques to the Rand.

The solution of the C.D.C. transport problem will depend upon whether it produces sawn timber or pulp. Sawn timber would probably be evacuated to the dead-end railhead at Lothair; pulp production would require an extension of the railway to the mill site; there are hopes that the Union Government will be prepared to build this line if it is needed.

Peak Timbers employs about 30 Europeans and 1,400 Africans; the C.D.C. 75 Europeans and 2,000 Africans. European staff for the forestry scheme is drawn largely from the forestry department of the South African Government. The attraction which it offers is a more permanent and settled home life. Of the African labour, more than 95 per cent. is native Swazi. This is in contrast to some other undertakings in Swaziland which employ up to two-thirds of migrant labour from Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. When the schemes were initiated the Paramount Chief and his council were taken into the confidence of the promoters, and labour conditions are regulated by the appointment of liaison *indunas* (headmen), who advise on the schemes in order to settle all matters in dispute between the employers and the Swazi workers. In case of failure to reach agreement the matter would be referred to the Paramount Chief to take up with the Resident Commissioner of Swaziland. African workers start at a wage of £3 a month and are provided with free rations and housing.

There appears to be an assured future market for the products of these schemes, as the Union of South Africa imports four-fifths of its timber requirements. There is some anxiety among farmers in Swaziland that the planting of so many trees may prevent water from getting into the rivers and so cut them off from supplies lower down the slopes. Others maintain that the trees would have to be planted much higher up and nearer the sources, to produce this effect. They maintain that afforestation as carried out will actually conserve and increase the water supplies of the territory. Certainly this experiment is vital to the future of Swaziland, whether looked at from the point of view of revenue or employment. On the middle and bush veld irrigation and most intensive cultivation may step up productivity, and there are great possibilities for hydro-electricity, coal and iron. But on the high veld forestry is the most promising industry, and the planting up that is now going on holds out good and hopeful prospects.



A high level bridge spanning the Great Usutu river and connecting the north and south parts of the Usutu Forest estate.

STUDY OF NUTRITION PROBLEMS IN THE TROPICS

By Our Medical Correspondent

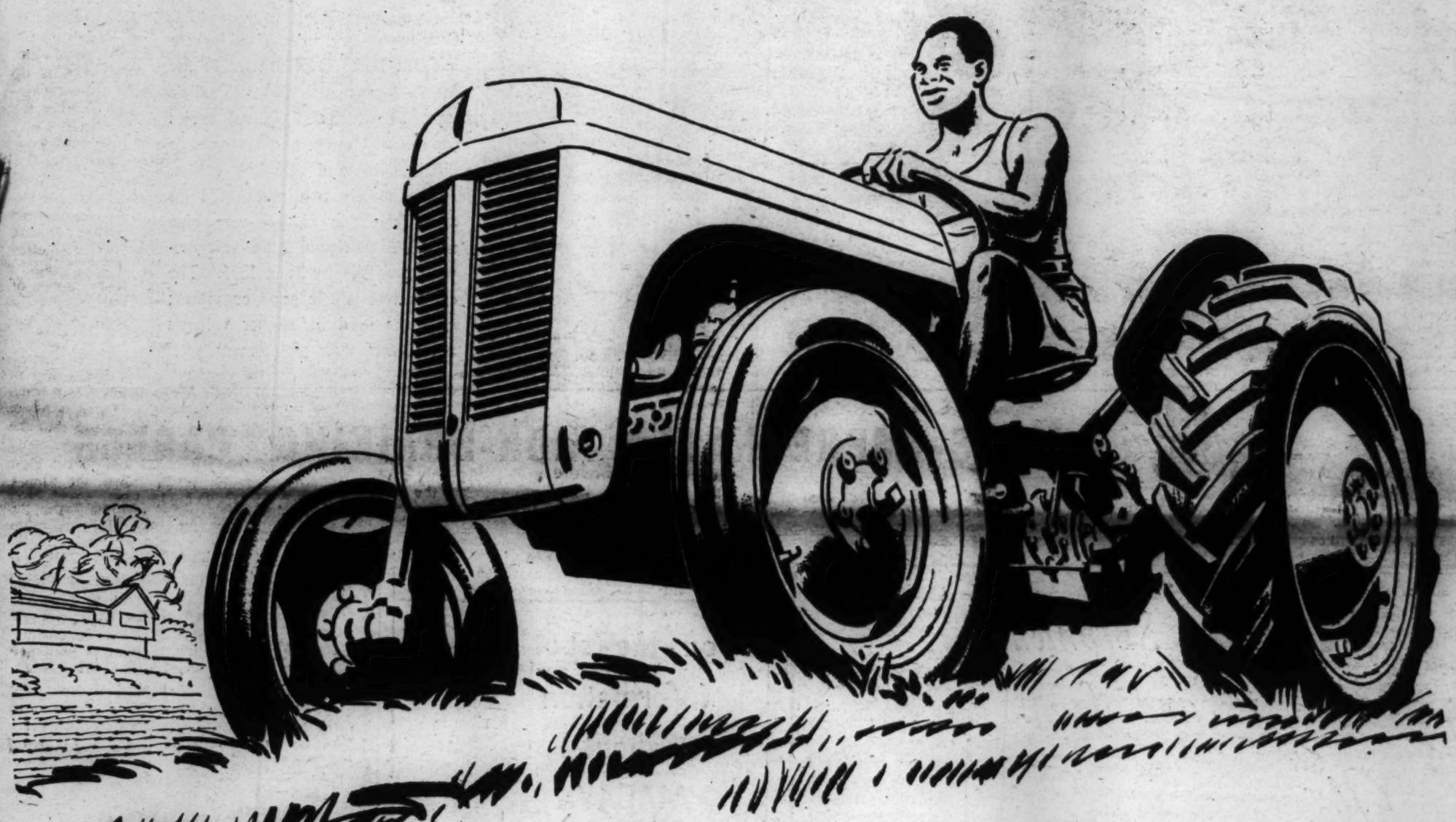
WHEN recently delegates were summoned to a nutritional conference under the auspices of the "Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa south of the Sahara" (C.C.T.A.) held at Fajara in the Gambia, there were not a few who wondered where this place was or why it had been selected. They were soon to learn that for five years there has been a steady building up of a novel organization for medical research, especially into the subject of nutrition, which may serve as a pattern for other territories and related problems. First there is a home base, in this case the Medical Research Council's human nutrition unit in London and the applied nutrition unit at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Here workers can be trained, methods studied, apparatus devised, all in close contact with those concerned with other aspects of medicine in the tropics and at home, whether preventive or curative. At the other end are investigators in the bush. Living and studying in rural Africa, they can see the enormous importance of food supply in relation to human well-being. They can test the results of local dietary habits, discover malnutrition and point the way for others concerned if improvement is to be achieved—involving not only agricultural science but also political, social and economic aspects. Between the unit in London and the work in the bush is the Field Research Station at Fajara where the recent conference was held, followed by a meeting of the Joint Expert Committee on Nutrition of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization of the United Nations. The arrival of the many world-famous experts for the two meetings actually increased the total European population of the Gambia by nearly 25 per cent. and threatened grave nutritional difficulties which were in fact admirably overcome!

The Field Research Station lies about 10 miles from Bathurst, near Cape St. Mary, on a site where the 55th General Hospital was erected during the war. A rest house adjacent on the cliff edge and the remains of the hospital buildings were purchased with a Colonial Development and Welfare grant. Work on reconditioning began in October, 1947, and the buildings on the station have almost all been completely renewed. The whole of this building, together with equipment and servicing, has been possible out of a vote made available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The Medical Research Council is responsible for the salaries of those workers on its staff and for the administration of the station. Laboratories for biochemical and pathological investigations are now available together with a library

continued on page fifteen

This way for Colonial Prosperity!

2.3224



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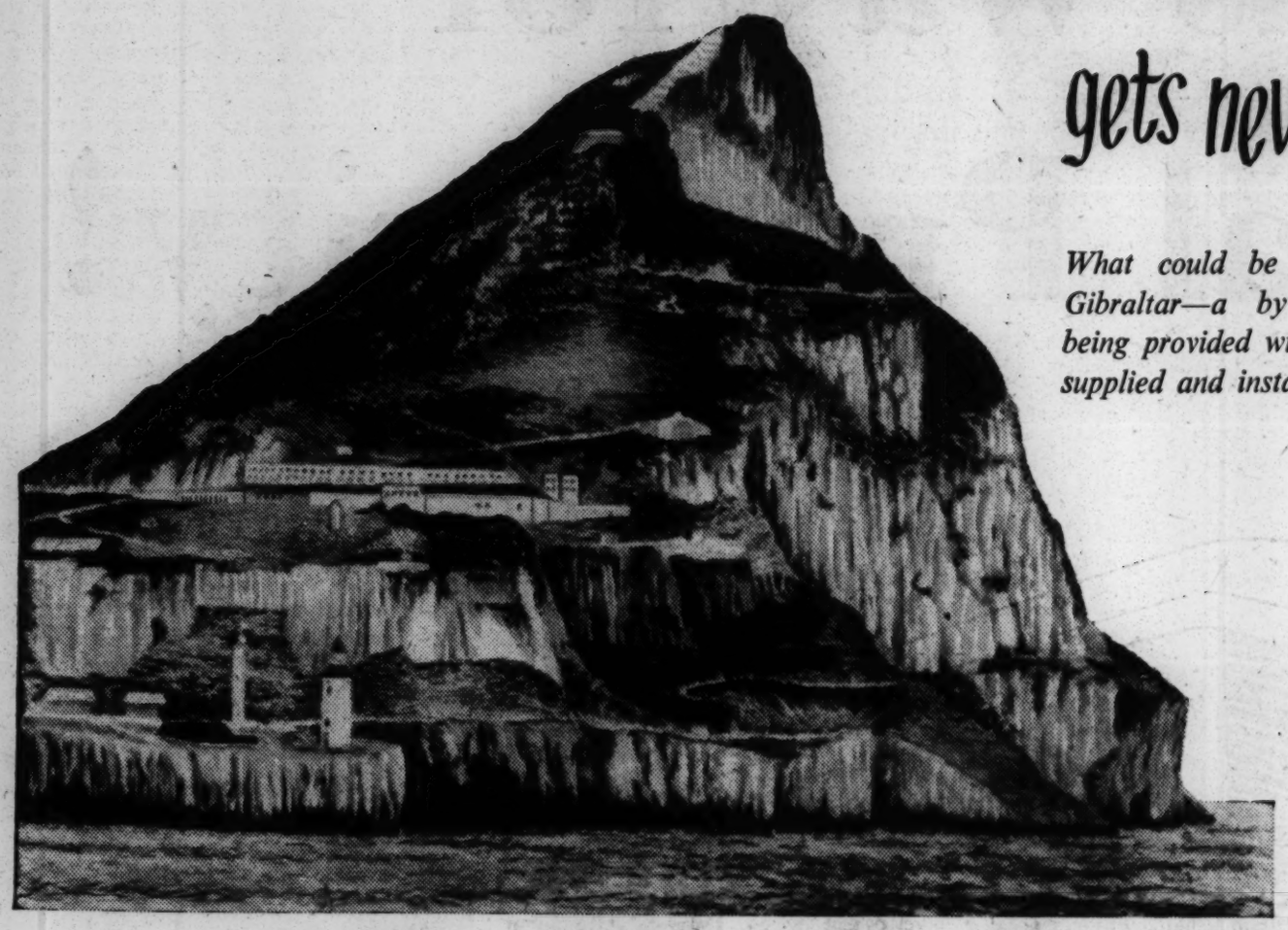

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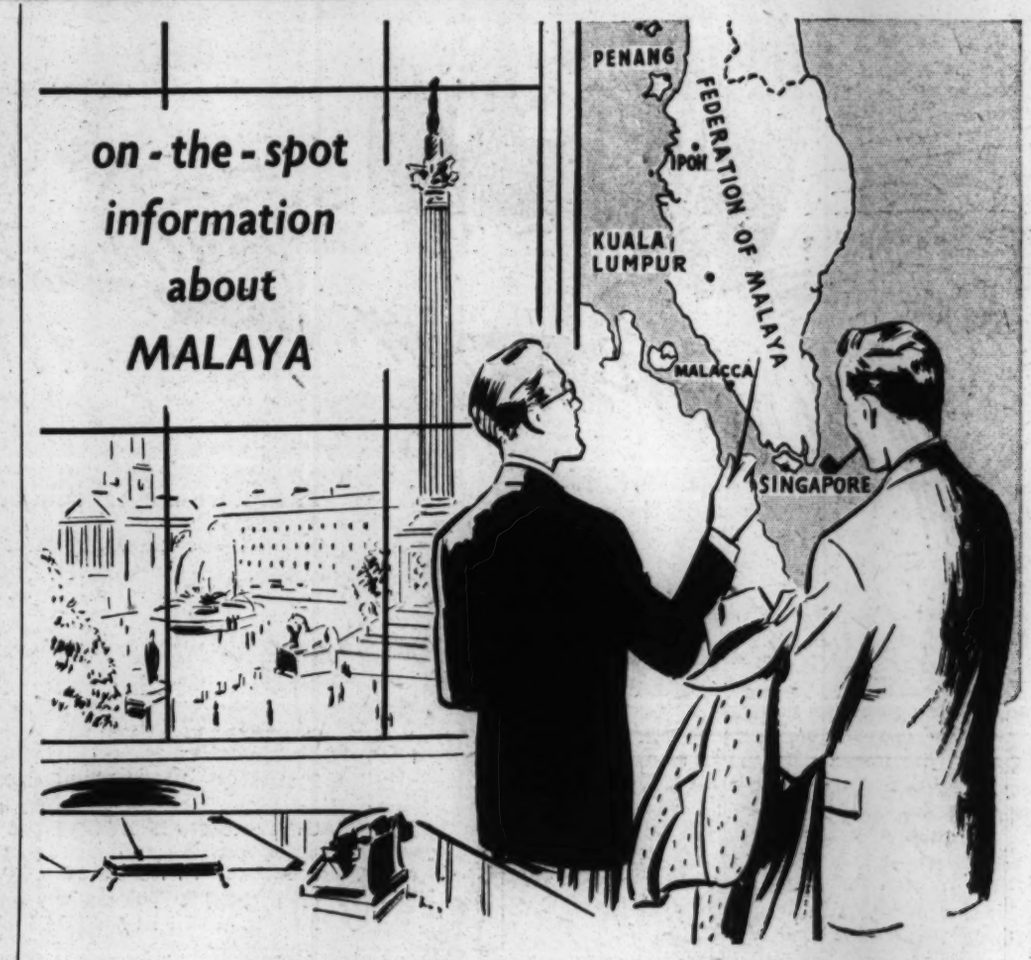

Factual information on all matters relating to the **FEDERATION of MALAYA** and **COLONY of SINGAPORE**

Personal or written enquiries are welcomed by THE COMMISSIONER FOR MALAYA IN THE U.K. and the TRADE COMMISSIONER at

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57 TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.2

Telephone: WHItehall 9837 Telegrams: MALAWAKIL, LONDON

STUDY OF NUTRITION PROBLEMS *continued from page twelve*

and houses for the staff. Wards will each contain 40 patients, and there are also an operating theatre and an X-ray plant. The nursing is supervised by nurses seconded from the staff of the National Hospital, Queen Square, London, by arrangement with the board of governors. Close collaboration with members of the staff of the various Government departments in the Gambia, especially with the medical department, has been achieved in a most satisfactory and friendly manner. Local African staff is loyal, and all are proud of the " M.R.C." badge they wear. The confidence and good will of the Gambian people have been obtained not only in the neighbourhood of the Fajara station but also in the various villages in which investigations have been conducted.

Gambia has the distinction of being not only the oldest British colony but also the nearest area of Africa under the Colonial Office to the British Isles. The general problems seen there have features in common with those in other colonial territories and other tropical areas. Many of these are discussed in the seventh annual report (1951-52) of the Colonial Medical Research Committee. Research schemes under the scientific supervision of the committee during the year were 20 in number, staffed with 42 senior graduates in medicine or related sciences, together with a large ancillary staff of European and locally trained technicians. During the year also inaugural meetings were held of standing advisory committees for medical research for East Africa and for West Africa, in Nairobi and Ibadan respectively. An East African medical survey is attempting to get reliable vital statistics as a prelude to scientifically planned control of the more important diseases. Malaria is being studied in many centres, more especially in Malaya, North Borneo, and West Africa. Field trials of new antimalarial drugs are yielding valuable results in many places. For example, alternate infants of a large number attending welfare centres in villages in the region of Fajara have received regular prophylactic dosage of the most recently discovered products with significant effects on their general condition. In Malaya, at Kuala Lumpur, the valuable work on scrub typhus has been continued by an American team, a remarkable example of international cooperation.

To return to Fajara, the dominant problems investigated there are concerned with nutrition. Fundamental studies in body chemistry have recorded striking differences in Africans from the usual European pattern. A newly identified substance (one of the nitrogen-containing amino-acids obtained from protein food), found only in small quantities in 5 per cent. of subjects in London, occurs in greater amounts than any other amino-acid in one quarter of more than 600 Gambians in a particular community. This sort of observation is the background to the recent conference. The special type of nutritional disorder occurring when the food intake is poor in nitrogen-containing protein (the body building food) and too rich in starchy foods, especially at the time of weaning, appears to be widespread in tropical countries and not unknown in parts of Europe. The conference sought to disentangle the complicated story of dietary habits and widespread infection by malaria and other commonly found infections. The implications for world health of malnutrition in early life and its subsequent effects upon body growth were finally discussed by the joint expert committee already mentioned.

The findings of the scientific deliberations must not be anticipated here. Clearly much more still must be known before a practical and complex programme of prevention can be inaugurated. Meanwhile the station at Fajara points the way to a type of cooperative effort which promises to be fruitful. Indeed, there seems every justification for the claim made as far back as 1939 by Sir Edward Mellanby, F.R.S., then secretary of the Medical Research Council, that the new work then just projected promised to be " the most important ever undertaken in connexion with life in the Colonial Empire " with the object of finding " the most natural and economic means for raising the standard of health and efficiency of all living in these territories."

32.32.25

STAMPS OF THE NEW REIGN

Designs Approved by the Queen

By Our Philatelic Correspondent

PREPARATIONS for the issue of new stamps throughout the Commonwealth are well in hand. It is evident from news already released by the Crown Agents for the Colonies that the new Elizabethan issues will extend the practice instituted in the later stages of King George V's reign, and developed in that of King George VI, of producing stamps which tell pictorially the story of the Commonwealth, its peoples, history and industries.

The South Atlantic colony of St. Helena provides a good illustration. History will be represented by a view on the top value of the new series (a 10s. stamp) of Longwood House, where the Emperor Napoleon spent his last days as an exile and prisoner of the British. Three values in the series will illustrate flax growing, the industry on which the island largely depends for its commerce. A flax plantation, the cutting of the crop and the transport by donkeys to the tiny harbour of Jamestown, itself the subject of one of the stamps, will publicize the industry philatelically for the first time.

Much the same story comes from British Honduras. While this Central American possession has previously issued pictorial stamps, the new series will combine the old and new aspects of its life. The ancient Maya civilization will be brought to mind by the reproduction of a Maya frieze and a picture of a Maya Indian; the modern aspect of life in the colony will be represented by a view of the Stanley Airfield and of the Legislative Council and its mace. Other stamps in the same series will picture indigenous animals and vegetation.

In some instances the pictorial stamps of the last reign are being adapted by the use of the Queen's portrait to replace that of her father, although changing postal rates have necessitated the inclusion of new values. The first colonial stamp of the new reign is an example of this policy. It was early in January that the Gold Coast released a red 2½d. stamp with the portrait of the Queen, but with the pictorial portion of the design based on the ½d. stamp of the previous reign. This was a picture of a mounted constable of the Northern Territories. Before long other Gold Coast stamps with designs based on the last pictorial series of the George VI period will appear.

One other Elizabethan colonial stamp already issued is the 4d. stamp for the Cayman Islands in the West Indies. This shows a view of the new lighthouse at South Sound, Grand Cayman. It is remarkable for the inclusion of the coroneted portrait of the Queen as in the new English issue, while a crown is also brought into the design. Incidentally, the crown is the St. Edward's Crown, the first time this has been employed philatelically. Even in the Victorian issues, the queen never appeared on any stamps coroneted and with a crown in the design as well. The famous Chalon head type was always issued without the addition of the crown, which appeared, however, on some other stamps in which Queen Victoria appeared bareheaded. The new Cayman Island stamp is in distinct contrast to the Gold Coast stamps on which there is neither crown nor coronet.

Each colony is at liberty to make its own choice as to the designs required, and these are submitted to the Sovereign for approval. Generally speaking, a complete change in design of the regular issue, as distinct from commemorative issues, is permitted to the colonies every 10 years. Although the exceptional circumstances of a change of monarch enables each colony to change, irrespective of the length of issue of its current series, many have chosen to adapt the previous designs largely on the grounds of economy, as the preparation of new dies is a costly business. The Bahamas have steered a middle course. In 1948 a long set of stamps appeared to commemorate the third centenary of the establishment of the settlement at Eleuthera. The new Queen Elizabeth stamps will be patterned on these stamps with the omission of the commemorative inscriptions and, of course, the substitution of the new royal portrait. Thus, the Bahamas will be in fashion by using normal stamps with reminders of the islands' sisal growing, tuna fishing, dairy farming, boat-building, and salt production. The colony's special attraction as a holiday centre will not be forgotten, as some of the modern hotels and the water sports for holiday makers are to take their place in the series.

Further south in the Caribbean are the Leeward Islands, the administrative group comprising the colonies of Montserrat, Antigua, the British Virgin Islands, and St. Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla. A general issue for the Leewards is to carry on the tradition of a simple portrait type (known philatelically as " key and duty design ") for general use, but each of the four presidencies will also have its own series of pictorial stamps based largely on the last Georgian issues. Montserrat is likely to have the first of the new stamps on issue, as the 1c., 2c., and 3c. are already on order with the printers in London.

Another special case is Hongkong. Ever since the first stamps appeared there in 1862, nothing but the portrait of the Sovereign has appeared on the normal stamps. The Elizabethan issue will be no exception, as new stamps in a simple portrait type are already on order.

Nearer home, the Mediterranean colony of Cyprus is to continue the use of pictorial stamps, almost the first of which came from the colony in 1934, when pictorial colonial issues for normal use were a novelty. The Chamber of Commerce and Federation of Trade in the colony have been invited to make suggestions for the new stamps, which will not appear until next year and will thus coincide with the introduction of a new currency to replace the awkward Turkish monetary unit now in use, a legacy of the days of the Ottoman Empire. New designs will be especially welcome in this case, for those introduced in 1934 are still in use.

Malta has called in the help of philatelists to select the new designs from a series of photographs submitted to the Minister of Posts. Historic buildings and monuments in the George Cross island are favoured as designs for the new stamps.

From West Africa will come colonial stamps reminiscent of the French colonials from the same part of Africa. Nigeria has made a complete break from British colonial tradition by preparing stamps, of which a preview was held in London recently, very much in the French colonial style. Designed by a noted French artist, M. Maurice Fievet, they place emphasis on industries, native art and the development of the colony. Groundnuts, cocoa, palm oil, tin, timber and hides and skins are represented on various values. The 6d. value in black and brown is a particularly striking design with an Ife head in bronze. Old and new are brought together in the £1 value, which will carry vignettes of old Lagos with a sailing vessel and new Lagos with a modern liner at anchor. A reminder of the old Portuguese influence is expected on one value on which the frame design is to consist of prawns, the vignette being a scene in the Cameroons. The original Portuguese explorers named the district " Camarões " and the river the " Rio dos Camarões "—Prawn River.

Although each colony has a complete freedom of choice with regard to the pictorial *motif* chosen for its stamps, the royal portrait, if included, must be one of four chosen by the Colonial Office and approved by her Majesty. On the pictorial stamps these portraits are usually enclosed in medallions at the upper left or right corner of the stamp. All four portraits are by Dorothy Wilding, whose work was also the basis of the portrait used on British stamps now in issue and those still to come.

Southern Rhodesian stamps are still printed in London, and emphasis has always been on the royal portrait. The new Queen Elizabeth issue has been announced as one which will depict Southern Rhodesian scenes with a cameo portrait of her Majesty.

The Dominions make their own arrangements and print their own stamps. In New Zealand pictorials without any effigy of the monarch were in regular use from 1935 until 1947. Towards the end of King George VI's reign portraits were replacing the pictorials, and this will also be the case for the new Queen Elizabeth stamps with the interesting difference that the series ranging from the ½d. value upwards will make use of three different portraits of the Queen, thus giving variety to a purely portrait type series.

Among the Dominion issues those of Canada are likely to make an early appearance. Various pictorials have already appeared, and three of the most interesting are due for issue on April 2. These depict bold drawings of a polar bear, a moose and a big horn sheep, representative of Canadian wild life, which is the subject of a preservation campaign in the Dominion in April.

Apart from the " definitive " issues described above, each colonial territory will issue next June one stamp to commemorate the coronation. In all, 61 of the colonial territories and protectorates will issue this single stamp in a design common to all, but with a currency inscription and name applicable to each individual territory. All of these will be engraved and show a charming portrait of her Majesty. The centres will all be in black and the frame colour varied in each case. All these are being produced in London, two well-known stamp printing firms—Bradbury Wilkinson and Co., Limited, and Thomas De La Rue and Co., Limited—sharing the considerable work involved. The engraving is based on a Dorothy Wilding portrait.

Again, the Dominions have been free to select their coronation stamp designs, and by far the most interesting series is promised by New Zealand. One value will have on it an aerial view of Buckingham Palace, the first occasion on which the palace has appeared on a postage stamp. The other values are to illustrate Westminster Abbey, the State coach and those symbols of royalty, the crown and sceptre, the story of the coronation being completed by one value with a portrait of the Queen. Three British printers are being employed to print these. Harrison and Sons, Limited, printers of British stamps, are producing 3d. and 8d. values by the photogravure process. Thomas De La Rue and Co., Limited, are responsible for the 2d. and 4d. values by the engraved process. The top value, 1s. 6d., is to be engraved by Waterlow and Sons, Limited.

The surprise among the coronation issues is the announcement from Southern Rhodesia that there is to be a single stamp, of 2s. 6d. value, for the Coronation. Since this is a value not in frequent use it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Southern Rhodesia Post Office expects sales to collectors. On the other hand, a value of this kind means that many smaller collectors will be deprived from completing their collections of coronation issues for it is not everyone who will be willing to afford the 3s. at which the stamp will be sold in this country.

Increases in the postal rates in many parts of the Commonwealth are being reflected in the new stamps. In the case of Great Britain itself there is to be a 1s. 3d. value for the first time. This is for use on half-ounce letters sent by air to Canada, the United States and certain other countries. The new rate of 1s. 6d. for air mail to Australia is not specially catered for in the new definitives of Britain, but the British coronation series is to include 1s. 3d. and 1s. 6d. values. The British series is to be completed with a 2½d. and a 4d. value. The original intention of confining the issue to a 2½d. stamp, used for inland letters and 1oz. letters to the Commonwealth countries and the United States, was heavily criticized as it meant that many people all over the world would not receive any special coronation stamps on their mail. The 4d. value will, however, be extensively used on letters to foreign countries and the two higher values on air mail letters.

The use of air mail for heavy letters and small parcels is increasing, and it is this which accounts for the impending issue of such stamps as the £1 value for Fiji, the first time Fiji has issued anything above the 10s. value.

All told, this year will prove a most interesting one for collectors of Commonwealth stamps as the latest chapter in the history of the Commonwealth unfolds its story in the pages of their albums.

THE PRINCESS R
THE WES

By Our Trinida

In British Guiana. Her Royal Highness decorates Miss Eunice Davis with a British Red Cross Society's service badge.

At the Infant Welfare Centre, Georgetown, British Guiana. The Princess chats with the matron, Miss M. Selman.

THE Princess Royal's visit to the West Indies has been a great success, and has again demonstrated the affection of the people of these Colonies for members of the Royal Family, and the influence which the traditions associated with royalty exert on their minds and hearts. Her Royal Highness visited Trinidad, Tobago, Barbados, and British Guiana, and received a warm, popular welcome in each place. She arrived in Trinidad on a Sunday afternoon at siesta time, and a week before Carnival when the people's thoughts were centred on plans for the enjoyment of their annual festival. Yet the crowds at the docks and on the streets along which her Royal Highness drove in an open car to Government House were large and enthusiastic. Spectators at a cricket match at the Queen's Park, Savannah, left the game and ran to the roadway to see her go by.

When the Princess Royal went on an unannounced shopping tour in Port-of-Spain with Lady Rance, wife of Major-General Sir Hubert Rance, the Governor of Trinidad, she was recognized and a crowd quickly gathered, being restrained with difficulty by the police. One native woman who managed to edge close paid an affectionate personal tribute in the words, "God bless our Princess." From other onlookers came such expressions as, "She look nice, eh!" and "She too sweet."

In British Guiana the royal visitor was given the freedom of the city of Georgetown at a welcome ceremony arranged by the mayor and town council, who presented her with a gold nugget brooch with diamond inset. The mayor asked her to convey to the Queen the council's sincere desire that her Majesty should visit British Guiana. On leaving the municipal infant welfare clinic, to which she proceeded from the town hall, the Princess was cheered by a large crowd assembled in the roadway. Her Royal Highness's reception in Barbados was equally spontaneous and sincere. All this was not only evidence of affection for royalty as such, but was a tribute to the Princess Royal's own qualities of goodness and graciousness, repeatedly shown during her West Indian tour. In Georgetown her warmth of interest in the mothers and children to whom she spoke at the municipal clinic was very obvious. In Port-of-Spain it was remarked that she had encouraging words for several members of a police guard of honour which she inspected on landing at the quay. There was a royal smile for an eccentric woman street vendor with a *chac-chac* (noise-making toy) and a brightly coloured basket of croton leaves.

The Princess Royal, as Commandant-in-Chief of the British Red Cross and President of the Girl Guides Association, takes a keen interest in the work of these organizations at home and oversea, and lost no opportunity of becoming acquainted with what is being done in the West Indies. She expressed pleasure at meeting these groups and talking with their officers and other members, and remarked that they seemed full of vigour. An exception was Barbados, where there is no branch of the Red Cross, but her Royal Highness was greatly impressed by the young and active branch in British Guiana and the older and no less active Red Cross organization in Trinidad.

A typical scene at a bus station at Bridgetown, Barbados, which was included in the royal visit.

Mr. Aubrey Starck (left), director of Princess Royal at

ROYAL'S VISIT TO EST INDIES

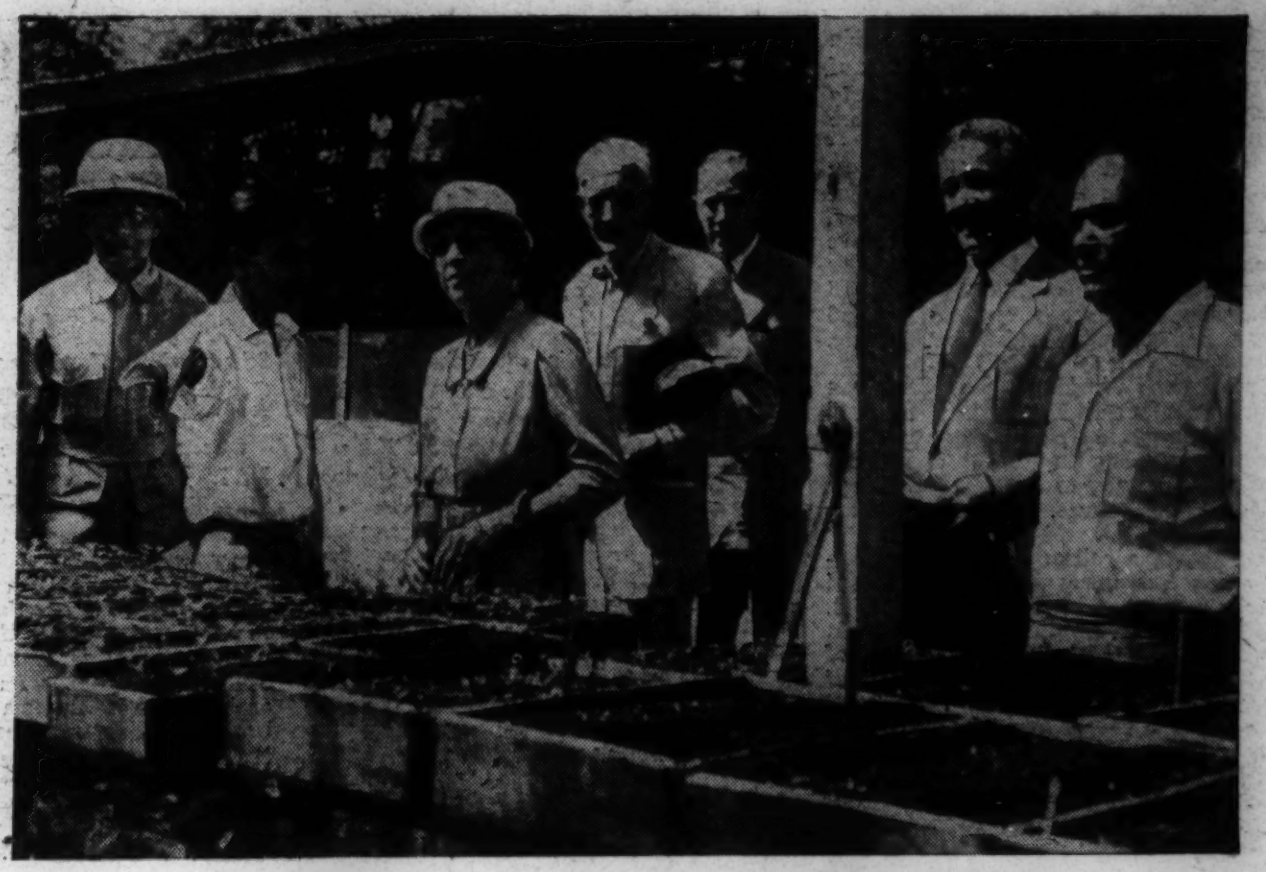
idad Correspondent

Her visit has been a special honour to the Red Cross in Trinidad, for she went out to the West Indies principally for the purpose of presenting colours to the branch there. This is the only oversea branch which has ever had colours as a gift from London headquarters, and also the only branch oversea which has ever had colours presented by a member of the Royal Family. This recognition of its excellent work has been most heartening to the Trinidad Red Cross, which is about to take on additional responsibilities at the invitation of the Government, by running the recently erected Princess Elizabeth Home for Handicapped Children, where the Princess Royal unveiled a commemorative plaque during her visit.

Founded in 1939, just before the outbreak of war, the Trinidad Red Cross was at first concerned exclusively with the war effort. At the close of the war, however, it was quickly reorganized, and now operates a children's convalescent home, a blood donor service, life saving posts at bathing beaches, a mobile dental unit, and trolley-shops, libraries, and out-patient canteens at hospitals. Its appeal to children has been marked, and it has more than 9,000 " links " in its junior section and many well-organized cadet units, in addition to its 13 detachments comprising adults of both sexes. A Trinidad " link " is being sent for the Coronation to England where it will be under the care of the British Red Cross.

The presentation of colours to the Trinidad Red Cross took place in the Queen's Park Oval in Port-of-Spain, an enclosed cricket field flanked on three sides by pavilions and nestling at the foot of a lovely backdrop of green hills. The Princess Royal, who arrived with Sir Hubert Rance, the patron of the branch, and Lady Rance, its president, inspected a parade of Red Cross units, took the salute at a march past, and made a most impressive address which has given encouragement and cheer to Red Cross workers in Trinidad. On another occasion she inspected the Junior Red Cross in San Fernando, driving in an open Jeep along the ranks of the children, whom she afterwards delighted by entering the centre of their " chain " (a large circle) and leading them in the repetition of their Red Cross pledge. After singing their Junior Red Cross song, they gave three cheers for her Royal Highness.

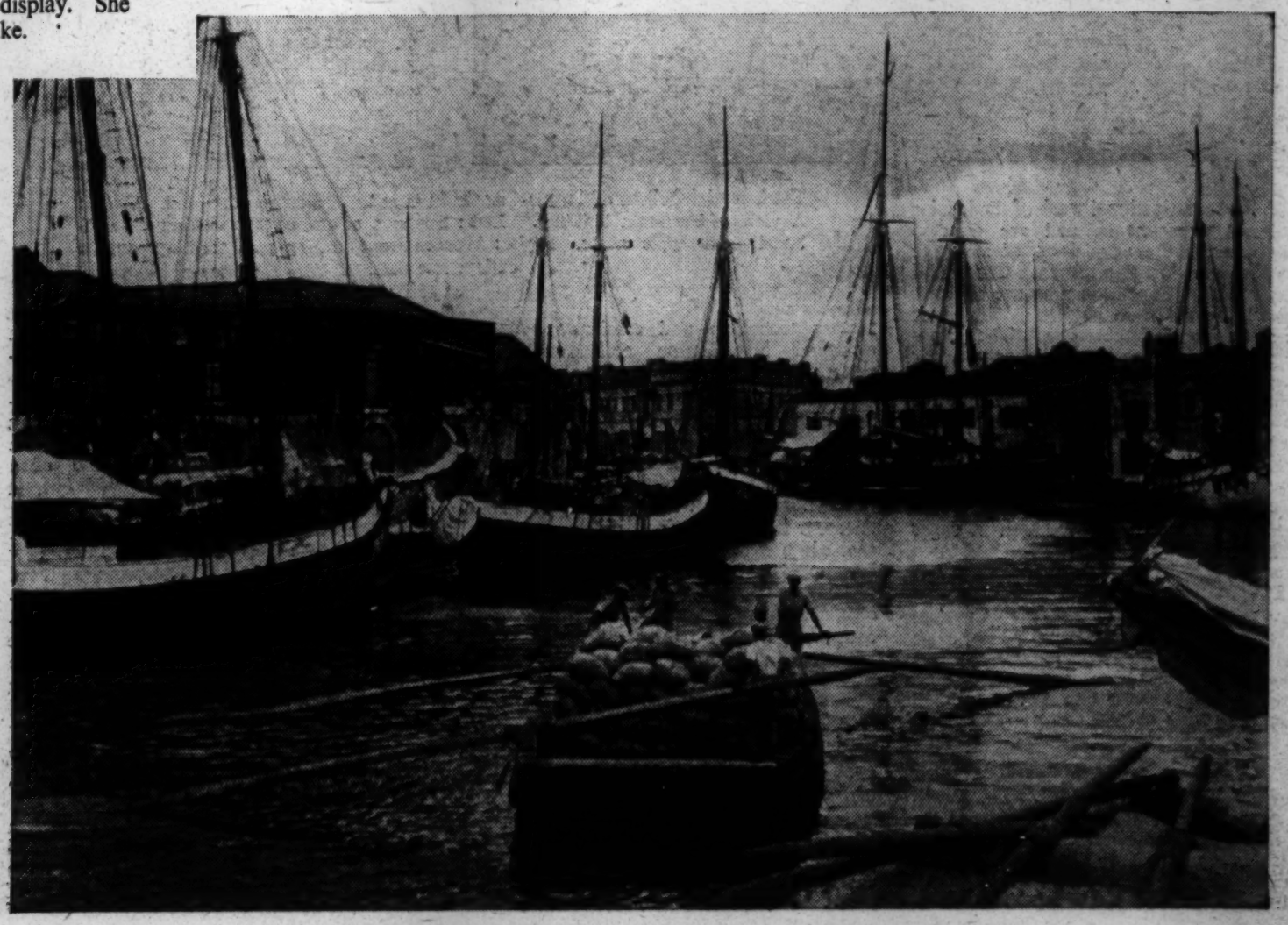
The Princess Royal's interest in the countryside was shown by the admiration she expressed for the trees and flowers she saw on her tour. This led to the Trinidad Red Cross presenting her with a book of paintings of trees of the Caribbean in an informal ceremony at Government House, Port-of-Spain. Her love of horses and farm animals induced an unexpected visit to the Government stock farm at St. Joseph, where she was shown the racing stallions, dairy cattle, calves, pigs, and other livestock. She saw a royal palm planted by her late father when he visited Trinidad in 1880 in H.M.S. Bacchante, and herself planted a casuarina tree. It was in a house on the farm grounds that the last Spanish Governor of Trinidad, Don Josef Maria Chacon, signed the articles of capitulation of the Colony to Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1797. The Princess also visited the St. Augustine plant nurseries and was delighted with the many varieties of tropical plants and flowers on display. She also visited the oilfield area and the famous Pitch Lake.



The Princess Royal at the plant nurseries at St. Augustine, Trinidad. She is accompanied by the Governor (third from right).

Miss Audrey L. Jeffers, a member of the Trinidad Legislative Council, presents her Royal Highness with a bouquet.

of the local Red Cross, being presented to the at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.



A barge loaded with sacks of sugar being rowed up the river at Georgetown, Barbados, to be loaded on to a schooner.

COMBATING TROPICAL PLANT DISEASES

Research at Caribbean Centres

By a Correspondent

THE need for agricultural research within the Caribbean to solve the problems of native tropical crops has been clearly recognized only in recent years. Before the first world war only one crop—sugar—had been subjected to anything like scientific investigation. The Imperial Department of Agriculture, set up at the turn of the century, had done excellent work under its successive Commissioners, Sir Daniel Morris and Sir Francis Watts. The department was situated in Barbados, and, perhaps because of this, had concentrated on sugar cultivation, breeding, and manufacture.

Barbados was a bad locale for a Caribbean research institution. Neither in soil nor in climate is the island typical of the other West Indian colonies, and when the department eventually gave way to the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad was chosen as its site.

The idea of a college of tropical agriculture in the West Indies was first put forward as long ago as 1888 by Professor J. B. Harrison, then of British Guiana, Mr. John R. Bovell, of the Barbados Department of Agriculture, and Mr. H. H. Hancock, of Queen's Royal College, Trinidad. Their scheme in due course found its way, as so many other proposals have since found their way, into one of the more inaccessible pigeonholes at the Colonial Office.

It was not until after the first world war that the idea reached fruition. By that time Caribbean agriculture was in an unhappy state. In May, 1920, raw sugar had sold in London as high as 146s. a cwt.; by the following December the price had gone down to 25s., and the average price for 1921 was almost 7s. lower. Prices, competition, pests, diseases, and the weather joined to impress on the Caribbean planter the need for research to assure maximum and sustained production as the only answer to the several threats to his existence.

The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, founded in 1921 as the West Indies Agricultural College, was welcomed throughout the area. Its main objects were and are to provide instruction and to conduct research in tropical agriculture. The research programmes are designed to support, but not to replace, the investigational work of the insular agricultural departments, and are directed mainly towards the acquisition of scientific knowledge of wide application. Crops and problems of the Caribbean area are selected, but the information sought from them is of more than local importance. The crops principally studied are cocoa, bananas, sugar cane, citrus, and vegetables; and each of the scientific departments works upon one or more of these, in collaboration with other departments. There is a sugar factory attached to the Department of Sugar Technology. This plant was a present from the United Kingdom sugar machinery manufacturers, and it is used for research in sugar technology.

In addition to its normal research functions the I.C.T.A. is conducting four research schemes established under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the British West Indies at a cost of about £1m. These schemes concern bananas, cocoa, sugar, and soils, and more than 30 scientists have taken up residence at the college and are busily at work. The primary purpose of the banana research scheme, which is administered jointly by the college and the Jamaica Government, is to combat the serious damage done to the industry by Panama disease, a disease caused by a soil fungus of the genus *Fusarium*.

The object of the Cacao Research Scheme, which is to cover a period of 10 years, is, broadly, the rehabilitation and improvement of the industry both within the Caribbean and in other Commonwealth countries. The scheme is financed in equal shares by the British Treasury and by the Cocoa, Chocolate and Confectionery Alliance of the United Kingdom. Jointly financed by the B.W.I. and British West African Cacao Research Schemes is the current expedition by I.C.T.A. scientists to the upper tributaries of the rivers Amazon and Orinoco in quest of new cocoa types. The first party of scientists left Trinidad in June of last year, and the expedition will last for some 12 or 15 months. Seed and budwood of cocoa and of the related wild species will be sent by air to Trinidad and to the Colombian research station at Palmyra.

The Sugar Research Scheme is a five-year one, and its objects are defined as "to advance factory technique and efficiency by technological investigation and fundamental research, and to investigate what new products may be made from sugar cane, its direct products and its by-products, and to examine the possibilities of their manufacture."

It is the latter half of this statement of objects which has captured the imagination of Caribbean sugar producers and public alike. Already, in Jamaica, food yeast and alcohol are being manufactured; Trinidad has a bagasse paper investigation under way at one of its large sugar factories; and Barbados has erected a pilot plant for the extraction of sugar cane wax from mud press cake.

Perhaps the fourth research project, the soils research, will eventually prove the most beneficial to the Caribbean. Historically, Caribbean crops have been established on a hit-and-miss basis. Many West Indian islands—St. Kitts, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Barbados, for example—started out with tobacco. When Virginia captured that market the islands turned to sugar. After 1920 the planters were willing to toss out sugar for cotton, but the boll-weevil prevented such a dread event. In the same way, in other islands, sugar makes way for cocoa, which in turn is displaced by citrus, which succumbs to the banana. Most of the present Soils Research Scheme will be a land-use survey for all British Caribbean territories, classifying and mapping soils, production of crops and stocks.

Dovetailing neatly into the work done at I.C.T.A. are the researches of the Colonial Microbiological Research Institute. This institute has done research into the fermentation processes of the cocoa bean, conducted investigations on Panama disease of bananas, and worked on the isolation of antibiotics. In cooperation with the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica, workers at the institute have produced an antibiotic active against certain Panama disease-producing bacteria which attack bananas, and it has also been found that plants resistant to the cause of the disease harbour in their root system certain bacteria not found in disease-susceptible plants.

The West Indian sub-station, Commonwealth Bureau of Biological Control, was established in 1946 in order to investigate the possibilities of the biological control of a serious weed pest, *Cordia macrostachya*, in Mauritius. This project was brought to a successful conclusion when two species of insect, one a leaf-eating beetle and the other a seed-attacking Chalcid wasp, were imported into Mauritius from Trinidad. These beneficial insect species have brought the Mauritius *Cordia* under permanent control, more than recouping by many times the cost of the entire project. After this, investigations were made of the possibility of increased biological control of the small moth borers of sugar cane, and parasites have been shipped into Trinidad, St. Vincent, Barbados, Louisiana, and Venezuela.

In the year 1859, J. W. Parris, a Barbadian planter, reported in the local Press that he had established canes from seedlings found growing in a field of ratoons. Although the significance of the discovery was realized, the cultivation of self-sown seedlings was not undertaken systematically until 1888 by Harisson and Bovell. After this, seedling canes produced in Barbados proved to be highly successful in many of the other West Indian islands, where they soon became standard commercial canes. The excellence of the work carried out by the Barbados Cane Breeding Station was recognized, and in 1932 a joint British West Indies Central Sugar Cane Breeding Station replaced the local station. This station was financed partly from a Colonial Office grant, and partly from contributions from Jamaica, Trinidad, the Windward Islands, and the Leeward Islands. The Barbados Government subscribes about one half of the total, while British Guiana has subsequently become a contributor.

It is estimated that more than 80 per cent. of the area under sugar cane in the British Caribbean is planted with varieties bred in Barbados. The increased sugar yields of the industry are also directly attributed to the improvement of cane varieties.

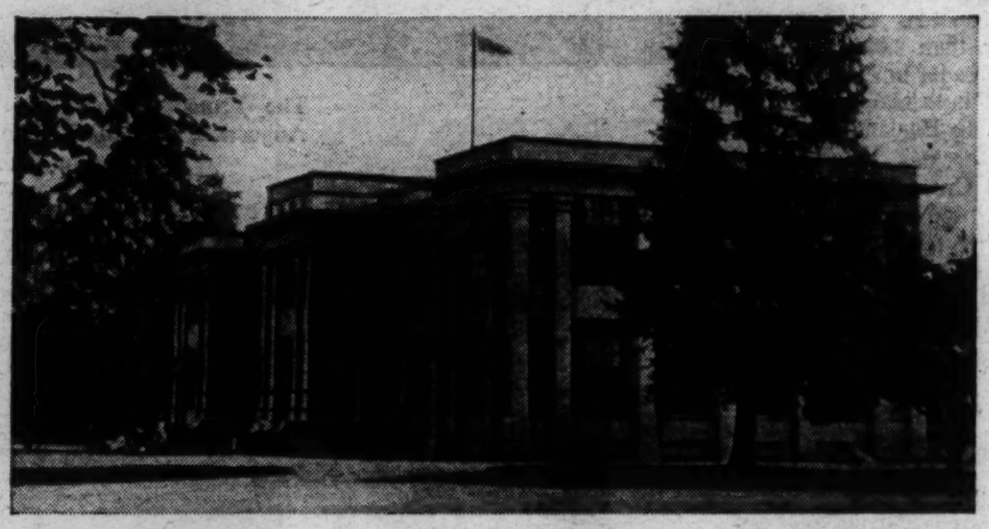
In addition to the work undertaken by these regional organizations, individual territories, through their departments of agriculture, pursue a great deal of applied research. Even within the Caribbean archipelago conditions of soil, or rainfall, or other factors vary widely. These differences can, and do, result in radical differences in the system of husbandry which can best be practised with profit or in the need to grow different varieties of the same crop in different places. In short, the regional organizations pursue basic research; the territorial departments attempt to apply the findings of such research by adapting them to local conditions.

One drawback to the abundance of research carried on in each island may well be the danger of overlapping. Two recent events should assist in removing this danger. The first is the publication by the Caribbean Commission of a *Year Book of Caribbean Research*. The first edition recorded details of a total of 789 research projects under way in the Caribbean. This was the first attempt to give a systematic account of the investigations being conducted in the area.

The second occurrence is a current proposal to establish a Regional Agricultural Research Centre. This will presumably assist in diffusing the knowledge of research results obtained within the scope of Caribbean agriculture and crops.

There has been a great deal of talk about the industrialization of the Caribbean, and no one denies that something can be done to increase the manufacturing industries of the area. But the Caribbean will never be an industrial area; at least, not in the foreseeable future. The present attraction of the area for outside capital is the availability of relatively cheap labour. This is not a predictably permanent inducement, and the area now lacks the power resources which are the second basic requirement of a highly industrialized community.

Mineral wealth is not sufficient to take over from agriculture the onus of providing for the Caribbean people the higher standard of living to which they are entitled. Trinidad's oil and asphalt, the bauxite won from British Guiana and Jamaica, must, with British Honduras timber and the limited fisheries and tourist trade, be regarded as welcome stand-bys to the essentially agricultural economy of the Caribbean. It is therefore imperative that a maximum of agricultural production be assured, not only through the improvement of crops and stocks and through the judicious and intensive use of every available acre of land, but also through the spread of agricultural knowledge among the people who cultivate the land. Only by education will the application of the findings of the research workers be ensured.



The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at St. Augustine, Trinidad. Above: A view of the main building. Left: Students of the college visiting a neighbouring pineapple estate. Right: Women transplanting padi seedlings on the college rice flats.

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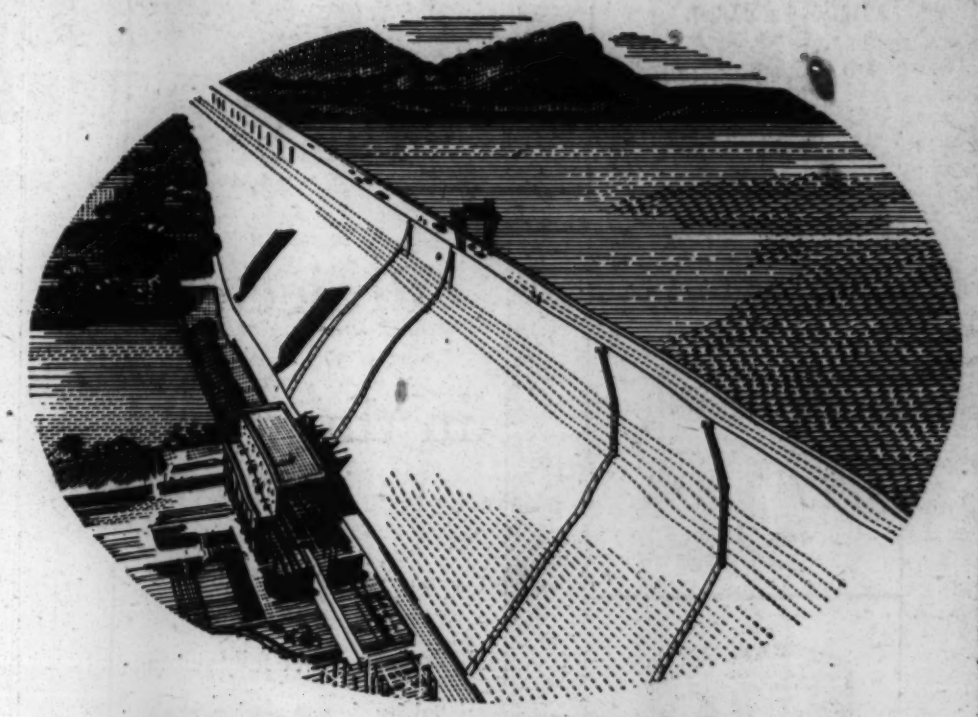

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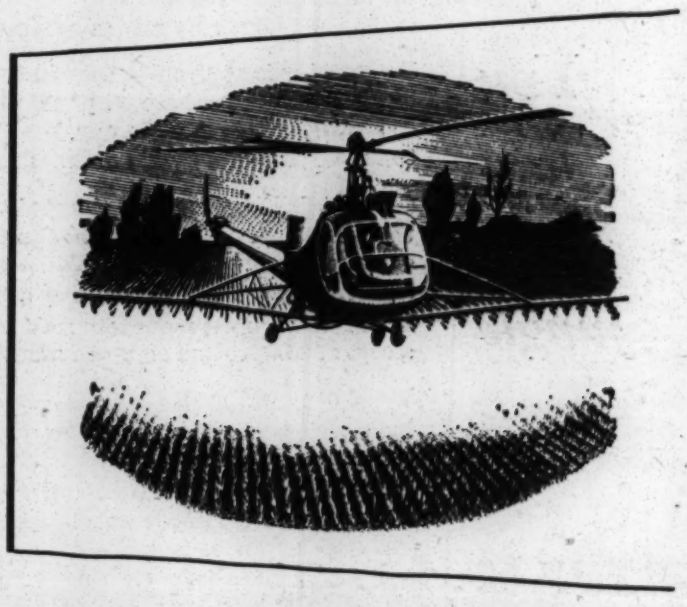

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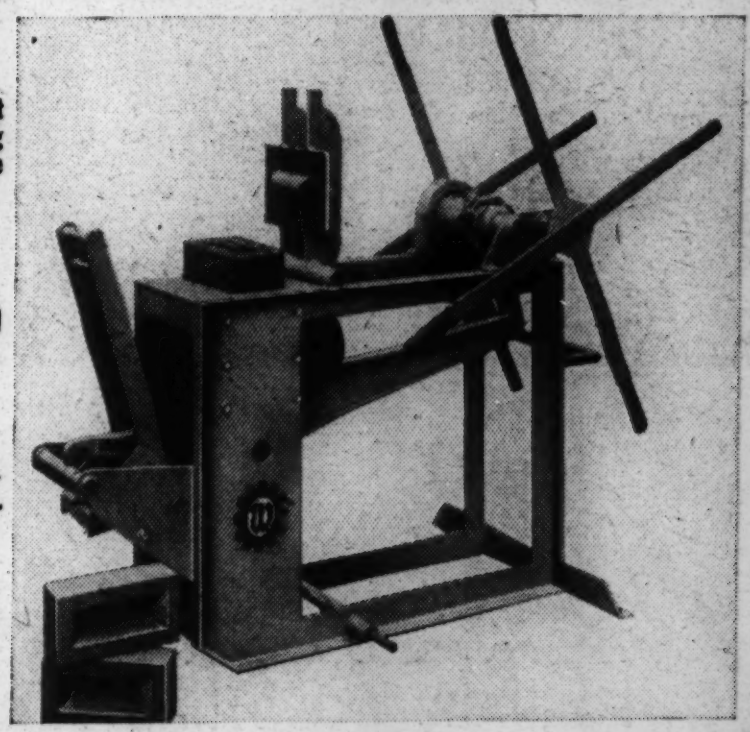

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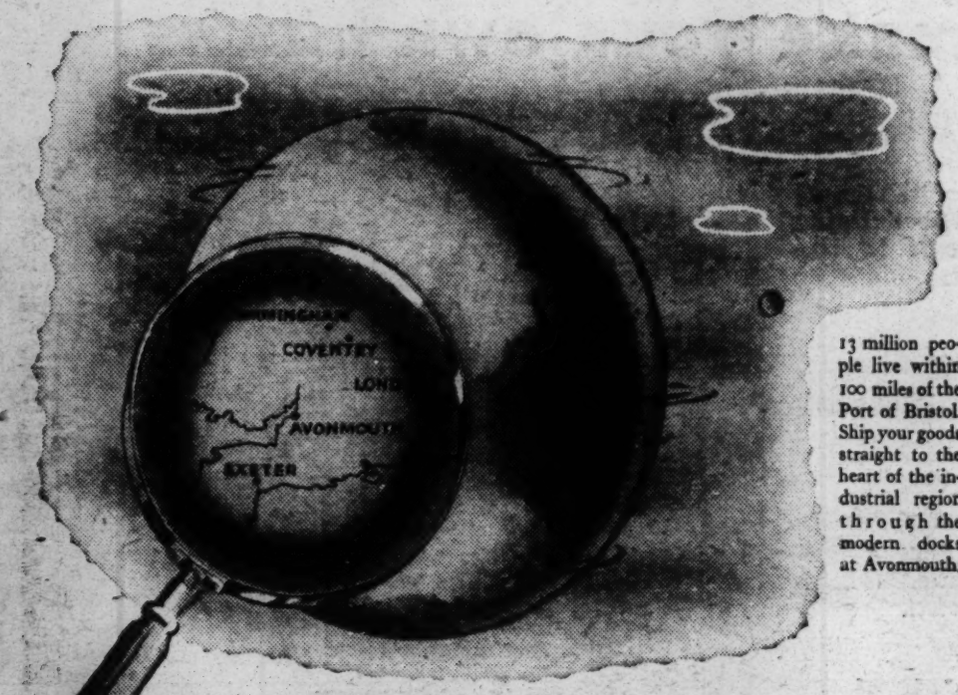

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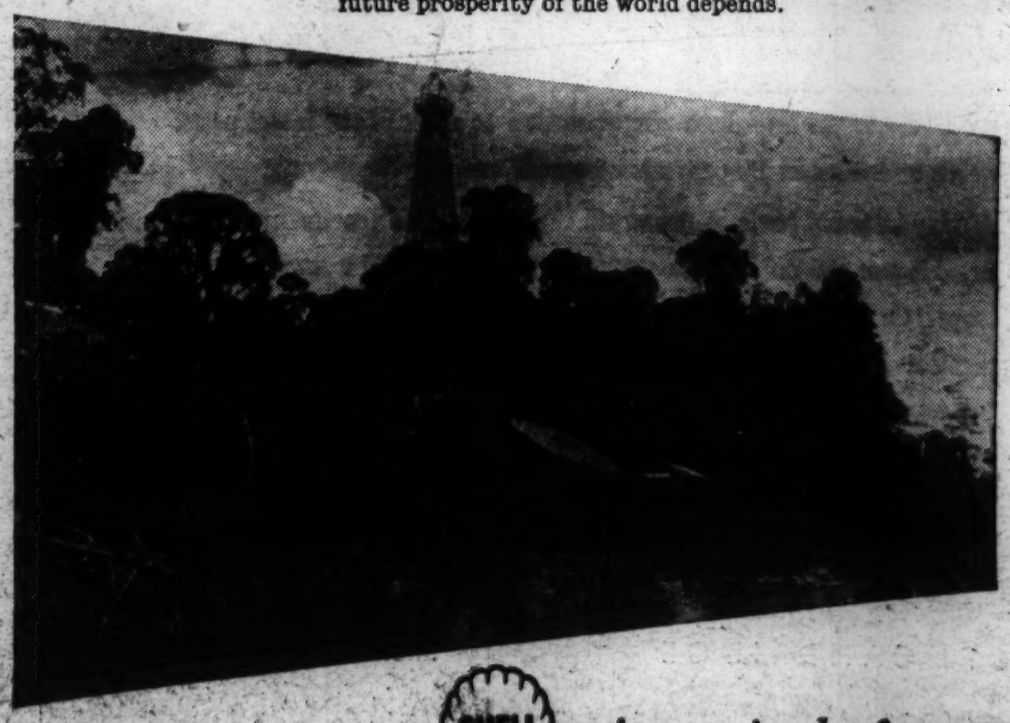
One test drilling site is so situated that the local Shell organisation had to transport all stores, equipment and personnel by shallow-draft boats up a narrow tortuous river; another could be reached only after a thirty-mile mountain road had been constructed at a cost of £200,000 and eighteen months effort.

World demand for energy is rising yearly and the oil industry's world-wide search for new supplies must be carried on continuously if that demand is to be met. On the ability of the industry to meet this challenge the future prosperity of the world depends.



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THE RHODES CENTENARY

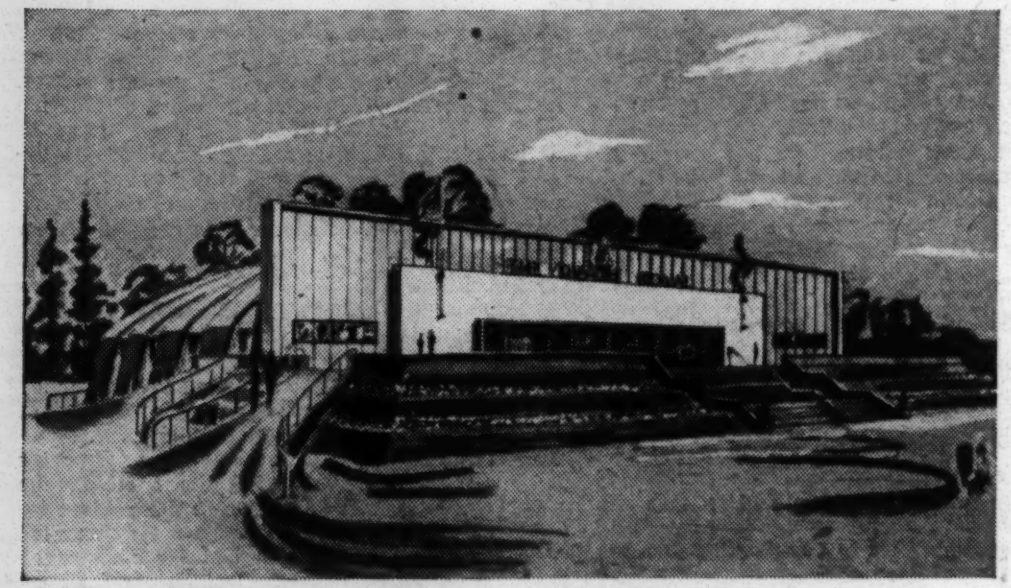
Bulawayo's Plans to Receive 250,000 Visitors

By Our Bulawayo Correspondent

VERY little more than 60 years ago the spot on which the city of Bulawayo now stands was the immediate vicinity of the great kraal of Lobengula, king of the Matabele. It was then a scene of barbarism, of massacre, and of witchcraft. To-day there is a city of 120,000 people of all races, including between 35,000 and 40,000 Europeans. It has wide avenues and streets, with buildings up to 13 storeys in height, and a large centre of secondary industries.

One hundred years ago there were born three men who were to exercise a remarkable influence on the destinies of Central Africa—Cecil John Rhodes, Sir Leander Starr Jameson, and Alfred Beit. This triple centenary, plus the sixtieth anniversary of the occupation of Matabeleland, which also falls in this year, will be celebrated throughout the Rhodesias under the title of the Rhodes Centenary.

Bulawayo, greatly daring, decided that its part should be an international exhibition, based chiefly on countries in Africa south of the Sahara and, with initial financial support from the Southern and Northern Rhodesian Governments, it has gone ahead. Month by month the conception has grown, and when the exhibition opens in May it will bear comparison with any of the great ones of the past, especially on its entertainment side. A score or so of editors from all the British African territories, including the Union of South Africa, and from the Belgian Congo, Portuguese East Africa, and other foreign colonies, have just spent three days here as the guests of the Exhibition Company—it is being run as a limited liability company—and have been amazed at the magnitude of the undertaking. The support given to the venture has been remarkable, particularly after it was announced that Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, who will be accompanied by Princess Margaret, will perform the official opening ceremony on July 3. Without exception, every country south of the Sudan has accepted the invitation to take part with a Government exhibit, and some of the exhibits, particularly that of the Union, are on a large scale. Great Britain will have an imposing pavilion, designed by Mr. Misha Black, while Kenya has imported an interesting feature—a replica of the hotel in which the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh were staying at the time of King George VI's death.



A perspective sketch of the Theatre Royal, which is being built specially for the Rhodes Centenary exhibition. It will seat between 3,000 and 3,500 persons.

In the commercial section, when the exhibition opens, there will not be one inch of vacant space, and this applies also to heavy industries and particularly the motor section, which has had to be extended. One fascinating feature will be the Court of Rhodes, in which will be displayed relics and documents associated with the founder which have been collected from many parts of the Commonwealth, as well as the rich collections contained in the Rhodesian archives and museums. The exhibition will have a post office and a telephone exchange with 150 private lines. It will have press rooms for the newspaper representatives it expects from all parts of the world, and a broadcasting studio, committee rooms, and a lost property and parcels office. Its conference hall—to seat 300 people—is fully booked for the three months. When conferences are not in session it will house beauty, fashion, dressmaking, and cooking demonstrations.

The exhibition will house the primary and secondary products of African countries whose total area is over five million square miles—nearly twice the size of the United States, and over 50 times that of the United Kingdom.

The population of these African countries to-day is 65 million. It is estimated that during June, July, and August a quarter of a million people will visit Bulawayo, and that they will spend between £2m. and £3m. in Southern Rhodesia. This naturally poses a difficult accommodation problem in a city in which, on account of its phenomenal growth in the past five years, the housing and hotel shortage is acute. Two or three new hotels, one of them a large one, will be finished by the time the exhibition is held, but these will not nearly meet the need. There has been an organized approach to residents to take in guests, and some will be accommodated in this manner.

It was obvious, however, that something further would have to be done, and the plan of "Centenary City" came into being. Here 2,500 prefabricated bungalows, each with two beds, its own bathroom and lavatory, and hot and cold water, are to be erected in blocks of 250 built round a central square, in which will be kitchen and dining rooms and lounges for the residents of the block. Full meals will be provided as part of the daily accommodation cost, and normal hotel prices will be charged. One block is already in being for the use of the people employed on building the exhibition. Centenary City was made possible through a loan from the Northern Rhodesian Government, which will take over most of the dwellings in part repayment, for use on projects in Northern Rhodesia such as the Kafue hydro-electric power undertaking.

Recently Mr. F. L. Jonsson, the energetic general manager of the exhibition, returned from London after having signed firm contracts for the entertainment programme. "Never before," he said on his return, "has any country been able to concentrate into such a short time such an array of British and Continental talent." The programme will open on May 30 with Scottish variety, and this will last until June 13, and will include the Edinburgh Pipe Band, and well-known entertainers from north of the Tweed. It will be followed by the Rhodesian Pageant, produced by Mr. Christopher Ede. This will be staged for a week. The Hallé Orchestra, conducted by Sir John Barbirolli, will perform from June 22 to July 4. Among the soloists with the orchestra will be Miss Kathleen Ferrier. The Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet will appear from July 6 to July 18. Dame Ninette de Valois, the director of Sadler's Wells, hopes to be there. The Covent Garden Opera Company will open on July 30 and close their season on August 29. They will perform *Aida, La Bohème, The Marriage of Figaro,* and Benjamin Britten's opera *Gloriana,* written especially for the coronation performance at Covent Garden. The operas will be performed on consecutive nights. The Covent Garden authorities have assumed the supervision of all the technical arrangements at the Exhibition Theatre, including lighting, construction of the stage, staffing, and other details. Mr. Louis Yudkin, stage director at Covent Garden, has been in Bulawayo for several days recently to make preliminary arrangements. It was recently announced that Mr. John Gielgud is coming out with his company for the exhibition, and will do nine night shows and three matinées. He himself will probably play Richard II. His company are cutting short their London season in order to appear in Bulawayo. The night club at the exhibition will star Mlle. Lynda Gloria, of the Casino de Paris. After her present season in Paris she will go to Scandinavia and from there to Bulawayo. Sixteen dancers will be brought from oversea, and Mr. Robert Nesbitt has undertaken to produce the cabarets.

There was no theatre or public building in Bulawayo suitable for the production of these programmes, so the exhibition authorities decided to build one, and it is now under construction. It will have room for between 3,000 and 3,500 persons, each of whom will have a clear view of the stage; will have a clear span of 179ft., without interior pillars, and will contain about 400 tons of steel; and will be 220ft. long, 196ft. wide, and 49ft. high. It will be equipped with all the latest theatre amenities, including a lighting control tower, an orchestra pit measuring 60ft. by 20ft., and a stage 100ft. by 60ft. A strong spacious stage was necessary, as upon it will be presented Mr. Ede's pageant, which will include a full-sized stage coach drawn by live mules.

Work on the exhibition site of 54 acres, beautifully set within a few minutes' walk of the centre of the city, and bordered on two sides by Bulawayo's beautiful public gardens, is proceeding day and night. The recent heavy rains have impeded progress, but fortunately an early start was made with construction and it is believed that everything will be completed on time. One feature now under construction is the African section. There will be three typical and picturesque African villages, an open-air African market, African craftsmen at work, and Africans singing and dancing on a central dais—all enclosed in a tall stockade of thatching grass. Dr. J. F. Holleman, a South African authority on native life and customs, will be in charge, and in his opinion nothing quite like it has ever been displayed in an exhibition before. It aims at creating an African atmosphere both colourful and authentic. The Shona village, the Ndebele village, and the Tswana (Bechuana) village will be true in every detail, even to the untidiness of the Shona roofs. Tourists will see at a glance how these tribes used to live before the white man came. But the large and colourful African market will be something which has no part in any phase of African tribal life. Here, under the direction of Dr. Holleman, Africans, men and women, robed in garments which may not always be traditional, but will always be indigenous, will sell many kinds of African products. On the outer rim of this market place African craftsmen, who will conform strictly to tribal customs, will ply the crafts that they and their forebears have followed for many years. The programme of dancing and singing on the dais may include a choir that is already famous—the Africa jubilee choir of the non-European affairs department of Johannesburg. It may also include an orchestra of timbala players from the Chopi tribe of Mozambique. Masked dancers of the Makishi tribe of Northern Rhodesia will also take part.

An international club, which will know no colour bar, is being built within the grounds. It will have living room for about 30 people, a restaurant, and a bar. Notable representatives of African States, such as the Kabaka of Buganda, will be invited to be members.

Left: An aerial view of the exhibition buildings while still under construction. Above: The interior of the pavilion which will house some of the industrial stands. The exhibition will be open to the public at the end of May, and Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother will perform the official opening ceremony on July 3.

AFRICANS AS PROGRESSIVE FARMERS

Coastal Settlement in Kenya

By a Correspondent

FINANCED by funds obtained from the Colonial Development and Reconstruction Authority, the African Land Utilization and Settlement Board—with headquarters in Nairobi—investigates and directs projects for the better use of vast tracts of near-uninhabited or near-uninhabitable wilderness in Kenya.

Once an area has been thrown open by the provision of roads and water and, where necessary, the control of tsetse fly, the African, and only the African, is encouraged to enter and settle down as a peasant farmer under just sufficient supervision to prevent his ruining the newly opened land as he has already ruined such vast acreages in his reserves. And in this connexion the assistance of trained African agricultural instructors—working under the direction of the Department of Agriculture—aids him towards a better and more progressive all-round economy. One such project is the agricultural settlement of Gede, 60 odd miles north-east of Mombasa on the coast lands of the East African Protectorate and surrounding the now excavated ruins of the ancient city of Gede, whence the settlement derives its name. Here some 10,000 acres of scrub-covered, fly-infested land has been divided into 12-acre plots, provided with water (from wells), opened up with roads and given all the amenities that a developing population is likely to require. And any African who has the necessary qualifications may come in and take up a plot—free. He must be able-bodied and not too old and decrepit to make full use of the land; he must have originated from one of the coastal tribes; he must not possess other land of his own elsewhere; and he should preferably be married.

An African homestead surrounded by citrus, cashew nut, pawpaw and kapok trees.

His capital outlay need be no greater than the sum required to buy a hoe, a bush knife, and a cooking pot. He and his family will receive free medical attention at the dressing station for all minor ailments or at the hospital, 10 miles away in Malindi, should the need arise. If a cut foot is receiving daily treatment and the journey to and from his plot causes pain and inconvenience he can sleep the night in the Cottage Hospital, where three beds are provided for men and four for women and children. To while away the time before complete recovery he can get a cup of tea and a cake—for a few cents—in the tea shop provided at Government expense and leased for a nominal monthly rental to a man who is himself a peasant farmer within the scheme. Or he may choose to listen to the radio in the social hall: hear the happenings of the day in the vernacular broadcasts from Nairobi, or some music—always popular—from the B.B.C. And if his foot is not too painful he may hobble on to watch his son or daughter receiving instruction in the primary school, built by the Government, staffed with teachers trained by the Church Missionary Society and supervised from the society's headquarters in Mombasa.

If the Government does not ask cash payment for the services it provides, it seeks its reward in cooperation, something approaching industry, a simple discipline, and, most important of all, good husbandry. And that implies a strict adherence to the rules.

Each 12-acre plot is subdivided into four equal parts. The first section provides the homestead, where the settler must build his house and where he may only cultivate crops of a permanent or semi-permanent nature: legumes, root crops, and such as are calculated to build up rather than deplete the soil. After this, and for a period of three years only, he is allowed to grow annual food crops and cotton on the next three-acre strip. At the end of the three years his annual crop section moves to the third strip, while the second begins its six-year period of rest. Thus, broadly, the rotation follows the African's age-old custom of shifting cultivation, but with this difference: where formerly he might move many miles in the course of a lifetime, the system being tried out at Gede keeps him anchored to the one plot.

In the north-south direction the lines of plots are separated from each other by avenues of cashew nut trees, while the east-west boundaries are defined by avenues of kapok. The Government provides seed or seedlings from the Gede nurseries; the settler himself does the planting and maintenance, and the crop, when mature, is his to sell. In time, too, single lines of cashew nut trees are planted to demarcate permanently the plot subdivisions. The nurseries also provide, free of charge, orange, lime, lemon, and coconut trees for planting in the homestead section. This, then, is the anchor—the permanent crops, which come into production quickly in the hot, humid atmosphere of the coast, and which will, in the fullness of time, be inherited by the settler's son. Time only will tell what the holding qualities of this anchor can be.

Administration, at present, is in the hands of a European officer, assisted by a committee of elders and representing each line of plots. This committee sits, when occasion demands, to consider improvements, agricultural programmes, welfare amenities, and, when necessary, application to higher authority for permission to evict a man of proved unsuitability. Family and marital disputes are settled according to tribal custom by this same committee, but under the chairmanship of the location headman in place of the settlement officer. It is intended that one day the responsibility of management shall fall upon the shoulders of a wholly African committee working under the aegis and guidance of the district and provincial administrations.

Cash crops and sundry produce are all disposed of within the settlement. Vegetables, fruits, goat meat, mutton, and a host of other local foods can be sold by any member of the community in the Government-built market. Cashew nuts are bought for cash on appointed days during the season by an agent of the processors. Likewise cotton and kapok are purchased for spot cash, on conclusion of the harvest, by an agent of the local firm of ginners, and at a price which is fixed by the Government from year to year. Since the settlement borders the sea, in addition to having an inlet of considerable size, fish also forms part of the diet of the settler, whose industry as a part-time fisherman often helps tide over a period of financial embarrassment.

Development work within the settlement is executed by paid and rationed labour recruited from among the settlers and their sons. Compulsory, unpaid communal labour can be called out for road work and other tasks of this nature for an agreed maximum of five days for each plot holder in a year.

A demonstration plot, identical in every respect to the African-owned units, is maintained at Government expense and serves a dual purpose. As a yardstick it measures the productivity and recuperative properties of the soil. In other words it serves to prove whether, properly handled, the acreage is sufficient to provide a standard of living not only higher than that of the native living in adjacent reserves, but one which can be maintained on a comparable level for an indefinite number of years. Secondly, it forms a shop window for all to come and see. No artificial manures are used; nothing in fact is done that an African settler of average intelligence cannot do himself.

For a long time cattle could not be kept in this area because of the tsetse fly. In 1949 an experimental herd of native cattle was introduced by the Department of Veterinary Services, and within three months every animal—clean and healthy upon its arrival—showed trypanosomiasis parasites in its blood and glands. Then the new drug antrycide was used and the animals quickly recovered. Under the protection of this drug the herd improved in condition and began to multiply, but experience is proving that the protection is of a more temporary nature than was hoped, and it still remains to be seen whether the introduction of stock on a large scale and under continuous periodical treatment is likely to prove an economical proposition to the peasant farmer.

The reactions of the African to this experiment in what the Americans call euthenics remains to be seen. The natives of the East African coastal strip, living in a hot, humid climate where crops mature rapidly, where clothes are almost unnecessary, where living in its simplest form is perhaps as easy, if not easier, than in any other part of the world, are inclined to indolence. Most of them just want to be left alone to enjoy the kind of life to which they have become accustomed through the centuries, and show but little appreciation for what is being done to help them.

Fortunately there are exceptions, and it is upon them that depends the whole success of the undertaking. There are men who take real pride in the orderliness of their holdings, who have progressed beyond the traditional bird's nest type of hut in the direction of something rectangular with doors and windows and ample headroom. These are the men who are just beginning to realize that the Government is there to help those who wish to be helped; men who send their children to school cleanly dressed, who insist upon an elementary hygiene within their homes, who have learnt that the human frame yields good dividends in the form of increased work output in return for better feeding. These few may set an example to their near neighbours; not immediately—for no immediate results are to be expected—but over a long period of years, even generations. If this happens—and there are already favourable signs, after only 14 years of operation—then the scheme will have proved a success in that an ever-increasing population will have learnt to get a better standard of living from a smaller unit of land.

COUNTER-SORCERY IN PAPUA

By Sir Frank Fox

KENYA'S decision to employ healing witchery to counteract the murderous witchcraft of Mau Mau is—reasonably examined—humane and common-sensible. Critics who profess to find it shocking may be disconcerted, if not converted, by the fact that it has in British Papua the validity of a precedent (in our own enlightened days) of full success in banishing evil sorcery by "counter-sorcery." The method was somewhat analogous to medical practice of fighting a dangerous disease by immunization.

Early in this century the British section of the island of New Guinea, governed as a colony, was passed by the Home Government to the control of Australia and renamed Papua. There was question at the time whether "White Australia" would aim at "White Papua," with dispossession of the natives. The Papuans were certainly wild and little disposed to steady industry: their land was rich; exploitation would be profitable. Australia adopted the policy of "Papua for the Papuans." This was established by a firm administrator, the late Hubert Murray. The white rulers became trustees for the natives, who were to be encouraged, though not compelled, to more industrious habits. The only "enforced labour" was that of offenders against law and order. Others were encouraged to industry by desire to purchase the attractive toys of civilized life, and were prompted to culture of the land, which would yield food, extra to their own needs, to be marketed.

If the administration had been hypocritical in using the term "offenders against the law," there could have been ample provision of forced labour. But that was not the case. The criminal code was adjusted to the ways of those who were "native and to the manner born." For example, homicide was prevalent; it was not easy to determine, in most cases, whether it was "murder" in the civilized sense of the term or an incident arising out

Natives washing in the Nimada river, Goodenough Island, near the south-east extremity of Papua.

of some tribal difference. It had to be discouraged; but the penalty was moderate—a term of enforced labour. After this term, it was not unusual for a culprit—having learned the ways of the whites—to enrol in the native constabulary and give disciplined service. Hubert Murray made the claim, humorously, that his guardian police were, in considerable proportion, homicides.

Sorcery was a more serious crime. A cunning native would set up as a sorcerer with power to "cast the evil eye" on another if he were not placated with a yam patch or a woman he coveted. The victim of the "evil eye" would surely die. This blackmail was so profitable that the severest penalties were ineffective. So Murray established a Government sorcery department. Its "public relations" branch announced that the Government sorcerer was of supreme ability, could "out-sorcer" the evil eye, and would do so without a fee. Murray did not seek to advertise abroad his counter-sorcery, knowing that it might meet with criticism, but his

A view of the beautiful native village of Mapos in Papua.

method proved to be remarkably effective. Sorcery, no longer commercially profitable, rapidly dwindled. To one critic who objected to this "official sanction of a heathen superstition" the Administrator cited the august example of the Privy Council Judicial Committee which, sitting at Westminster, would, in a case referred from India, urbanely examine the evidence as to the right proprietorship of the shrine of a Hindu idol. This was not sanctioning idolatry. In combating sorcery for injustice by sorcery to restore justice he was using fire to fight fire, as was the duty, sometimes, of a fire brigade.

The suppression of sorcery was the chief benefit of the trustee policy in Papua to seek for the natives paths of progress suitable to their ideas. At the outbreak of the recent war (by which time what had been German New Guinea was annexed to the British area) Papua was a peaceable and prospering territory. There was great growth of small native-owned plantations. Civilization had even progressed to the stage of a gold-mining industry in the mountains, relieved from delays and hardships of jungle transport by the use of aircraft. In a book recording his long experience as a butterfly collector for the Rothschild Museum at Tring, Mr. Meek described the natives as amiable helpers, never giving trouble and understanding the white man's search for rare lepidoptera better than his search for gold. During the Japanese invasion of Papua during the war they gave heroic service to our forces, many giving up their lives to work for the medical and supply services.

International students of the racial problem can find in the South Pacific several other examples of the success of the British system in dealing with backward races. New Zealand, a self-governing Dominion, with the Maoris on full equality with the white man, is one example. Tonga with its native monarchy is another. The Brotherhood of Man has been rightly interpreted as imposing paternal discipline on races where childish ways should be schooled to progress by humane methods that they will understand.

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS IN THE GOLD COAST

From Barbarism to Self-Rule

By Dr. Freda Wolfson

COLONIAL administration nowadays is a matter of routine and planning, with abundant material resources in familiar territory. Not much more than 50 years ago British efforts at government in West Africa, handicapped by poverty, disease, and ignorance, provided a classic example of "muddling along." Hostile to man, the tropical environment destroyed the handiwork and defeated the spirit of the pioneer officials.

Nowhere was this more striking than in communications, essential to all government. These were almost entirely lacking on the Gold Coast. Draught animals could not survive because of tsetse fly, and with humans as the only means of transport, bush tracks—"with the high bush on each side, tortuous, blocked with fallen trunks, flooded with water in the rainy season"—were the only channels of communication.

Unlike Nigeria the Gold Coast had no navigable waterways, though the only river of any size, the Volta, was thought to be potentially valuable. Nineteenth-century "coasters" might have gasped at the scale of the present Volta river development scheme, but the idea itself would not have surprised them. Until the medical and technical advances at the end of the century, however, man could not but lose the struggle against the physical conditions of the tropics. Visions could not become reality, and attempts at government were feeble and piecemeal.

The administration on the Gold Coast, established in 1843 in response to pressure from traders and philanthropists, was pitifully poor and ill-equipped to perform even the most elementary tasks of government. The difficulty of making ends meet became a prolonged nightmare with the inexorable refusal of the Treasury to help the local government. The only higher authority was Parliament, but one member's remark that taxpayers' money was being used to "keep crowds of Africans idle" was typical of the general feeling in the Commons, and the Colonial Office hesitated to expose itself to ignorant and unsympathetic criticism.

With limited resources the administration confined itself to the task of keeping the peace and encouraging trade, though with disappointing results. Wars and unrest in the interior went on and the few interested British merchants found that the Gold Coast had little to offer in exchange for their goods. Palm oil, the only product of importance, was subject to great fluctuations in price and to intense competition from rival products, and in any case the Gold Coast was a poor producer. Gold mines, which were known to exist some distance inland, were the other possible source of wealth, but could not be exploited without European capital; and until the end of the century this region was about the last place thought of as suitable for investment. The economic frustration which persisted for so long makes the phenomenal rise of cocoa cultivation since 1900 all the more striking. Once under way, it overshadowed all other production and at last provided a sure basis for prosperity.

Because of the climate the expense of European officials was out of all proportion to their output and the resources of the territory. It was well known that only those men who had no prospect of employment elsewhere would ever apply for a post in West Africa. Rarely was an official of proved ability lured there and never could he be induced to stay. New recruits, if they survived their first "seasoning fever" and were left with a vestige of initiative, would claim better posts. If not, they would fret out their time in miserable solitude at out-stations or in petty bickering with colleagues at headquarters. Occasional bursts of energy from exceptional individuals would ruffle the torpid calm, but as often the usual oppressive lethargy prevailed. Apart from the heavy toll of death and sickness—the casualty rate being as much as 30 per cent. in a bad year—the leave system made continuity impossible.

The obvious solution to the problems of European employment was to recruit African officials, and the idea of training local men as officials, teachers, doctors, and technicians was seriously considered in 1849 by Lord Grey, that far-sighted Secretary of State for the Colonies. But the plan was chimerical with a niggardly revenue and scarcely appropriate in an age of *laissez-faire*. It is true that many Africans were employed by the Government, but there was a prejudice against giving them responsible posts. Unquestionably the marked differences between manners and morals in Europe and West Africa played a large part in conditioning the outlook of white officials. They believed that black men had scarcely roused themselves from the depths of barbarism and on that account were unfitted to assume responsibility.

But what of the educated minority who lived in European style and considered themselves the equals of white men? These Africans—most of them traders, some lawyers, mission workers, or Government officials—were the vanguard of an individualistic society. It is impossible to estimate their numbers, but every coastal town had its bourgeois nucleus which expanded as closer contact with Europeans speeded up the evolution from traditional tribal organization to urban life on western lines. Europeans were puzzled and disturbed by this small group, which did not fit in with their notion of African society, but thought that if they ignored this element the problems it created would disappear.

Yet try as it would to forget the existence of these people, the Government was in constant conflict with them. On their part the Africans resented being ignored or treated with contempt and sought in vain for some constructive outlets for their talents and vitality. Trade usually provided an opening.

Captain George Maclean, Governor of the British Settlements, Gold Coast, 1830-43, and Judicial Assessor, 1843-47.

But in times of depression, or when they were unable to compete with more powerful European merchants, they used up their surplus energy in abusing and agitating against the Government. Though nearly all of them were willing to agree that the presence of the British brought material benefits, these Africans wildly clamoured for national independence, the only goal which promised to satisfy their frustrated craving for power and for recognition as adults. The rise of local nationalism seriously threatened the British position and exposed its weaknesses, and the showy and expensive Ashanti campaign led by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1873 was intended less to punish the Ashanti than to frighten the coastal people into submission to British authority. Thereafter the Colonial Office made up its mind that to employ Africans in responsible positions would be "worse than useless."

Having taken this stand, the Government defined their duties in order of importance. First came the maintenance of peace; then the need to make life bearable for European officials; and only third the material development of the territory for African benefit, unless this last responsibility could be shifted on to other shoulders, such as commercial companies. It was not that the Colonial Office denied that to spend money on African health, education, and agriculture was desirable. It was simply a matter of dealing with important matters first. The rest could be left to the distant future.

At the end of the nineteenth century revolutionary changes in health, communications, and economy took place. The mosquito and malaria were linked together at last, and this triumph of medical science gave Europeans a fair chance of surviving in the tropics for the first time. Communications had been immeasurably improved by telegraph, which was first used in 1882 and extended into the Northern Territories in 1899. But transport problems would have been overwhelming when Ashanti and the north were brought under British rule had not the invention of the motor-car made road transport possible. There was a further advance when the construction of a railway followed the flow of capital into the gold mines. The development of the cocoa industry at the same time

continued on page twenty-five

The historic Cape Coast Castle, built in 1662 and used during the nineteenth century as the British headquarters.

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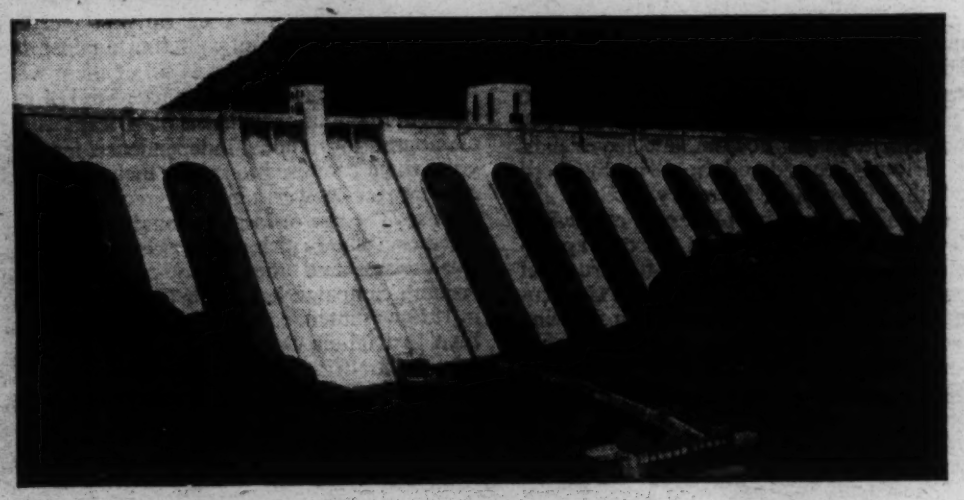

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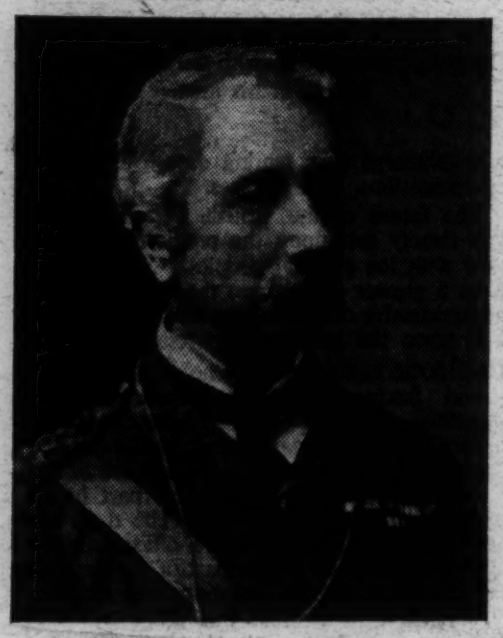
FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

continued from page twenty-three

rounded off this series of far-reaching material achievements.

But old ideas died hard, and policy lagged behind these new developments. The Colonial Office merely looked upon them as proof that British rule could now be firmly established, and busied itself with opening up the country for strategic purposes and building houses and offices for the numerous members of the greatly expanded administrative service.

Meanwhile the negative attitude towards African problems persisted. Local government was allowed to stagnate while the European administration, a structure alien to the people and divorced from them, grew more and more top-heavy. Indirect rule on the classic model, where chiefs became the paid agents of the Government, had not been



Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley (1833-1913), who, as Sir Garnet Wolseley, led the Ashanti campaign in 1873.

evolved on the Gold Coast, yet direct rule by white officials was quite impracticable. As each year of *laissez-faire* went by, the decay of indigenous institutions deepened and the frustration of the educated minority intensified, while capital development of direct importance to Africans and expenditure for their benefit were still neglected.

Against this background the changes which have taken place in the last decade seem startling. From being the most worthless of colonies, the Gold Coast has become a model, especially in its remarkable synthesis of tradition with economic stability and national consciousness. No wonder that the first all-African commission ever to sit—the Coussey commission—was appointed here in 1949 with the task of working out a constitution and administrative system more in keeping with the development of the territory and the capabilities of its people. And the new form of government which resulted in 1950, with its African cabinet and emphasis on African control in all spheres of activity, is but a step from the attainment of full responsibility.

THE FREE CHURCHES IN AFRICA

Pioneers in Missionary Work

By a Correspondent

AFRICA is no longer content to remain a minor under the tutelage of Europe; she awakes to a new day in which active claims, whether to complete self-direction or an adequate place in a plural society, raise large political and social issues. And the new day, with its moral and spiritual demands, finds the Christian Church already there—in itself a striking fact, since a century ago Africa was little more than a series of coastlines to the outside world. And they were malaria-ridden coasts at that, long dominated by the slave-trade; factors that combined effectively to lock up the interior. Yet inhospitable as the land appeared, the Christian mission managed to secure a more or less precarious foothold at selected points. In these earliest efforts the English Free Churches and Scottish Presbyterians were actively engaged.

Negroes from the New World arriving in the young Sierra Leone settlement in 1792 were already converts of Baptist, Methodist, and Countess of Huntingdon missionaries. But high hopes associated with this Christian entry under African leadership were not realized; there was no advance to the interior. Methodist missionaries, arriving in the country from 1811, shared with the Anglican mission the burden of care for liberated Africans from captured slavers. In this the Colony of the Gambia shared. The first continuing English mission to the Gold Coast was a Methodist undertaking in the thirties, rendered notable by the pioneer visits of T. B. Freeman, then and a decade later, to the potentates of Kumasi and Dahomey and the Yoruba city of refuge at Abeokuta. Good personal relations were established, and in due course work started in all three regions.

An interesting feature of the post-emancipation period was the keen desire of West Indian Negro Christians to share their faith with homelands on the Guinea Coast. This stimulated Baptists and Presbyterians to enter West Africa. The Baptist mission, beginning its work in Fernando Pò in 1840, soon found its main task in the Cameroons on the mainland opposite. With the German advent in 1884 their work was transferred to the Basel mission, while Baptist energy was now devoted to the developing Congo region. But a relic of the early days survives in the name Victoria given by the missionaries to their settlement on Ambas Bay. The Scottish Presbyterian venture to Calabar in 1846 was the first Christian mission to the densely populated region east of the Niger.

The break into interior Africa did not take place from the west as was once expected. The transcontinental journey of David Livingstone when still in the service of the London Missionary Society was the first breakthrough, as his subsequent discoveries and explorations were the greatest contribution to the opening up of Central Africa from the east coast. Congregationalists through the London Missionary Society, who had already been long at work in the Bechuana country, where their influence was an important factor in securing British protection, now eagerly sought to press in Livingstone's wake to the interior, where they became established in the Northern Rhodesia of to-day. The Methodists also crossed the Zambezi and in the early nineties pioneered among the Ila-speaking peoples. Meanwhile Nyasaland—well called, as Sir Reginald Coupland says, the heritage of Livingstone—became a lodestar to the Scottish Churches, and here they were at work by the mid-seventies. Methodists in 1862 and Presbyterians in 1891 began work in the present Kenya, while the Friends entered the island of Pemba north of Zanzibar. Thus these various missions in West and East and Central Africa have long passed their jubilee.

The pattern of development has been the familiar one of a European centre with out-stations under African leadership. This African agency represented the spearhead of advance, the little school and the infant church in a common building presenting a twofold aspect of a single great event: the shining of a new light in the traditional African community. Here was the first meeting-place in respect of ideas of Europe and young Africa. These village centres, feeble enough by outside standards, have had their deep significance in the fact that they were at ground level. They satisfied Booker Washington's demand: put the bottom rung of the ladder where the man is.

While evangelism is accepted as the central task of missions, the attempt to carry it out involves a reference to the social context. Specialized services in education and medicine are called for; also some knowledge of the traditional social pattern and understanding of the consequent disruption produced by the impact of one culture on another are demanded, since social diagnosis must precede rational treatment of social ills. No inconsiderable contribution to the study of African languages and of the cultures of African peoples has been made by Free Church missionaries.

Education at the secondary level has a long history in the west, where the coastal zone has provided a considerable constituency for it. Impressive developments in provision both for boys and girls have been made possible by generous Government grants supplementing the original investments of the societies. That the large direct total share of Christian missions in education—estimated at some 80 to 90 per cent. of the primary and secondary facilities—can no longer be maintained under changing political conditions and with heavily increased demand is clear, but the call for their less direct contribution, in Christian personalities to man a state system, becomes a challenge of the time. In East and Central Africa the demand for post-primary schools has appeared later, and cooperative institutions now exist in Kenya and Nyasaland. As the topstone to the educational pyramid officially established centres of university college rank—one in the east and three in the west—are now in being. In Nigeria a department of religious studies, and on the Gold Coast a department of theology are a part of the academic system, and to these Methodist and Presbyterian members of staff have been appointed.

It is a corollary of any sound policy of evangelism that the ministry of healing should accompany the preaching of the Word. From widespread simple dispensary service this aspect of the mission has grown until full-fledged hospitals with qualified medical and nursing staff have now appeared in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Statistics in this field, translated into terms of relief from suffering and restored health, are significant. Let a single reference suffice: at the Church of Scotland hospitals in Nigeria, Nyasaland and Kenya some 22,000 in-patients were treated in 1951 and about 4,700 operations performed. A specific contribution is being made in service to lepers. The alarming prevalence of the disease in Nigeria has called for institutions where treatment by the sulphone drugs is now producing remarkable results. But since more than physical treatment is required, many patients are confided to the care of leprosy settlements under missionary auspices, with generous support from B.E.L.R.A. and Toc H, where the patients are received into a full community life. And the communities are of some size: the Methodist at Uzuakoli with 1,000 resident patients, the Presbyterian at Itu with 3,000. The London Mission in Northern Rhodesia also has a settlement at Kawimbe, where patients are welcomed, treated and cared for in the name of Christ.

While the drift to the towns with their cinemas and neon lights is a challenging social problem throughout tropical Africa, it has a special insistence in Central Africa as recent studies of migrant labour have shown. The United Missions in the Copperbelt have for 10 years worked in the sphere of education and welfare in which the urban demand becomes overwhelming. Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians are active partners in the team, being already in effective cooperation among themselves on a wider front in the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia. The rural problem is also one that the mission is attacking in the endeavour to make significant the cultivation of the soil as a divine vocation. The London Mission in Northern Rhodesia, in support of the Government's ten-year development plan, but with a definite Christian purpose in its programme, now has agricultural and other experts who share this purpose appointed to its staff. A farm school in Kenya under Presbyterian auspices offers similar service. The advance of Christianity in peasant communities has traditionally lagged behind that in the cities as the terms pagan and heathen bear witness, yet once the Christian

At a clinic at Nkana, Northern Rhodesia. A mother arrives with her baby, its record card, and a pot on her head for the milk.

Church is well rooted in these communities it has a promise of survival which in time of crisis the more vulnerable city cannot give.

It was natural that when, with the growing number of Christian converts, some form of Church order was necessary, the early missionaries should have reproduced that to which they themselves adhered. There is no desire to-day to impose rigid ecclesiastical patterns upon the young African Church, much less to take for granted a continuing European leadership. The variety represented in the pioneering efforts has been reduced: the union of the Scottish Churches in 1929 and the Methodist Union of 1932 have brought under the aegis of two British Churches of similar polity the earlier work of several denominations. But moreover, where they work as neighbours they are so far committed to the prospect of a closer union that the training of their ministers at a single institution is already in being: at Kumasi for the Gold Coast, at Umuahia for Eastern Nigeria, where Anglicans also participate, and in Kenya, where Presbyterian and Methodist are associated with the Anglican Training College at Limuru. That African ministers already carry a considerable pastoral responsibility is clear from the fact that, as against some 90 ordained European missionaries of the Free Churches in these territories, there are now some 320 ordained Africans. Moreover, African leadership is ungrudgingly encouraged and appointments to the charge of a hospital, the headship of an educational institution or the highest seat in the Synod are already familiar experiences. And further, the democratic training in self-government gained in Church courts by both men and women, with the accompanying responsibility for raising and disbursing funds, has proved a valuable preparatory discipline for the discharge of public duties in local government and at higher levels.

As the Free Churches were pioneers at the dawn of the modern missionary movement, so now they seek to serve the peoples of Africa, in times of national aspiration and social turmoil when the current of life flows swiftly, by nurturing the Church in their midst to which is now handed on the torch of Christian witness.

Feeding time at a mission clinic in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt. The milk is distributed free of charge to African mothers.

The District Commissioner enjoys a joke with a busy dressmaker at Kpandu, Gold Coast.

Road-making, here seen in progress in Mauritius, often forms part of the administrative officer's work.

The District Officer of Okigwi, Southern Nigeria, makes friends with the children of a village in his area.

Careers in the Colonies—II

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS' VARIED TASKS

By a Correspondent

THROUGH all the human and material diversity of the British Colonies there runs a common purpose. The East African coffee-grower below his snow-capped mountains comes within its orbit. So, too, does the Fijian, gathering coconuts to the ceaseless sound of Pacific surf. It links the Gold Coast journalist with the Indian in British Honduras, tapping trees for chewing-gum. Sugar planters in Jamaica and tin miners in Malaya, cattle men and diamond diggers, all the millions of colonial peoples, of whatever colour, creed, or tongue, share its pattern.

This pattern—guidance towards self-government within the Commonwealth—has long been recognized by officers of the Colonial Administrative Service, but dimly, perhaps, by many until the last few years. The development of colonial peoples promised to be a slow business; the indispensability of administrative officers stretched endlessly into the future; for those who had the high qualities to obtain entry, the service offered a long, secure career.

But since the last war there has been a change. All over the Colonial Empire emergent peoples are moving forward more quickly than once seemed possible. Officers in the service, charged with their economic, social, and political advance, cannot be blamed for thinking that they may be digging their own graves. Young men, still undecided in their choice of career, wonder what security is offered by a service which may shortly administer itself out of existence. There are other doubts, too. Some years ago prospects of "pioneering" and adventure weighed more heavily than financial considerations with the type of young men attracted by the service—though, for that matter, pay and promotion were adequate to ensure an unclouded horizon. But now, in a vastly more expensive and uncertain world, the monetary rewards of the Colonial Administrative Service are a most important factor when minds have to be made up. To-day the British Colonies offer no cheap and easy living. Those who wish to save the bulk of their pay or to get rich quickly should seek a career elsewhere.

Yet financially there are many advantages compared with a professional life in England. The Colonial Service administrative officer travels free to and from his home leave, which he enjoys on full pay. In his colony he draws allowances for transport and travelling. The rent for his quarters is less than it would normally be elsewhere, and he receives an issue of furniture. At the end of a prescribed period of service he gets a pension, and although no one will pretend that a pension goes as far as it once did, it remains a most valuable form of security which millions of non-service people never know. Taking it all in all, financial fears need not cause a potential candidate to hesitate; and certainly not if he can be assured that there still remain many of the old attractions which in the past ranked above thoughts of salary and pension.

The main inducements are still there—variety and the chance to put one's own ideas into practice. In spite of the changes which are coming to the Service as more and more experts and technicians reduce the need for the administrative officer to be a man-of-all-trades, there are still large areas where, as in former days, he must be ready and able to turn his hand to any kind of task at any time. He can still open his day as a magistrate, sitting solemnly in court, and end it leading a yelling, flailing mob into battle against locusts. He will still be responsible for his little police force and run his local gaol. He will direct afforestation operations and be vigilant against drought and soil erosion. He will maintain and provision schools (though he will not be required to teach in them); he will make roads and bridges, often of wonderful invention, and if the danger of sleeping sickness threatens his district his tax-collecting measures will be tempered with mercy when he has to move whole villages in face of the advancing fly. He will supervise, instruct and encourage those engaged in native institutions, be they courts, treasuries or forms of local government; and at all times, in his office at headquarters, in his tent on tour, and in his private house, he will keep an ear open to the ceaseless hum of his parishioners. For, as Dr. Marshall says in his work on local government in the Sudan, his over-riding task is "to deal in a common sense way with the needs of the people and ensure that a comprehensive view is taken of human problems."

It can be seen from this that the Colonial Administrative Service needs young men of high intellectual calibre. It is therefore preferred that candidates for entry should possess a good honours degree at a university, though candidates without this qualification but with a good record and reports have been accepted. There is no written examination for entry, candidates being selected on record and personal interview. The approximate average age of candidates is 22½, preference being given to those under 26. The average intake of cadets during the past four years has been 170; last year there were 126 appointments.

In practice nowadays it is less common for an administrative officer to be without the assistance of experts. If roads need making, the public works department may be there to make them; the forestry officer may plant the trees, and the agricultural specialist direct the locust campaigns. But the fact that there is often now less need for the administrative officer's own practical intervention in every activity in no way reduces his responsibilities. Indeed, in the political field they are increased. His and no one else's is the task of knowing the peoples' feelings, of judging the impact of innovations on deep-rooted custom, of deciding if the political temperature is right for the introduction of the specialists' technical measures. All over the Colonial Empire there are happy examples of teams working together for the advancement of the people. It is probable that those now being helped forward to a newer, fuller, happier life will never guess the debt they owe to the specialists and technicians. It is certain that they will not realize the burden borne by the administrative officer whose alertness to the sensibilities of both developers and developed alone ensures coordination, harmony and balanced progress.

Perhaps some of the joys of the past may slip away. Perhaps there will be less "foot safari" and perhaps be-collared councils in stuffy committee rooms will take the place of leisured colloquies beneath the scented mango trees. Perhaps a growing pile of paper in the office will submerge free, tenting days. There are compensations, none the less.

The future of the British Commonwealth will largely rest upon the relationships built now with the colonial peoples. No one will have a greater effect upon the structure than administrative officers of the Colonial Service, and when the strains and stresses of multi-racial societies colour the scene, the complexity—and fascination—of their task will be increased a hundredfold. To-day, as never before, the young man who joins the Service has a chance to frame the future shape of the Commonwealth. He will do his part in an increasing glare of publicity. The days are gone when an administrative officer slipped quietly off to some distant part of the Empire, leaving his friends and relations with no very clear idea of where he was going or what rough purposes he served. The light is on the Service now; the man-in-the-street, badly informed as he still often is, is deeply interested in the Colonies. Colonial questions are dragged more and more frequently into the political arena, and those who are identified with them cannot hope to escape publicity. That alone is a responsibility worth bearing.

Her Majesty's Colonial Administrative Service still, then, offers opportunities which would be hard to find elsewhere. It offers them only to the best, to those whose sound intellectual attainments are coupled with the will for selfless service and a deep appreciation that the "proper study of mankind is man."

But for how long will the offer be open, and if the prize is won, for how long can it be retained? We come back to our first and greatest doubt. Are the days of the expatriate administrative officer already numbered?

There are two angles from which to examine this question. First, it must be remembered that in spite of the greatly accelerated pace of development among colonial peoples in the past few years, there remain large areas where there is still a long road to travel. The Kenya troubles must emphasize the need for maintaining closer and not more distant administrative contact with some colonial folk. A thinning of administrative officers upon the ground is no short cut for that. Secondly, as ability to manage their own affairs grows among the people of the Colonies we may look for a change of relationship between them and their administrative officers rather than a sudden or complete rupture. If the administrative officer is slowly ceasing to be the "father of his people," a fraternal relationship is replacing the paternal and will increase.

It is dangerous to prophesy, but it is difficult to see the value of the expatriate administrative officer as a thing which responsible colonial peoples will themselves wish to discard too hastily. As a political issue, it is true, we may expect some clamour for his departure, but here the words of Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast and himself an ardent apostle of "Africanization" in his country's Civil Service, should carry weight. He was speaking last year to the Senior Civil Servants' Association and said: "Your association is largely composed of European officers and I would like to say a special word to them. The country needs your services. And this need will continue for some time to come."

How long that welcome will be extended must depend largely upon the success of administrative officers in understanding their peoples' problems, winning their affection and providing an example of selfless devotion and integrity. That young men can still be hopeful of the future of the Colonial Administrative Service is shown by those who follow their fathers into it, keen to add new traditions to the old.

A District Officer holds his court at Bau, 15 to 20 miles from Kuching, in Sarawak. The Chinese standing by his table is an interpreter.

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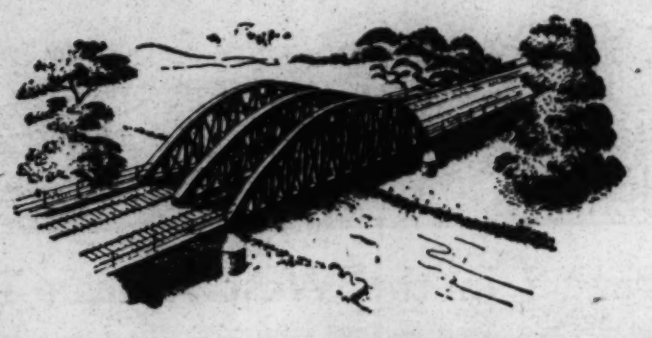

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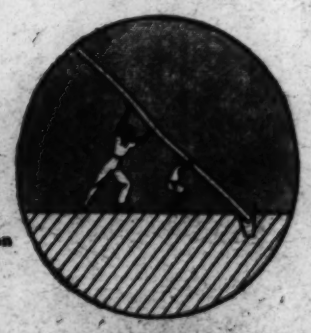

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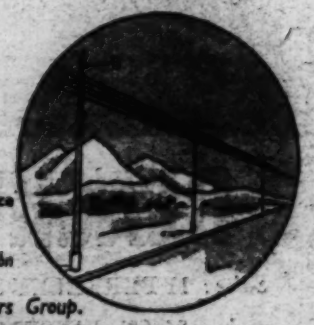

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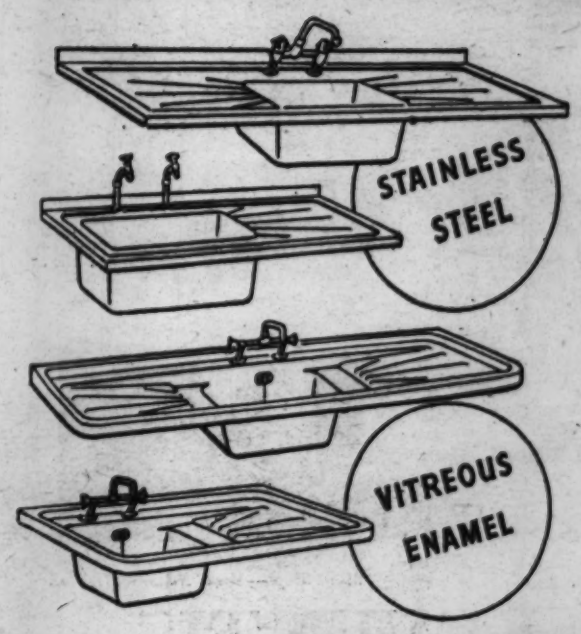

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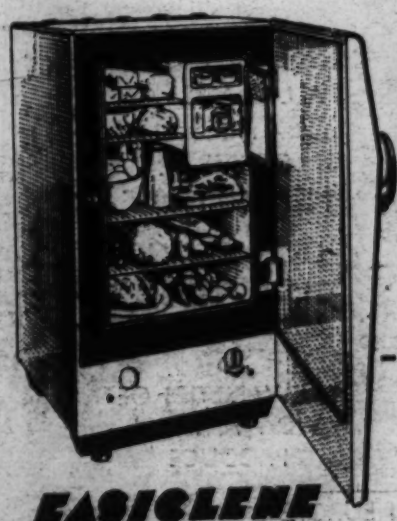

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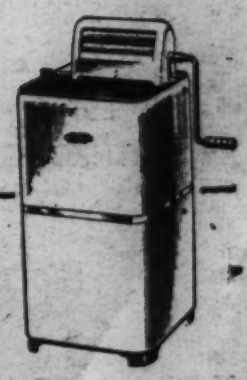

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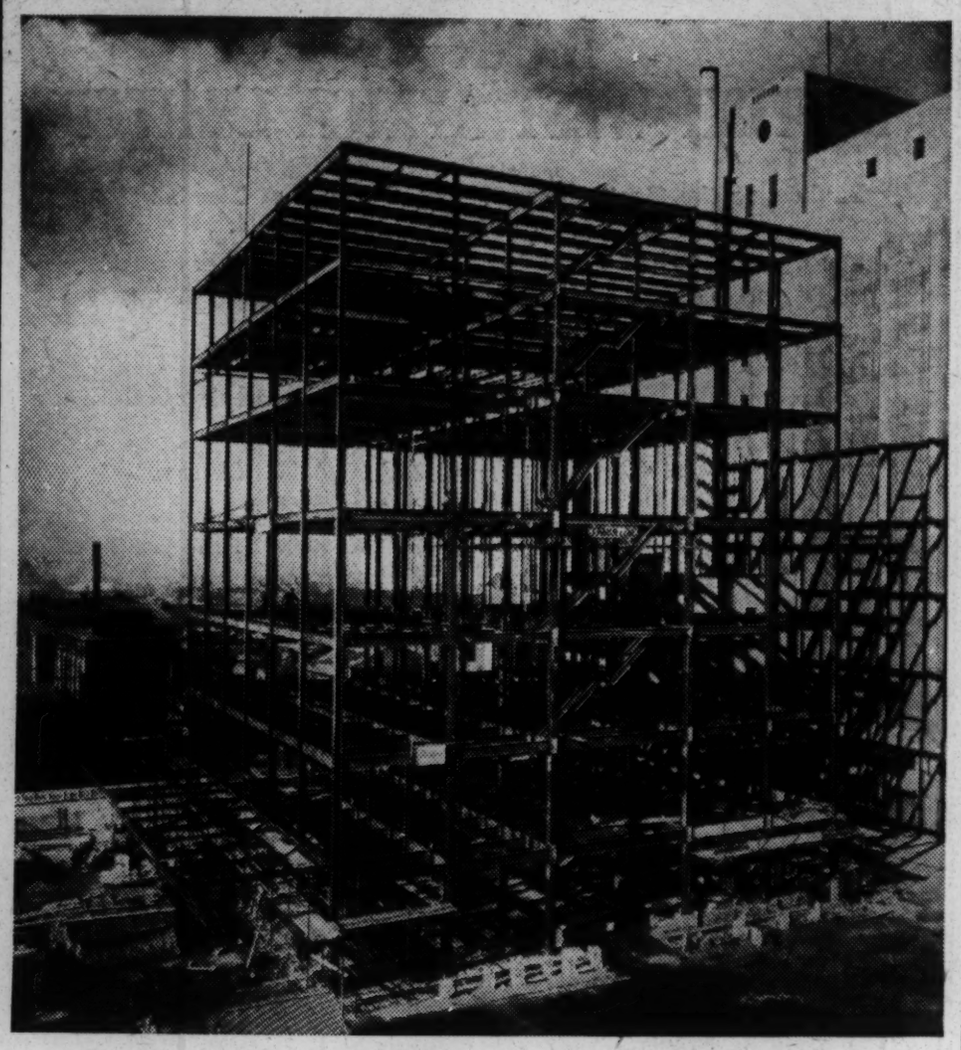

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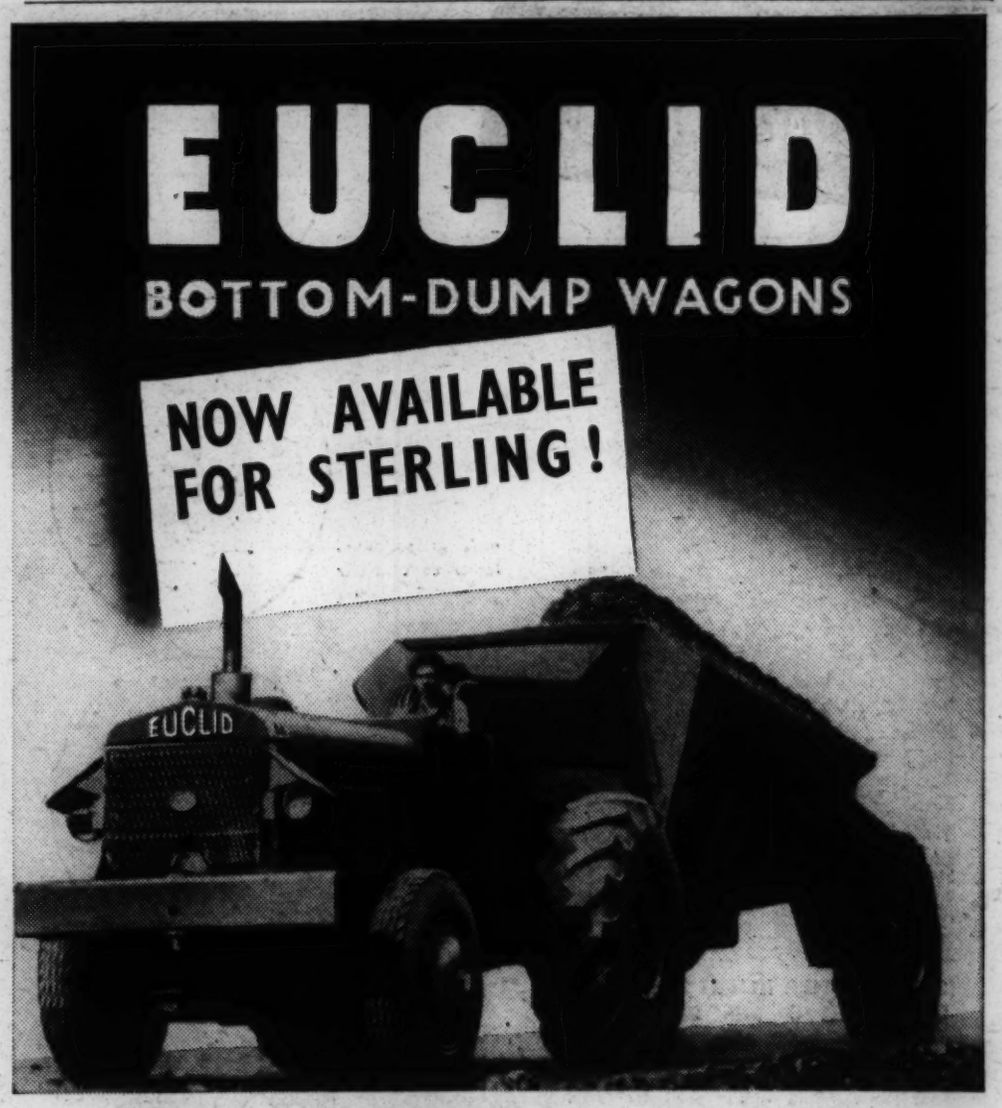

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THE POLICEMAN'S JOB IN THE COLONIES

SIR CHARLES JEFFRIES: *The Colonial Police.* Max Parrish and Co., Ltd. 18s. 6d.

THE colonial police owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Charles Jeffries for producing the first book to deal in any way comprehensively with the history and development of their service. Sir Charles Jeffries is already well known as an author of several books concerning the Colonies and the Colonial Office; he is equally well known in the Colonial Service as a man of long and wide experience in the various problems which arise almost daily in the administration of the colonial territories. Consequently, it will give real pleasure to the colonial policeman that he has been encouraged to produce this book.

It is surprising that, with such a wealth of fascinating material, so little has been written hitherto about the policeman's job in the Colonies. Chapter 12 of this book gives but a few examples, and then only briefly, of the many emergency situations which have faced the colonial police during the years of progressive development in the Colonies.

Riots in Africa, the West Indies, terrorist campaigns in Palestine and Malaya, Mau Mau activities in Kenya, all form part of the work of the colonial police constable who, as Sir Charles Jeffries records, is also "the school attendance officer and even postman." He could have added that this same constable had a supply of rough coffins at his station with which to bury the pauper dead.

The chapter entitled "Unity and Diversity" in Part III merits particular attention. From it will be recognized how important it is in these days of rapid constitutional changes to ensure the safeguards of an impartial policing system. Improved social conditions, wider education, and adequate medical services, important as they are, will mean very little unless the native peoples can enjoy the quiet security which only an efficient police service can maintain.

This authoritative book will certainly be widely read by colonial police officers. To those who have served and who are left with happy memories of their years in the Colonies, it will be accepted as a tribute to what has so far been accomplished under most difficult and sometimes discouraging conditions. To those now in the service it tells the story of steady growth and development and to some extent of the problems which lie ahead. It is to be hoped that this work will inspire others who have served in this colourful period to put on record something of the detailed history and development of individual colonial police forces.

ROLAND OLIVER: *The Missionary Factor in East Africa.* Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. 17s. 6d.

It is in these days a frequent complaint of Africans that missionaries are not their friends in the sense they used to be; that whereas in times past they could be relied upon to come to their help whenever injustice threatened, nowadays as often as not they may be found in the opposite camp. The fact is that missionaries have never been—or should never have been—the friends of Africans in any exclusive sense. Their essential vocation is to serve, not Africa, but God in Africa, without distinction of race or person. True, they have a special calling to try to understand and interpret the thought and life of the African peoples, and to be vigilant on their behalf. But "the African, right or wrong," is no better slogan than "the European, right or wrong"; and there is some danger to-day that one or other of these may be widely adopted.

Missionaries must always have been conscious of this conflict between uncritical agreement with their friends and the firm stand for Christian principle by which in the long run they are better served; and it is instructive to read how they have faced it. Mr. Roland Oliver's book is as timely as it is readable and well authenticated. Many people suffer in these days from emotionally overcharged attitudes which would be relieved by a good dose of this kind of history. The speaker who recently described the humanitarian work of Christian missions as "sickly sentimentalism" would have been saved from that particular folly by a diet of cold facts. Critics of missionaries as "agents of imperialism" should examine the dilemma in which Mackay of Uganda was placed. As he saw it, the only choice for Central Africa in 1888 was between European and Asian power, and decision could not be evaded; independence was not a feasible solution. One may not approve all the after effects of a policy; but before condemning it is well to consider the likely consequences of any alternative. The reminder is much needed to-day.

Have missions been subservient to Governments for the sake of aid and protection? Instances are given where they have stoutly rejected any such idea. Their closest association with the State is now in education; but they have accepted Government grants for their schools in the justified belief that Governments have sincerely desired the Christian education which the missions have been peculiarly fitted to provide. Receiving assistance has imposed no unacceptable conditions. It would be an evil day if the offer of a Government grant, or the threat to withdraw it, had any political tabs attached.

One of the most valuable sections of the book is that which concerns the history and criticism of the Kenya White Paper of 1923, containing the oft-quoted statement that in that country "the interests of the African natives must be paramount." That this does not provide a clear policy for a genuinely multi-racial country has since been generally admitted; but it matters that it has been said. Valid principles are implied in it which it would be disastrous to contravene.

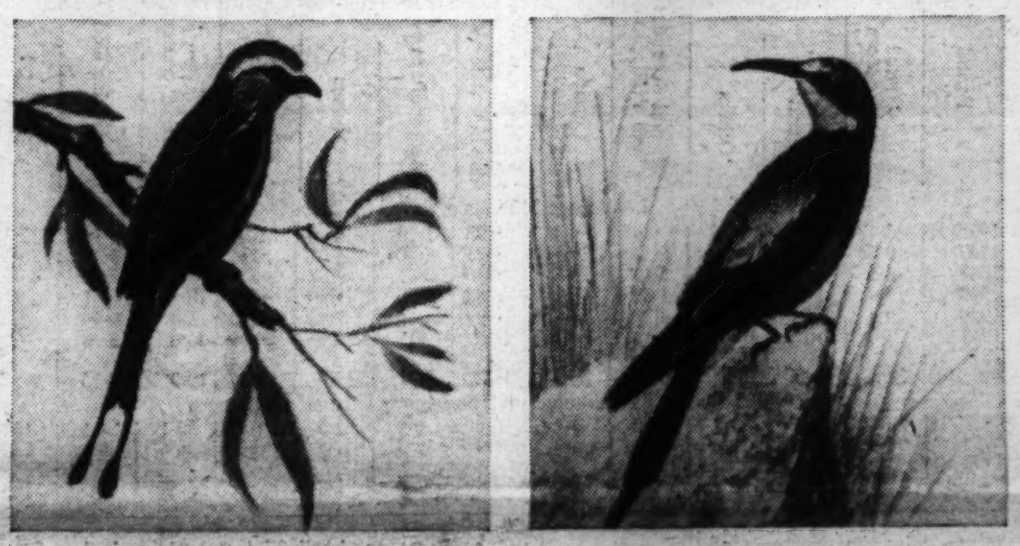
Though the author has no connexion with any of the missionary societies, he writes with great understanding of many of the issues which concern them most closely. The progressive replacement of the mission by the Church; the Christian contribution of the layman who is not technically a missionary; the recognition that what was wise educational policy in pioneering days needs re-examination at this later stage; the danger of an inadequate ministry; all these are constantly recurring themes in modern missionary conferences. It is refreshing to read them discussed in less theological and, to the general reader, more intelligible language.

C. W. MACKWORTH-PRAED and CAPTAIN C. H. B. GRANT: *African Handbook of Birds, Series I, Volume I: Birds of Eastern and North Eastern Africa.* Longmans, Green and Co. 45s.

The keen ornithologist whose duties or pleasure take him from Britain to East Africa soon becomes aware that the Sahara Desert forms a barrier between the bird life of Europe and that of Africa, and that he has therefore to learn to identify a bewildering number of species completely new to him. It is the declared object of the authors of this book to help him in this formidable task. To use their own words: "This book is not meant for the library shelf; it is emphatically intended for use and reference in the field. . . . Economy of space has been our chief object, and condensed descriptions and diagrams must be forgiven." Although the book is perhaps a little bulky for the bird-watcher to carry about with him in a warm climate—it runs to nearly 900 pages, including the introduction—its authors can be said to have succeeded well in their task.

The introduction contains a formidable list of acknowledgments—it is explained that there is no space for a detailed bibliography—and a few remarks on such things as nomenclature, changes in the distribution of species, breeding, protection, and historical and geographical factors. It is noted, for instance, that the disappearance of the whale headed stork from Egypt is due to the dying out of papyrus, but no reason appears to have been found for the fact that the sacred ibis has not been seen in that country since 1876.

This volume covers most of the larger birds found in north-eastern and eastern Africa. The species are described in their family groups, and little maps are sprinkled liberally in the margins to show their exact distribution. Sometimes, above the maps, there is a small drawing of the bird or some distinguishing feature such as its head or appearance in flight. There are also many colour plates, which do not on the whole come quite up to the standard one would expect in a work of this kind, and at the end of the book some photographs of birds in their natural habitats, which again could surely have been reproduced to better advantage. The method of describing each species is simple. After the usual Latin nomenclature a few concise remarks are given under separate headings in block type, such as distinguishing characters, general distribution, range in eastern Africa, habits, nest and eggs, recorded breeding places, food, and call notes. Some of our summer visitors are included, and the common cuckoo is described, from of course the African point of view, as "a palaeo-



Left: The racquet-tailed roller (*Coracias spatulata*). Right: The European bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*). Illustrations from *Birds of Eastern and North Eastern Africa.*

arctic winter visitor arriving in Africa in about mid-September, quite often in an exhausted condition . . . stragglers reach as far as Cape Province."

A lot of hard work has been put into this volume, and one can look forward with pleasure to the others in the series.

L. S. B. LEAKEY: *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu.* Methuen and Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey's short book must be assessed from several points of view, historical, legal, political, social, and anthropological. It is unlikely that the author expected that in each division, as it were, his interpretations should find equally ready acceptance.

Dr. Leakey's reconstruction of the occupation by Kikuyu of forest land which was the hunting ground of the Dorobo, is a case in point. The Carter Land Commission report, for example, does not agree with conclusions in Leakey's book. The date of the Kikuyu crossing into this southern territory ("late sixteenth century") given by Dr. Leakey would be unacceptable to some other students, as would his views on land tenure in this area.

The account given of Kikuyu social and political organization and life before the advent of British administration does indeed run a grave risk (as Dr. Leakey himself says) of "giving the impression that whereas everything in the old days was happy and rosy, the coming of the white man has brought nothing but discontent, dishonesty, and evil." The author tries unsuccessfully to avoid this impression by devoting four pages to a summary of "some of the many good results."

Without depreciating the detailed and valuable anthropological work revealed in this book (which indeed does far less than justice to it), it must be said that the title suggests a more detailed examination of the developments of the last 50 years than is in fact undertaken. Among such developments are the substitution of democratic organization of the western type, in location and district councils, and the separation of native courts from native executive.

After reading the book one is still left pondering these questions: Why Mau Mau and the Kikuyu and not—say—the Akamba people, whose problems are in most respects just as pressing? Is the introduction of civilization to the Kikuyu less successful than to the Luo, and if so, why? Why should the lack of knowledge of Kikuyu more than of any other main native language be fatal to peace and progress in Kenya? And so on, interminably.

Put briefly, in this book a number of semi-political arguments are superimposed on a valuable anthropological study of southern Kikuyu customs. The danger is, of course, that the general reader will be unable to differentiate between the debatable contentions on the one hand and the scientific studies on the other, so that the one may gain in authority undeservedly.

PETER LANHAM and A. S. MOPELI-PAULUS: *Blanket Boy's Moon.* Collins. 12s. 6d.

The excellence of this book lies in its simplicity, and its few weaknesses occur when the author allows complexity to enter. The story of Monare the Basuto is a true tragedy, and it is true also in the sense that we may assume that it is based on fact. If it unfolds in a country where great social themes preoccupy the intellect and provoke wide speculation about racial generalities and hot passions about justice, Monare nevertheless stands in his own right as an individual with a private story, a subject fit for a Sophocles rather than for a Plato.

In the first part of the book, Monare, a Christian not without temptation, leaves his Protectorate village for Johannesburg and meets for the first time the brutality of the police and the depravity to which urban life has reduced his own people. Twice his innocence leads him to be arrested, and at the third time he is sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Returning to Basutoland, he becomes the centre of conflict between the tribal customs which he respects and the Christian principles which he believes right. The former lead him to unwilling guilt of ritual murder, the latter to repentance. He flees to Johannesburg to escape the memory of his crime, but remorse undermines his morality. His son Libe surprises him in the act of seducing a young girl, and this further shame drives him to drugs and their concomitant vices. Libe, however, discovers him and nurses him back to health. Monare becomes obsessed with the idea of atonement, put into his head by his village priest; and in Durban, where he goes to escape the police, he achieves it by saving the life of a Muslim from rioting Zulus. His bravery earns him fame, although he reflects sadly that "by saving Abdul Wahid I have earned the good will of the white man. . . . But by this same deed I have earned the enmity of most of the Basotho." But the publicity makes it necessary for him to take refuge in Lourenço Marques, where he is harboured by another Muslim. He is impressed by the catholicity of Islam, and embraces it, and at the same time the Portuguese policy of enfranchising "assimilated" Africans opens to him vistas of a new life of freedom and prosperity. His atonement seems to have erased his crime, and he plans to send for his wife and family, but news of an accident to Libe in the mines sends him back to Johannesburg and the police. The illusion is dispelled, and Monare is left to realize and to accept the difference between human justice and divine mercy.

The book is not essentially an indictment of white rule, or yet of the failure of the Christian apostolate. White oppression and brutality are depicted authentically and as a matter of course, but so also are occasions of individual kindness by white men and of savagery by Africans. And although Monare is won to Islam by its lack of discrimination among persons, yet the Christianity of his village priest—as opposed to the practice of white nominal Christians—loses none of his respect. Unfortunately, however, the author has chosen at times to interrupt the personality of his characters and to turn them into mouthpieces for dialogues on such general themes. They become banal and divert interest from the personal drama, but the real fault lies in making Oedipus, as it were, speak the choruses and in making explicit what would have been more forcefully left implicit. Thus the simplicity of a heroic story played out in tragic circumstances is marred, but far from ruined, by the incursions of European didacticism. Mr. Lanham takes the responsibility for the book, his Basuto co-author providing only the original story, and one cannot help but feel that if he had had the confidence which at least one reader has in the persuasive power of the naked drama, he would have disciplined his urge to expatiate, and would thus have perfected a work of art.

Finance and Commerce

KAFUE AND KARIBA POWER

SOME progress has been made towards the realization of the Kafue hydro-electric project in Northern Rhodesia since the beginning of 1953. The panel of consultants, headed by Sir William Halcrow (the same panel prepared the report on the Kariba Gorge hydro-electric development in 1950), finished their report on the scheme in January and submitted it to the Northern Rhodesian Government at the end of the month, and on February 22 the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council approved the scheme and authorized the Government to begin work on it as soon as possible.

The plan now recommended provides for the construction of a dam and two power stations at a point on the Kafue River about 30 miles south of Lusaka. The full scheme will give an output of 257mW at 80 per cent. load factor. Any short-fall on this estimated output would occur, the report says, in the dry season of dry years, "but a conservative estimate indicates that the firm power or minimum output in the driest year would be 186mW at 80 per cent. load factor." The estimated capital cost of the whole development, including the transmission system, is £27,600,000, and the average cost of the current at the receiving stations is estimated at 0.258d. a unit. Finally, it is estimated that the first stage of the scheme will be completed and in operation five years after the decision to begin has been made, and that the full scheme could be in operation in 6¼ years.

The comparison between the now fully-documented Kafue and Kariba schemes gives a slight advantage to Kafue, at any rate in the early years. The estimated capital cost is lower—£27,600,000 for Kafue and £43,500,000 for the initial stage at Kariba, which would increase to £74,500,000 when the full development envisaged under the latter scheme is completed. As far as the estimated cost of power at the receiving stations is concerned, there is relatively little difference between the two projects. The estimated cost of the average output at Kafue when the full scheme is in operation is 0.258d. a unit, while the figures put forward by the Inter-Territorial Hydro-Electric Power Commission in their report on Kariba made to the Central African Council in May, 1951, show an estimated cost of 0.2525d. a kilowatt hour on the completion of the first stage of the Kariba scheme. Costs of the smaller minimum output at Kafue would naturally be higher, so that the advantage in favour of Kariba would be increased. But the important differences in favour of the latter would not appear until the full scheme estimated to produce 1,000mW, is completed. The estimated cost a kilowatt hour at receiving stations at Kariba would then fall to 0.1703d.

In their report on the Kafue scheme, Sir William Halcrow and his colleagues explain the considerations which have led them to reverse their original recommendation to the effect that the Kariba scheme should be started first. Technical investigation of the Kafue gorge and its neighbourhood has now provided more information than was available two years ago, but the factor that has probably exerted most influence is the acceleration of prospective development in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt. The rising demand for power in the copper mining industry can be met until 1960 or thereabouts by existing or prospective generating capacity, but after that time a new source of supply will be esssential if progress is not to be interrupted. The year 1961 was the earliest date set for completion of the first stage at Kariba, and this date might by now have to be set later. Thus the decisive factor in the change of plan was apparently the shorter time needed for construction of the Kafue project. In addition the consultants say that "the scheme can be readily integrated with any future development at the Kariba Gorge," and when this has been carried out and linked with Kafue, output at the latter could be materially increased. So far as can be foreseen the demand for power in the Rhodesias will be able to absorb without difficulty the full output of the combined projects in later years. The problem in the immediate future will be the financing of the Kafue project.

Trade Checked in 1952

The extension into the first two-thirds of 1952 of the series of figures on colonial imports printed in the accompanying table shows the extent of the setback which the trade of the colonial territories (in common with that of many other parts of the world) suffered last year. Figures covering the same period show that the Colonies' export trade suffered an even sharper setback. In the case of imports the actual fall in the average value (f.o.b.) of shipments entering the territories each month was small—from £97,700,000 a month in 1951 to £96,700,000 in the first eight months of 1952—although if the trend of export prices in the United Kingdom (mainly for manufactured goods) is a reliable guide, the small fall in value probably represents a considerably larger fall in volume. But the most notable aspect of the comparison between the values of colonial imports in 1951 and the first eight months of 1952 is the abrupt ending of the growth of the Colonies' external trade which has continued year by year since the end of the war. A part, but not the whole, of this steady annual increase can doubtless be attributed to rising prices, but in any case the transition from an increase in value of over 40 per cent. between 1950 and 1951 to a fall of over one per cent. between 1951 and 1952 is a notable and unwelcome change.

There were a number of changes between 1951 and the first eight months of last year in the sources from which the colonial territories drew their imports, though only two were large enough to be significant. Their significance as indicators of a possible trend is also lessened by the shortness of the period under review. Subject to this qualification, there was a gratifying increase in colonial imports from the United Kingdom during the first eight months of 1952, both in value and in relation to total imports. In the same period there was a sharp fall—from £26m. a month in 1951 to less than £20m. a month last year—in the value of the Colonies' purchases from "other Asian and African countries." This group of countries includes Japan, the United Kingdom's most feared competitor in colonial markets. German competition has also been a source of anxiety to British exporters, but judged on the basis of the available figures, Germany, which is included among the metropolitan non-sterling countries of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, did not make great progress in colonial markets during the first part of 1952.

Origin of Total Imports into Colonial Territories (excluding Hongkong)
Monthly averages

Period	United Kingdom	Other parts of Sterling Area: Colonial Territories	Other parts of Sterling Area: Others	U.S. and dependencies and Philippines	Canada and Newfoundland	Central and South America excluding dependent territories	Non-sterling OEEC countries: Metropolitan	Non-sterling OEEC countries: Oversea	Other European countries	Other Asian and African countries	Unclassified	Total
I.—Value: Millions of £s (c.i.f.)												
1936-38	3·47	·768	1·36	·865	·383	·108	1·10	·248	·191	3·72	·140	12·3
1947	9·83	2·66	4·36	5·23	2·61	·471	2·40	·401	·325	6·63	1·41	36·3
1948	14·5	3·38	5·13	5·13	2·06	·839	2·85	·782	·525	8·33	2·38	45·9
1949	18·0	3·67	6·51	3·89	1·63	·888	3·70	·540	·431	10·4	2·51	52·1
1950	20·9	7·94	7·71	3·38	1·38	·991	4·66	·778	·449	16·9	2·79	67·9
1951	27·0	10·1	10·4	5·13	1·83	1·35	10·1	1·24	·609	26·0	3·96	97·7
1952 (8 months)	31·3	9·07	10·5	6·02	2·13	1·72	9·71	1·70	·527	19·9	4·13	96·7
II.—Distribution: Percentages of Total Imports from All Sources												
1936-38	28·1	6·2	11·1	7·0	3·1	0·9	8·9	2·0	1·5	30·1	1·1	100
1951	27·6	10·3	10·6	5·3	1·9	1·4	10·3	1·3	0·6	26·6	4·1	100
1952 (8 months)	32·3	9·4	10·9	6·2	2·2	1·8	10·0	1·8	0·5	20·6	4·3	100

Port Delays in West Africa

Shipping serving West Africa has continued to be much troubled by delays in port, and the experience of a large company shows that the average time spent by its ships in oversea ports last year was no less than it had been before. Indeed, some of the figures reveal a further deterioration in conditions. Out of the total time spent by its ships in West African ports 22½ per cent. was absorbed in waiting for berths to go alongside, against 20 per cent. in 1950.

It may be recalled that the situation in the first half of the year was so serious that, for a time, shipments to Apapa and Lagos had to be suspended. In the United Kingdom there was some improvement in the turn-round of ships. The Chamber of Shipping, in its recent annual report, mentioned that an improvement had been noticeable during recent months in the turn-round of shipping generally at the Port of London, but that this was largely due to an unsatisfactory reason, a smaller volume of trade passing through the port, and circumstances at Liverpool were similar. The hope was expressed that advantage would be taken of a temporary lull to enable deficiencies of equipment and berths to be remedied in a way which was not always possible while ports were working to capacity. No improvement is recorded in the total time taken for the round voyage to and from the United Kingdom by the ships serving West Africa, indicating that full use is not yet being made of the more efficient tonnage which has been regularly and steadily entering the company's service. Admittedly, there was a marked reduction in the average time spent by the ships in West African ports during the latter part of last year, but real efficiency is hardly to be expected until the various port extensions, both in hand and projected, are completed. The Governments concerned fully appreciate the importance of improving conditions at the ports, and determined efforts are being made to expedite the completion of the various schemes of development.

West Indian Sailings

April 30 has been named as the date for the maiden voyage of the new French liner Antilles, of about 20,000 tons gross and a speed of 22 knots, from Le Havre and Southampton to the West Indies. She was launched at Brest on April 26 last and made her first trial run in October. She will have room for 777 passengers in three classes and the fittings and furnishings will be in the distinctive modern French style. The new liner will serve Barbados, Trinidad, La Guaira, Curaçao, Cartagena, and Jamaica.

Originally the new sister ship Flandre was intended for this route. It was later decided, however, to employ her in the service between Le Havre, Southampton, and New York. She made her maiden voyage from Europe last July, and extensive alterations to her machinery and electrical installations were found to be needed. The liner is to return to the North Atlantic route on April 17. If similar changes were considered desirable in the Antilles there has been ample time to carry them out.

Meanwhile on the commissioning of the Flandre the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique transferred the liner De Grasse from the North Atlantic to the West Indian route. Recently she was acquired by the Canadian Pacific Company and is now making her last voyage to the West Indies, whence she is due to return to Le Havre on March 19 and proceed to Liverpool. There it is intended that she shall take the sailing to Canada scheduled for the liner Empress of Canada, which took fire at Liverpool on January 25 and has since been held to be a constructive total loss. In view of the consequent cancelling of a sailing by the liner De Grasse to the West Indies on March 24 the French Line are dispatching the passenger liner Maroc, originally the Ville de Marseille, of 9,500 tons, and usually serving North Africa, on a special voyage from Bordeaux to the West Indies direct. She is to return to Plymouth on April 18 on the return passage. The French liner Colombie, of 14,000 tons gross, will continue to be employed in the West Indian service.

Ships of the size of the French liners are much larger than any British vessels employed on the route. These are mostly of a cargo-passenger type, with room for 12 passengers. The fittings of the rooms in some of these ships, although the accommodation is limited, are excellent. Thus every stateroom in the new Royal Mail motor-liners Ebro and Essequibo has its own private bathroom attached. The demand for these rooms shows that the two ships have helped to meet a need.

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CAPITAL

The Authorized Capital is £1,000,000, of which £750,000 divided into 3,000,000 Units of Stock of 5s. each has been issued.

ACCOUNTS

The profit for the year ended 30th September, 1952, amounted to £83,517. After the payment of Dividends of 12½ per cent. amounting to £49,219 net and transferring £30,000 to Investment Reserve, the credit balance carried forward on Profit and Loss Account is £52,376.

INVESTMENTS

The Trust's Investments include, inter alia, holdings in the following Companies:—

Gold

Gold Coast Colony

Amalgamated Banket Areas Limited
Ariston Gold Mines (1929) Limited
Bremang Gold Dredging Company Limited
Gold Coast Main Reef Limited
Marlu Gold Mining Areas Limited
Ankobra River Power Company Limited (*Power Generating Company*)

Tin, Columbite, &c.

Nigeria

The Bisichi Tin Company (Nigeria) Limited
The Ex-Lands Nigeria Limited
Gold & Base Metal Mines of Nigeria Limited
United Tin Areas of Nigeria Limited

Amalgamated Banket Areas Limited.—During the year ended 30th September, 1952, the Company treated 635,999 tons of ore for a yield of 103,523 ounces of gold, as compared with 656,545 tons yielding 93,749 ounces of gold in the previous year—a dividend of 2½ per cent. was paid on the 22nd August, 1952, in respect of the year ended 30th September, 1951, this being the first dividend paid by the Company for fourteen years.

There is every hope that the Fanti ropeway will be completed in May, 1953.

Ariston Gold Mines (1929) Limited.—330,430 tons were milled during the year ended 30th September, 1952, yielding 114,932 ounces, resulting in a Profit of £409,228.

Hoisting Equipment is being installed to complete the programme of increasing the mine and milling output to 480,000 tons per annum. Proved Ore Reserves at 30th September, 1952, were approximately 3,000,000 tons of an average value of 6·72 dwts.

Dividend distributions totalled 30 per cent. for the year 1951-52 and to date 10 per cent. has been paid on account of 1952-53.

Bremang Gold Dredging Company Limited.—The last Accounts published by the Bremang Company, viz., to the 31st December, 1951, showed an operating profit for the year of £210,000, and a 7½ per cent. Dividend was paid.

Preliminary Dredge Returns for the twelve months to 31st December, 1952, show that 7,034,100 cubic yards were dredged for a recovery of 34,981 ounces of gold and an operating profit of approximately £170,000.

Three of the four Dredges are operating on the Ankobra River and the other Dredge is in process of being transferred and reassembled on the upper section of the Offin River. The Gold Coast Selection Trust will receive a royalty of four per cent. of the value of the gold extracted from the Offin River areas.

Gold Coast Main Reef Limited.—For the year ended 30th June, 1952, 101,775 tons were treated for a recovery of 36,965 ounces of gold—the average grade of the ore treated was 8·228 dwt. per ton.

The Tuappim shaft has been sunk to the 13th level.

The Bondaye shaft is down to the 18th level.

Production and development results from all three sections—Bondaye, Tuappim and Ekotokroo are very satisfactory.

A total dividend of 7½ per cent. was paid for the year ended 30th June, 1952. An interim dividend of 2½ per cent. was paid on the 26th September, 1952, and a further interim dividend of 5 per cent. was paid on the 20th February, 1953, in respect of the current year ending 30th June, 1953.

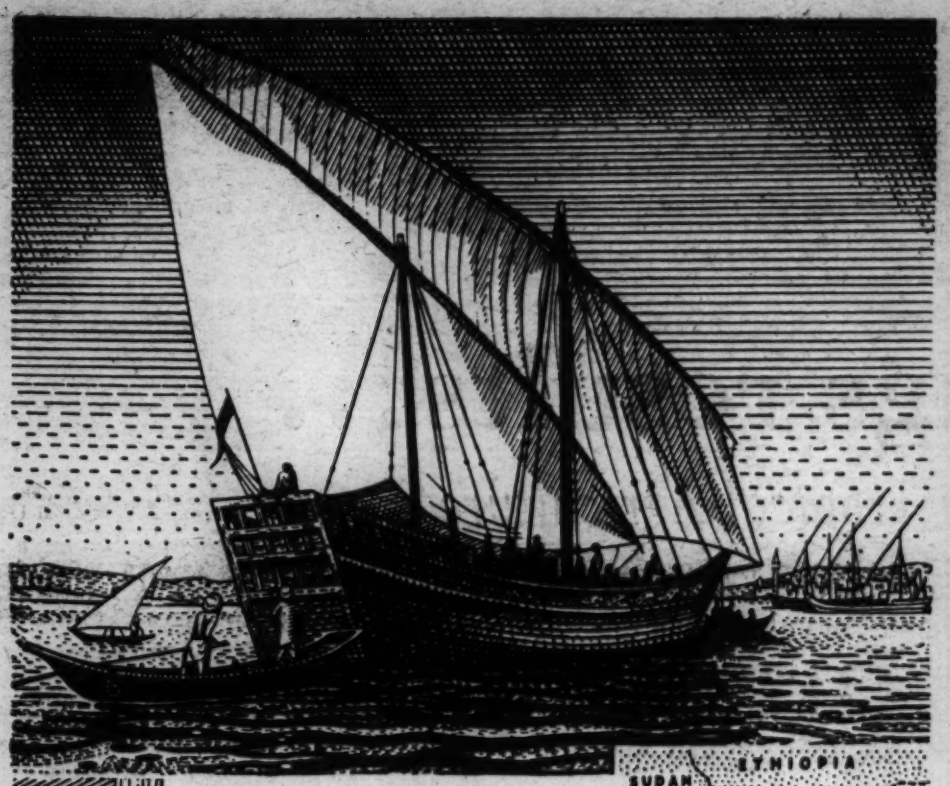
Marlu Gold Mining Areas Limited.—The Marlu Company made a small profit for the year to 30th September, 1951.

Monthly returns since that date indicate that the position is still improving.

Ankobra River Power Company Limited generates and distributes electric power to several of the aforementioned Companies.

A first dividend of 5 per cent. was paid in respect of the year ended 30th June, 1952.

Tin Companies.—The Tin Companies, abovementioned, are all paying handsome Dividends. The Bisichi Tin Company is one of the largest producers of Columbite and the profits of that Company should be considerably enhanced due to the very material increase in the price of Columbite.



THE DHOWS: Into the northern arm of the harbour at Mombasa, Kenya, come dhows of every shape and size ranging from the tall Sambuk, with its square galleon stern (illustrated above), to the utilitarian Boom. Manned by Swahili, Somali, Arabs and Indians, the dhows are in the direct line of descent from the ancient vessels in which men first sailed the waters of the Near East. To-day they carry dates from Basra, salt for Mombasa and a vast variety of miscellaneous cargo and as long as there are commodities which can be transported more cheaply by sail than by steam, the dhows will have a part to play in modern East African commerce. Our branches in British East Africa are particularly well placed to answer your questions on market conditions, or local commercial undertakings.

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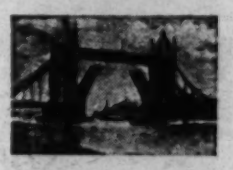

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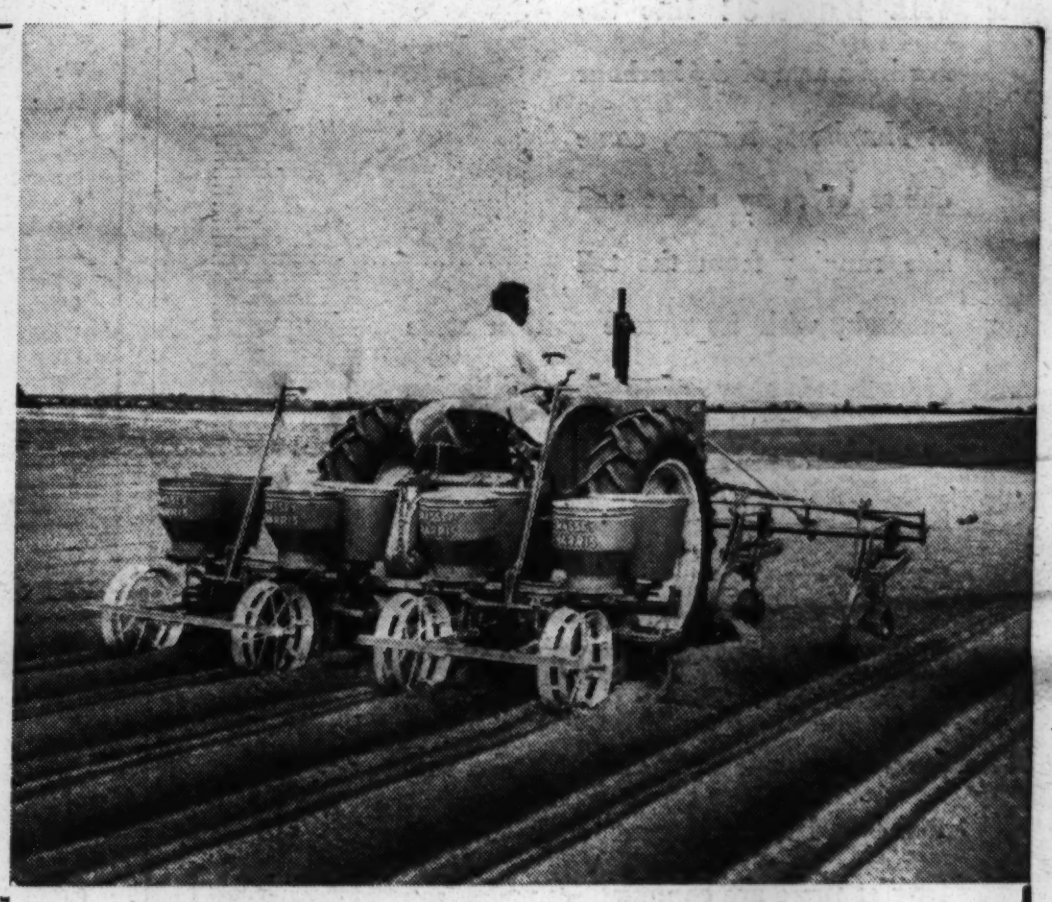

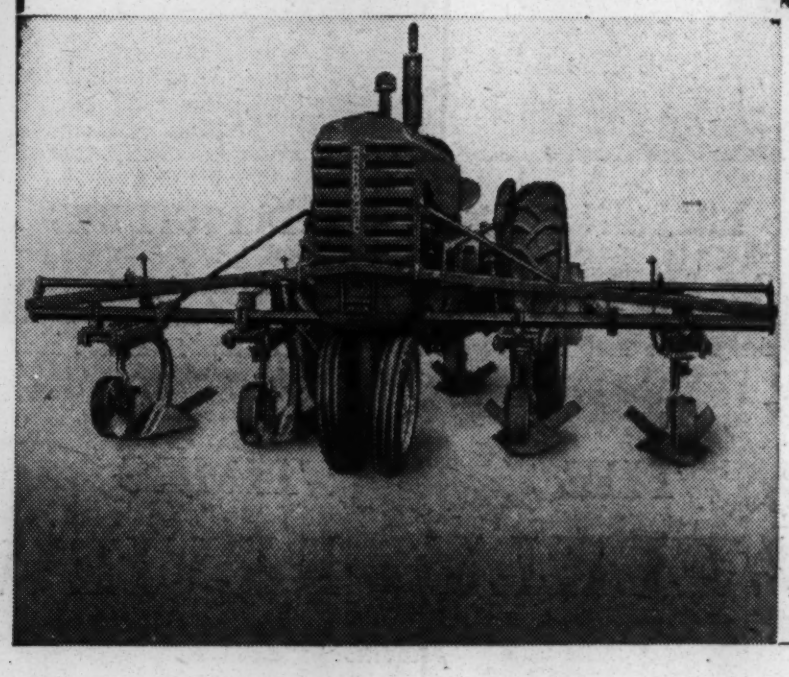

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February 16, 1955

Miss Mary Abbott
McIntosh & Otis
18 East 41 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Abbott:

Shirley asked me to send you a copy of the enclosed letter which I sent to Hastings House.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

November 10, 1954

Miss Mary Abbott
McIntosh - Ga.
IFE 41 8f

Dear Miss Abbott:

Enclosed is the proposed outline for "The Cotton Slave." (filed articles)

Sincerely,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-21

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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=PC DR W E B DUBOIS= 17 1755=

=31 GRACE CT BKLYN=

Stalin Peace Prize 1954 APR 17 PM 1 26

DOROGOI MISTER DIUBUA KOMITET PO MEZHDUNARODNYM STALINSKIM PREMIIAM MIRA V KOTORYI VHODIAT PREDSTAVITELI DEMOCRATICHESKOI OBSCESTVENNOSTI RAZLICHNYH STRAN PORUCHIL MNE OBRATITJSIA K VAM SO SLEDUIUSCEI PROSJBOI KAK VY OCHEVIDNO ZNAETE NASH KOMITET PRISUDIL V DEKABRE PROSHLOGO GODA MEZHDUNARODNUJU STALINSKUJU PREMIJU VSEMIRNO=

END SHEET 1

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27-4-22

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1954 APR 17 PM 1 26

IZVESTNOMU AMERICANSKOMU PISATELIU GOVARDU FASTU ZA EGO VYDAIUSCIESIA ZASLUGI V DELE ZASCITY VSEOBSCEGO MIRA GOVARD FAST SOOBSCIL MNE CHTO OBSTOIATELJSTVA NE POZVOLIAIUT EMU VYEHATJ V MOSCVU CHTOBY LICHNO POLUCHITJ PREMIIU MY PROSIM VAS KAK CHELOVEKA SHIROKO IZVESTNOGO V AMERIKE I V DRUGIH STRANAH SVOEJ MUZHESTVENNOJ BORJBOJ ZA MIRNOE SUSCESTVOVANIE NARODOV=

END SHEET 2

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

27-4-23

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SY.1201

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:PROFESSOR DMITRIJ SKOBELJCYN DEJSTVITELJNYJ CHLEN AKADEMII NAUK SSSR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

[Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.]

COPY

CABLEGRAM

Moscow
April 17 (1954)

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Committee on the International Stalin Peace Prize, which includes representatives of democratic public opinion of various countries, has commissioned me to approach you with the following request.

As you no doubt know, our Committee in December of last year, awarded the International Stalin prize to the internationally known American writer, Howard Fast, for his outstanding services in the cause of the defense of world peace. Howard Fast has informed me that circumstances do not permit him to come to Moscow to receive the prize in person. We therefore request of you, as a person widely known in America and other countries for your courageous struggle for the peaceful co-existence of peoples, to undertake the mission of receiving the prize for Fast on behalf of our Committee.

In the event of your agreement, you may consider this message from me as the official accreditation (granting of full powers) for this purpose. I would ask you to inform me of your answer in care of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Professor Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Regular Member
of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

27-4-26

CABLEGRAM

. . . .

Moscow
April 17

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

The Committee on the International Stalin Peace Prize, which includes representatives of democratic public opinion of various countries, has commissioned me to approach you with the following request.

As you no doubt know, our Committee in December of last year, awarded the International Stalin prize to the internationally known American writer, Howard Fast, for his outstanding services in the cause of the defense of world peace. Howard Fast has informed me that circumstances do not permit him to come to Moscow to receive the prize in person. We therefore request of you, as a person widely known in America and other countries for your courageous struggle for the peaceful co-existence of peoples, to undertake the mission of receiving the prize for Fast on behalf of our Committee.

In the event of your agreement, you may consider this message from me as the official accreditation (granting of full powers) for this purpose. I would ask you to inform me of your answer in care of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Professor Dmitri Skobeltsyn, Regular Member
of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

27-4-25

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES TO DUBOIS, APRIL 17, 1954

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBOIS TO NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, APRIL 20, 1954

27-4-24 [Acad. of Sciences of U.S.S.R.]

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NBA090 69 PD INTL FR=N MOSCOU UETAT URSSGOVT VIA MACKAY 27 1715=

PC DR W E B DOUBOIS=

31 GRACE CT BROOKLYN (NY)=

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR BRILLIANT FULLFILMENT OF THE REQUEST OF OUR COMMITTEE THE AWARDING OF THE PEACE PRIZE TO FAST HAD UNDOUBTEBLY HELPED TO THE STRENGHENING OF THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES ON MY BEHALF I BEG YOU TO THANK ALL THE PERSONS WHO CONTRIBUTED IN MAKING THIS CAUSE SUCCESSFUL WITH GREAT RESPECT=

ACADEMICIAN D SKOBELTSYN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

awarding Peace Prize to Fast [illegible] April 22/54

April 29, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois received last night the following cablegram from Moscow:

"Thank you very much for your brilliant fulfillment of the request of our committee. The awarding of the Peace Prize to Fast had undoubtedly helped the strengthening of the friendly relations between our peoples. On my behalf I beg you to thank all the persons who contributed in making this occasion successful. With great respect.

Academician D. Skobeltsyn"

(WEBD)

27-4-29

copies to:
Boyer, Fast, Robeson,
Wolish

DB:lh

February 25, 1954

Mr. Alton Adams, Bandmaster
King Street
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas,
Virgin Islands

My dear Mr. Adams:

Shirley and I are planning to come to the Virgin Islands, leaving here the 7th.

We are going to stay a few days at the Bluebeard and then go to St. Croix.

We shall hope to see you and the family while we are there.

With best regards,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

March 31, 1954

Mr. Alton Adams, Bandmaster,
King Street
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Isles
U.S.A.

My dear Mr. Adams:

Shirley and I returned home safely on Saturday morning.

We look back upon a very beautiful and rewarding vacation, and thank you for your share in making it so.

Our best regards to you and your wife and family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Alton Adams]

St. Thomas, V.I.
8 April 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West, 26th Street
New York 10, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Thanks very much for your kind letter. We are happy to learn that you had a pleasant stay in St. Thomas and the other islands. It was a pleasure and a privilege to contribute to it. Please you and Mrs. DuBois come soon again. The folks at Water Island asked for you and felt so proud that you were with them.

27-4-52

I know you will be sorry to learn that our good friend Harry Dreis lost <u>everything</u> in his home on account of a fire which took place yesterday during his absence. Some negligence I understand with a stove operated by his maid.

I am looking forward for the volume of Souls of Black Folk which you promised me.

Greetings, respects, esteem and affection from the entire family group to you and Mrs. DuBois.

Sincerely,

Alton A. Adams

[Alton Adams]

St. Thomas, V.I.
27, June 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope this finds you and Mrs. Du Bois well and happy. This in principally to let you know that my wife is now in New York spending some time with her daughter and son. They live at 4171 - Third Avenue, Bronx 57, New York. Their phone addres is Cy 9-4183. I know theywill be happy to hear your voices over the phone at least.

I am eagerly looking forward for Souls of Black Folk as you promised me. I will appreciate this particular volume because of the deep influence it has had on my career. It is certainly a great book.

Regards to you and Mrs. Du Bois.

Sincerely,

Alton Adams

P.S. I forgot to mention that my daughter's name is Enid Questel.

27-4-53

July 16, 1954

Mrs. Alton Adams
c/o Enid Questel
4171 Third Avenue
Bronx 57, New York

Dear Mrs. Adams:

I had a letter from your husband late in June saying that you were here in New York. Since then both Mrs. Du Bois and myself have been out of town, and when we came we tried three times to get you on the telephone, Cy-9-4183, but so far have been unable to make contact with you.

I am sorry we could not get in touch with you, because our summer is rather torn up. I have got to have a session with the dentist next week, and after that I am going out of town for a while.

Shirley has just finished a book and has a contract for another which must be done by September 15th.

We would be so glad if you would drop us a note. Without a car it is so difficult to get from Brooklyn to the Bronx, so that we may not be able to see you in person.

I do hope you are having a nice time and that your son and daughter are well.

With best regard,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-1-54

July 23, 1954

Mr. Alton Adams
King Street
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Isles

My dear Mr. Adams:

I sent you recently another copy of "Souls of Black Folk." I had already sent one but it must have been mislaid. This last one I had insured and hope you get it.

I have your letter about Mrs. Adams. I have tried three times to get her on the phone and have also written her. We hope to make contact with her before she returns.

I trust you are having a good summer. I shall be very glad indeed, sometime at your leisure, to have your estimate of what your new governor is doing.

Very sincerely yours.

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-55

[INCOMPLETE]

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in the Virgin Islands to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Adams

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Mr Adams, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

October 28, 1954

Advance Printing Co.
324 East 24 St.
New York City

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me 500 letter sheets and envelopes printed like the enclosed and of the same quality of paper.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

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[A.M.E.Z. church]

Public Relations Bureau

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH

[Organized 1796]

151-3 WEST 136 STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

BISHOP WILLIAM J. WALLS
Chairman

REV. J. W. FINDLEY
Director

March 2, 1954

Phone:Tompkins
2 - 2400

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
21 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Dr. Dubois:

Very recently, it was brought to our attention, the knowlegge of your relationship to Eliza Ann Gardner.

For sometime now we have been in the process of writing an authentic story of her wonderful life and its effect upon Zion Methodism. However, many records along that line, have been misplaced and we find ourselves stymied for true source material.

If you can furnish us with any information concerning her life and history, we would be very grateful.

Under separate cover I have mailed you a phamphlet on the Dedicatory Ceremonies held in Auburn, New York, last May. It is our aim to make this restored home of hers, a shrine to the American people. It would mean much to our National Committee to have you as a member. Your acceptance will be keenly appreciated.

May we hear from you soon regarding these matters? Should you so desire any further information we will gladly arrange an interview at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

J. W. Findley

(Rev.) J. W. Findley

JWF/cbf

27-1-1

Tell them I am out of town
You will call it to my
attention when I return

March 8, 1954

Rev. J.W. Findley
Public Relations Bureau
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
151-3 West 136 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town. When he returns at the end of March I will call your letter to his attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

1552
S881

[A. M. E. Z. Church]

March 31, 1954

Reverend J. W. Findley
Public Relations Bureau
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
151-3 West 136 Street
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Findley:

Your letter concerning Eliza Ann Gardner came during my absence on vacation in the Caribbean.

Eliza Ann Gardner was a cousin of mine, related to the family through my mother's sister, Lucinda. She lived in the same community as my family did and I knew her slightly as a school boy but more intimately while I was a student at Harvard. She then lived in Boston and I used often to take Sunday dinner at her house, where I met J.C. Price and many other leaders of the A.M.E. Zion Church. The leaders of that church visited Miss Gardner and consulted with her frequently. She was active in church work.

Unfortunately I have almost no facts concerning her life. I do not know when she was born, for instance, although I should imagine that she must have been about the age of my mother and probably was born between 1825 - 1835.

She lived for a considerable time in Boston but I do not know just how long as I left the Harvard graduate school in 1894 and did not see her afterward.

I should be very glad to be a member of the committee commemorating her.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-1-2

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

UMBUTHO WESIZWE — LEKHOTLA LA SECHABA

(TRANSVAAL PROVINCE)

All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary.

PHONE 33-4069
P.O. BOX 9207

38, MARKET STREET,
JOHANNESBURG.

9th November, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B Du Bois,
Council on African Affairs, Inc.,
Suite 6 139 West 125th Street,
NEW YORK 27. N.Y.

Dear Sir,

The African National Congress will be holding its 42nd Annual Conference from the 16th to the 19th December, 1954, at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, to consider and decide upon the present situation in the country, and to make preparations for the great assembly of the Congress of the People which will draw up a Freedom Charter for the people of South Africa.

27-4-54

We are inviting messages of good-will and support for the struggle we are conducting in defence of fundamental human rights and against the increasing oppression and racial discrimination of the Nationalist rulers of this country.

The Annual Conference assembles at a most critical time when, solely in pursuance of the policy of Apartheid, 85,000 non-European people are being threatened with forcible removal from their established homes and with the loss of their freehold rights; when many critics of the Nationalist policy and leaders of our people have been deprived of their freedom of speech and association; when progressive newspapers have been banned; when the undisputed right and function of the Church to proclaim the truth is being threatened; and when the African is being forced to accept a type of education the purpose of which is to make him an inferior and incomplete human being.

We wish to assure you that your message will give the Conference that encouragement and inspiration which must come from the knowledge that in this historic and vital struggle, the African National Congress is not without friends and allies.

Yours faithfully,

O. Tambo

for SECRETARIAT

December 1, 1954

Mr. O. H. Tambo,
The African National Congress
38 Market Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

My dear Mr. Tambo:

I am afraid that this letter may not reach you in time to be read to the Congress, but I would like to have you know how deeply interested I am in your movement and hopeful for its success.

You perhaps know that the various African National Congresses that have been held in the last few years all began and were incited by the Pan-African Congress which I called in Paris in 1919 during the Versailles Peace Congress.

Another Congress was held in London, Paris and Brussels in 1921, and a third in Lisbon in 1923, at which time I made my first trip to Africa.

I am greatly encouraged to see how the congressional movement and the subsequent efforts for African freedom are spreading.

I wish you every success.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

July 13, 1954

Mr. Ram Kumar
Cultural Section
All India Peace Council
14, Munshi Niketan
Kamla Market
New Delhi, India

Dear Mr. Kumar:

I have your letter of July 5th concerning the action of the All India Peace Council in the case of Paul Robeson's passport.

I have not received the two letters previously sent me, which is not unexpected as much of my mail is interfered with.

We are deeply grateful for what the Indian writers and artists have done in this case.

I am sending your letter to Mr. Robeson.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Telegrams: PEACEIND

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

14, MUNSHI NIKETAN - KAMLA MARKET - NEW DELHI

President:
Dr. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW

General Secretary:
ROMESH CHANDRA

Treasurer:
PANDIT C. N. MALAVIYA, M. P.

AIRMAIL

July 26, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois,

Many thanks for your letter dated July 13. We are very sorry to note that you have not received our previous letters which we had addressed to "Committee for the Restoration of the Passport to Paul Robeson."

We have received a cable from Mr. Paul Robeson in which he has promised to send us a message. This would be very useful for us as we would be able to have it published in the press. This would strengthen our compaign. In our earlier letter we had requested for a recorded message by Paul Robeson and we besides, if it would be possible to receive that.

We are enclosing herewith a copy of our appeal which we had issued to all the artists and writers. We had sent you the list of signatories to this appeal.

We would be glad to receive more news about the campaign for the restoration of Mr. Paul Robeson's Passport.

We have received a bulletin from the World Peace Council in which too letters of Mr. Paul Robeson written to Mr. Charlie Chaplin and Mr. Shostakovich have been reproduced. We are giving these letters to the press.

Hope to hear from you soon. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ram Kumar

(RAM KUMAR)
FOR CULTURAL SECTION.

kr/-

24-4-23

COPY

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

14, Munshi Niketan - Kamla Market - New Delhi

President:
Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew

General Secretary:
Romesh Chandra

Treasurer:
Pandit C. N. Malaviya, M.P.

August 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Du Bois

We would like to thank you and through you Mr. Paul Robeson for his tape record and message to us.

This came just in time for our Council meeting in Calcutta where the inspiring message of the great Negro singer was heard by thousands of people amidst thunderous applause.

We are very sorry to learn that the United States Government has again refused Mr. Robeson his passport. People all over the World and specially from our country who have always stood for the liberation of oppressed people have very much looked forward to a visit from this great leader of the Negro people. We hope that some day that this wish will be fulfilled.

We shall be grateful if you could kindly convey our thanks to Mr. Robeson and we would specially like to thank you for the trouble you have taken in sending us the message and the record.

With our kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Ram Kuma for Cultural Section

27-4-51

ALL MALABAR PEACE CONFERENCE

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OFFICE,

PRESIDENT:
SRI. K. KUNHI RAMA MENON B.A., B.L.
VICE-PRESIDENT:
SRI. S. K. POTTEKKAT
SRI. K. MADHAVANAR
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SRI. G. B. PRABHU

NEAR BOMBAY HALL
SWEET MEAT STREET,
KOZHIKODE-1.

3rd December, 1954..

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

27-8-47

Dear Sir,

We are happy to inform you that an All Malabar Conference for Peace & Asian Solidarity is being convened on the 25th of December, 1954 at Kozhikode (Calicut). In our effort at mobilising support of our entire people for the historic five principles enunciated by our Prime Minister, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Prime Minister of China, Chou en Lai, we believe, we have your sympathies and well-wishes as well. Peace today is no more the concern of individuals or governments: it is the concern of all the peoples of the world. We assure you that the people of Malabar, like their brotheren elsewhere in India will, unitedly, errespective of the divergent social, political, religious beliefs, stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the people of the East in defence of Peace in Asia and the world.

A message of good-will and support from you for our effort will go a long way in assuring the success of our Conference. Kindly send us the same at an early date.

Very truly yours,

P. Kunhi Rama Poduval

Secretary

[All Malabar Peace Conference]

December 10, 1954

Sri. P.K. Kunhi Rama Poduval
Near Bombay Hall
Sweet Meat Street
Koshikode - 1
India

My dear Mr. Poduval:

Will you convey to the All Malabar Conference for Peace and Asian Solidarity my highest hope for a successful and well attended meeting.

I agree with the five principles enumerated by Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou en Lai. Peace is the first great step today which will lead us out of the present jungle of war and threatening war.

I wish that I could attend this meeting with you but, as you know, so many of us in the United States who insist on thinking are not allowed to leave the country.

I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-54

9, Tai Chi Chang
Peking, China.
June 1st, 1954.

Dear Dr Du Bois.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of "Peace Throughout the Ages", an anthology of Chinese poetry, which I have translated and published here.

In it are some one hundred and sixteen poems, ranging from some of the most ancient in the Chinese language, down to the most modern. Lines written by Tu Fu, Li Pai and Pai Chu-yi of T'ang times, as well as modern poets such as Kuo Mo-jo and Ai Ching, are included. In them is reflected the traditional longing of the Chinese people for peace.

It would be excellent if you could give me at your earliest convenience, a frank and detailed criticism of this work, with any suggestions you have for its improvement in content, language, presentation and general make up.

A second anthology called "The People Speak Out", also translated and published by myself is just off the press and a copy is being sent to you hoping for the same criticism.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely yours,

Rewi Alley.

27-4-61

August 24, 1954

Mr. Rewi Alley
9, Tai Chi Chang
Peking, China

My dear Mr. Alley:

I have received the copy of "Peace Throughout the Ages" and of "The People Speak Out", which you kindly sent me. Let me thank you for them very deeply.

I am a great admirer of the Chinese in the past and in their present efforts.

Very sincerely yours,

WEB Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-62

China

9, Tai Chi Chang
Peking, China.
December 21, 1954.

Dear Dr. Dan

Under separate cover, you will receive a signed copy of "The People Have Strength", which I have written as a sequel to "Yo Banfa!" I would be very grateful for your critical comments on any aspect of this book, and would be especially interested in your general reaction after reading it as to whether you think that I have presented facts clearly or not. Comments on general layout, design and printing would also be appreciated.

Looking forward to your kind reply, I am, with Season's greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Rewi Alley.

AMALGAMATED MACHINE, INSTRUMENT & METAL
LOCAL NO. 475

160 MONTAGUE STREET, BROOKLYN 2, N. Y. TRiangle 5-5645

CLIFTON CAMERON
Business Manager

JAMES DAVIS
Recording & Correspondence Secretary

CHARLES FAY
President

MICHAEL NIGRIS
Financial Secretary

LULA STONE
Treasurer

January 13, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Sir:

On Tuesday, February 16th, our Local Union is planning a Negro History Month celebration. We would deem it a great honor if you could find time to address this meeting.

I would appreciate it if you would let me know if the above date meets with your convenience. If the 16th is not convenient for you, perhaps you could let us know what dates you have available.

Thank you for your consideration.

Fraternally yours,

Lula Stone

Lula Stone
Chairman, Local 475 FEP Committee

P.S. The time will be from 7:30 to 9:30.

LS:TH
ftul/1283

27-5-48

January 16, 1954

Miss Lula Stone
Local #475
Amalgamated Machine, Instrument & Metal
160 Montague Street
Brooklyn, 2, N.Y.

Dear Miss Stone:

I can speak for you Tuesday, February 16th.

My charge will be $50.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23-9-29

AMALGAMATED MACHINE, INSTRUMENT & METAL
LOCAL NO. 475

160 MONTAGUE STREET, BROOKLYN 2, N. Y. TRiangle 5-5645

CLIFTON CAMERON
Business Manager

JAMES DAVIS
Recording & Correspondence Secretary

CHARLES FAY
President

MICHAEL NIGRIS
Financial Secretary

LULA STONE
Treasurer

February 8, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are pleased to know that you will be able to speak at our Negro History Week celebration on Tuesday, February 16th, 1954.

The celebration is being held at our Local headquarters and we expect about 200 people. The meeting is being called for 7 o'clock but will probably get started about 7:30 P.M. If everything goes as planned, our program should be as follows:

Introduction by Chairman ...	7:30 - 7:40
Songs by Hope Foye	7:40 - 8:00
Reading by Bill Robinson ...	8:00 - 8:20
Negro in Trade Union - Jim McLeish	8:20 - 8:40
Songs by Hope Foye	8:40 - 9:00
Dr. DuBois	9:00 - 9:30

Of course the time schedule listed above may vary 10 or 15 minutes either way depending upon our ability to get started as close to 7 P.M. as possible.

Thank you very much.

Fraternally yours,

Lula Stone

Lula Stone
Treasurer

ls:rs
ftul/1283
enc.

25-5-50

Local 475 Fair Practices Comm.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Tuesday-Feb. 16th

PROGRAM

1. Songs..... Hope Foye
2. Reading :..... Bill Robinson
3. Labor and Support for Negro Rights. Cliff Cameron
4. Songs ..... Hope Foye
5. Guest Speaker ..... Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
6. Adjournment - Refreshments

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Oh say, can you see,
By the dawn's early light.
What so proudly we hailed,
At the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars
Through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watch'd,
Were so gallantly streaming.
And the rockets' red glare
The bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thru the night that our
flag was still there.

Chorus

Oh, say, does that Star Spangled Banner
yet wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home
of the brave.

ftul/1283

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift every voice and sing,
Till earch and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise,
High as the list'ning skies
Let it resound, loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the
dark past has taught us
Sing a song, full of the hope that the
present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun
Of our new day begun,
Let us march on, till victory is won.

2. Stony the road we trod, bitter the
chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our
weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers
sighed.
We have come over a way that with tears
has been watered;
We have come, treading our path through
the blood of the slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past, 'til now we
stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star
is cast.

27-5-41

Asaaram

Merchants of Light School,
OBA, Via Onitsha
Nigeria. 23rd Jan. 54

Dear Mr Mr Boid,

This letter (x6) will perhaps be surprised getting who aspires to authorship; who has heard and read of you and believes you can be of help to him.

I realise that being the sort of man you are, you are regularly employed at something or the other, but my case might interest you as it is in the same cause for which you've devoted the best part of your life. My ambition is to write historical romances about early African civilisations and latter with Part Portuguese to enable me to some research on Portuguese Spanish missionary enterprise in the Guinea Coast. Benin, so reported before their arrival. It is my opinion that the Slave Trade contributed to the decline of this culture. Degraded it to the horror that Benin was when the British came to the scene. UNFORTUNATELY every popular history of Nigeria begins with the latter episode, thereby throwing into relief the position of slave-trade-destroyed Benin (Nigeria). It would appear that Africans always were barbarous.

In my historical romance, set in the Benin at the coming of the first Portuguese traders & missionaries, I would show the fallacy of Official Nigerian History. I shall endeavour to show that africans had religion & culture - a religion basically the same as Roman Catholicism - a culture beautiful & complex before the whites came.

But and this is why I write, I find that it all requires extensive research into the facts of history of Africa of the period, research into theories about the origin of Benin Art, reading of a lot of Anthropology & even Euro history the Period from Haney to Leedom very helpful. But they are necessarily summary and there is plenty of reference to your own work. Also ref. to Jane Pawnfoot, Edward Johnson, Willis Weatherford, *Carter Woodson, *Herskovits, Alain Locke (on Negro Art) Leo. Africanus, George Ellis etc etc.

But why is the material large but it is most difficult for me to get any of them from the U.S. except thro' the help of patrons.

Of your own work I've read - apart from a few articles in papers eg in M.R. (April 1953) - nothing. But I've read about you from many books. World's Great men of Colour (Rogers) Inside U.S.A etc to mention only a few.

I am asking for your direction and help because without this I may never

be able to perform what I believe is an essential service to the Race.

I have published only a few short stories - one sold to Afro-American papers last year. I have thought that was a sure way of earning dollars for books ⇒ the v.l.; but research for my books will be long delayed if I've to rely on that.

American people I asked have directed me to you for expert guidance. Thro. many of these friends I have become acquainted with the writings of people like Richard Wright, Sinclair Lewis, Howard Fast etc.

I'll want a still closer acquaintance with the American Negro hence - with Langston Hughes, Weldon Johnson etc.

I'm writing also to Paul Robeson for patronage. It's a need I greatly feel, and I'll be grateful if you would show this to friends who might help.

While wishing you more happy days of a useful life, I will sign off and await your reply.

An Admiring friend,

Adeyemi Amaran

P.S. I'm a history & English teacher at M.L. College.

27-4-50

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

fold here

Dr W. E. B. Du Bois,
~~To the National Guardian,~~
31 Grace Ct. ~~17 Murray Street,~~
Bklyn, Ny ~~New York 7.~~
~~U.S.A.~~

Sender's name and address:-
Adeyemi Amaran,
Merchants of Light College,
Oba, Via Ibadan.
Nigeria.

open out here

January 6, 1955

Mr. Chauncey B. Tinker
American Academy of Arts and Letters
633 West 155 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your letter of December 13th, I am sending two of my republished books which your library may wish to put on its shelves. They are: "Gould of Black Folk" and "Suppression of the African Slave Trade."

If you do not desire them I hope you will kindly return them.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-65

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

April 26, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

The American Academy of Arts and Letters cordially invites the members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and their wives (or husbands) to attend a luncheon preceding the Ceremonial on May 26th.

Cocktails will be served at 12:30 in the Hassam Room, luncheon at 1:00 o'clock in the library. Luncheon guests will also be welcome at the reading of commemorative tributes to:

John Taylor Arms	by Mahonri M. Young
Leonard Bacon	by Chauncey Brewster Tinker
Douglas Southall Freeman	by Carl Sandburg
John Marin	by Thornton Wilder
Bliss Perry	by Mark Antony de Wolfe Howe,

at 11:30 A. M. in the Members Room.

The Annual Ceremonial of the Academy and the Institute will be held at 3:00 o'clock in the Auditorium. Members are also invited to attend the opening of exhibitions in the Art Gallery and Museum at 5:00 o'clock.

Please signify on the enclosed slip whether or not you will attend the various functions.

Very sincerely yours,

Douglas Moore

Douglas Moore
Secretary

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

and

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

request the honor of your presence

at their

Annual Ceremonial

in the Academy Auditorium

632 West 156th Street, New York City

on Wednesday afternoon, May 26, 1954

at three o'clock

and

Exhibition of

Works by newly elected members

Recipients of Academy and Institute Honors

and Pictures purchased from the Childe Hassam Fund

in the Art Gallery and Museum

at five o'clock

Please reply to
the Assistant to the President
633 West 155th Street, New York City

Refreshments
will be served on the
Terrace at five o'clock

(Program on inside pages)

CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

Organ Processional — Philip James

Address by the President of the Academy — Archibald MacLeish

Induction of new Academy Members by the Secretary of the Academy — Douglas Moore

Arthur Brown Jr.
John Hersey
E. E. Cummings
Roger Sessions

Induction of new Institute Members by the Secretary of the Institute — Louis Kronenberger

Elizabeth Bishop
Robert Lowell
George Grosz
Carl Ruggles
Eero Saarinen

Address: "Benjamin Franklin's Country" — Robert E. Sherwood

Presentation of Arts and Letters Grants and Academy in Rome Fellowship by the President of the Institute — Marc Connelly

CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

Presentation to David Jones of the Loines Award for Poetry	Leonie Adams
Presentation to Senator J. William Fulbright of the Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts	Mark Van Doren
Presentation to Ernest Hemingway of the Award of Merit Medal for Fiction	Archibald MacLeish
Presentation to Reginald Marsh of the Gold Medal for Graphic Arts	Isabel Bishop
Presentation to Maxwell Anderson of the Gold Medal for Drama	John Mason Brown
Organ Recessional	Otto Luening

Hugh Porter - Organist

Directors of The American Academy of Arts and Letters

President
Archibald MacLeish

Chancellor
Mark Van Doren

Secretary
Douglas Moore

Treasurer
Deems Taylor

Gilmore D. Clarke — Paul Manship
Barry Faulkner — Robert E. Sherwood
Chauncey Brewster Tinker

Council of The National Institute of Arts and Letters

President
Marc Connelly

Vice-Presidents

Irwin Edman — Oronzio Maldarelli
Clare Leighton — James Kellum Smith
Otto Luening — William Carlos Williams

Secretary
Louis Kronenberger

Treasurer
Virgil Thomson

PLATFORM TICKET No. 48

Please assemble in Dodd Room at 2:45 p. m., promptly

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

and

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

CEREMONIAL AND EXHIBITION

Wednesday afternoon, May 26th, 1954, at 3:00 o'clock

Academy Auditorium

632 West 156th Street, New York City

The American Academy of Arts and Letters

AND

The National Institute of Arts and Letters

CEREMONIAL

Wednesday afternoon · May 26 · 1954

AT THREE O'CLOCK

Academy Auditorium 632 WEST 156 STREET · NEW YORK

DIRECTORS OF THE ACADEMY

PRESIDENT

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

CHANCELLOR

MARK VAN DOREN

SECRETARY

DOUGLAS MOORE

TREASURER

DEEMS TAYLOR

GILMORE D. CLARKE

BARRY FAULKNER

PAUL MANSHIP

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER

COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE

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MARC CONNELLY

VICE PRESIDENTS

IRWIN EDMAN ORONZIO MALDARELLI

CLARE LEIGHTON JAMES KELLUM SMITH

OTTO LUENING WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

SECRETARY

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

TREASURER

VIRGIL THOMSON

CEREMONIAL PROGRAM

ORGAN PROCESSIONAL — PHILIP JAMES

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY — ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

INDUCTION OF NEW ACADEMY MEMBERS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE ACADEMY — DOUGLAS MOORE

During the year four members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters were elected to the Academy:

ARTHUR BROWN, JR.

To the 5th chair, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Adolph A. Weinman, Arthur Brown, Jr., architect, of California, who, after winning distinction at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts as a student, returned to his native state to become one of the leading architects of the nation. Probably no city of the United States can offer more convincing proof of the greatness of a native artist than San Francisco, where Mr. Brown has designed the War Memorial Opera House, the Federal Office Building, the City Hall and the Coit Tower. He is also nationally recognized as the architect of the Department of Labor and the Interstate Commerce Buildings.

E. E. CUMMINGS

To the 26th chair, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Douglas Southall Freeman, E. E. Cummings, poet and man of letters, of New York. Heralded at the beginning of his career as a poet of daring originality, he has become internationally known as a writer of poetry and prose that may fairly be regarded as classic. His remarkable novel of the First World War, *The Enormous Room*, is read in many languages, and as a lyric poet he is uniquely happy and fresh and as poignantly alive as he was at the beginning of his career.

JOHN HERSEY

To the 22nd chair, to fill the vacancy created by the death of John Marin, John Hersey, novelist, of Connecticut. Turning from a highly successful early career as war correspondent and editor, he has become in a short space of time one of America's most provocative and important novelists. In this field he yields to no one in the care, scruple and high capacity with which he writes his memorable books, each one of which has become a classic in its time.

ROGER SESSIONS

To the 3rd chair, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Albert Spalding, Roger Sessions, composer, of New Jersey. Proclaimed by Ernest Bloch and Paul Rosenfeld as America's first composer of major importance at the very outset of his career, he has courageously adhered to the highest principles of the composer's art with no thought to the achievement of popular success. For its seriousness, technical brilliance and nobility of conception, his music has won for him a lasting eminence in the arts.

INDUCTION OF NEW INSTITUTE MEMBERS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INSTITUTE

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

ART

GEORGE GROSZ, born in Germany in 1893, ranks in his drawings and lithographs as one of the most trenchant social critics of his time; while, more as pure artist, he has powerfully projected a vision of life in his oils and water colors.

EERO SAARINEN, born in Finland in 1910, stands forth one of the most gifted and expressive of living architects – one who, with fine sanity and simplicity, has helped formulate a sound contemporary architecture.

LITERATURE

ELIZABETH BISHOP, born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1911, has proved, particularly in her book *North and South*, to be the creator of poetry that is both distinguished and notably individual.

ROBERT LOWELL, born in Boston in 1917, takes rank, by virtue of his technical accomplishment and his individuality of attitude, as perhaps the most talented American poet of his particular generation.

MUSIC

CARL RUGGLES, born in Marion, Massachusetts, in 1876, is – at once by the vitality of his pioneering and the perfection of his style – one of America's principal living composers.

ADDRESS: "BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S COUNTRY"

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

This is the 33rd address on the
Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield Foundation

PRESENTATION OF ARTS AND LETTERS GRANTS AND AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME FELLOWSHIP BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE

MARC CONNELLY

IN ART

To VIRGINIA CUTHBERT, born in West Newton, Pennsylvania, in recognition of the contribution made to American painting by her strong, well-constructed pictures with romantic overtones.

To KOREN DER HAROOTIAN, born in Ashodavan, Armenia, in recognition of a distinguished artist whose sculptures in stone and wood reveal strong spiritual and emotional depth.

To EDWIN DICKINSON, born in Seneca Falls, New York, in recognition of a distinguished artist whose creative work in painting is inspired by poetic vision and a mastery of his medium.

To HAZARD DURFEE, born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, in recognition of a gifted artist whose awareness of the many facets revealed by nature gives to his painting an original expression of a high order.

To ANTONIO FRASCONI, born in Montevideo, Uruguay, in recognition of a sensitive artist who is able to distill the essential design of life out of the happenings of the world around him.

To DAVID K. RUBINS, born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in recognition of a sculptor whose work is emotionally expressive, with a fine feeling for clarity of design and a treatment of form that is broad and forceful.

IN LITERATURE

To HANNAH ARENDT, born in Hanover, Germany, in recognition of her studies toward the understanding of the nature of modern society, and in particular for her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism.*

To RAY BRADBURY, born in Waukegan, Illinois, who in several volumes, notably *The Martian Chronicles* and *The Golden Apples of the Sun*, has brought to the genre of popular weird tales, especially that new sort known as space fiction, a complexity and intensity and strange beauty that lift much of his work to a level very close to that of poetry.

To RICHMOND LATTIMORE, born in Paotingfu, China, for his translations from the Greek into English verse. By his fine scholarship, literary judgment and poetically informed sense of the life of his own language, he makes available to modern readers a deepened awareness of the substance and formal qualities of the original.

To DAVID RIESMAN, born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the originality of his observation of American life and the cogency of his reflections upon the problems of personal existence in America, and in particular recognition of his books, *The Lonely Crowd* and *Individualism Reconsidered.*

To RUTHVEN TODD, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in recognition of his scholarly and illuminating studies of early romantic British art and his loving devotion to natural history.

To C. VANN WOODWARD, born in Vanndale, Arkansas, in recognition of his services in the delineation of a period of southern history hitherto much neglected by objective scholars. With courage, insight and great labor among previously unconsulted sources he has illumined an epoch, notably in his *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.*

IN MUSIC

To INGOLF DAHL, born in Germany, who came to the United States in 1935 and has since then become a citizen and a leading composer of the California group, in recognition of the clarity, formal logic and brilliant instrumental colorings of his chamber and orchestral music.

To COLIN McPHEE, born in Montreal, Canada, a citizen of the United States since 1943, in recognition of his lively imagination and skill as a composer. His unprecedented combination of traditional Indonesian music with Western orchestral techniques has produced original music of great distinction.

To HUGO WEISGALL, born in Czechoslovakia, who came to the United States in 1920 and became a citizen in 1926, in recognition of the theater sense, imagination and scope of his operatic compositions, which are characterized by a mature craftsmanship.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS FELLOWSHIP OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

To RICHARD WILBUR, born in New York City in 1921, author of *Ceremony* and *The Beautiful Changes,* early recognized as one of the very first of our younger poets. His poems have been distinguished for lyric grace, versatility of imagination and a serious wit, and his talent, developing in range and subtlety, has been steadily engaged with the concerns of a live and learned sensibility.

PRESENTATION TO DAVID JONES
OF THE LOINES AWARD FOR POETRY — LÉONIE ADAMS

PRESENTATION TO SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT
OF THE AWARD FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE
TO THE ARTS — MARK VAN DOREN

ACCEPTANCE BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

PRESENTATION TO ERNEST HEMINGWAY
OF THE AWARD OF MERIT MEDAL FOR THE NOVEL
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

PRESENTATION TO REGINALD MARSH
OF THE GOLD MEDAL FOR GRAPHIC ARTS — ISABEL BISHOP

ACCEPTANCE BY MR. MARSH

PRESENTATION TO MAXWELL ANDERSON
OF THE GOLD MEDAL FOR DRAMA — JOHN MASON BROWN

ACCEPTANCE BY MR. ANDERSON

ORGAN RECESSIONAL — OTTO LUENING

HUGH PORTER · ORGANIST

At the close of the Ceremonial the ushers will direct you to the Terrace where refreshments will be served.

Exhibitions in the Art Gallery and Museum will be opened at five o'clock.

Members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters

GIFFORD BEAL
BERNARD BERENSON
ERNEST BLOCH
VAN WYCK BROOKS
ARTHUR BROWN, JR.
PEARL S. BUCK
GILMORE D. CLARKE
E. E. CUMMINGS
WILLIAM ADAMS DELANO
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WILLIAM FAULKNER
ROBERT FROST
JOHN HERSEY
CHARLES HOPKINSON
M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE
ANNA HYATT HUNTINGTON
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ROBINSON JEFFERS
LEON KROLL
LEE LAWRIE
WALTER LIPPMANN
ARCHIBALD MAC LEISH
THOMAS MANN
PAUL MANSHIP
CARL MILLES
DOUGLAS MOORE
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HERBERT PUTNAM
EDWARD W. REDFIELD
CARL SANDBURG
HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK
ROGER SESSIONS
HENRY R. SHEPLEY
ROBERT E. SHERWOOD
EUGENE SPEICHER
JOHN E. STEINBECK
DEEMS TAYLOR
CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER
MARK VAN DOREN
CHARLES WARREN
THORNTON WILDER
FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
MAHONRI M. YOUNG

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SIR MAX BEERBOHM
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CONCHA ESPINA
E. M. FORSTER
ROMULO GALLEGOS
HU SHIH
AUGUSTUS E. JOHN
CHARLES EDOUARD J. LE CORBUSIER
THE RT. HON. HUGH PATTISON MACMILLAN
G. FRANCESCO MALIPIERO
JOHN MASEFIELD
HENRI MATISSE
W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM
GIAN CARLO MENOTTI
IVAN MESTROVIC
DARIUS MILHAUD
GABRIELA MISTRAL
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
DIEGO RIVERA
JULES ROMAINS
BERTRAND RUSSELL
JOSÉ LUIS ZORRILLA DE SAN MARTIN
HENRI SAUGUET
JEAN JULIUS CHRISTIAN SIBELIUS
IGNAZIO SILONE
EDITH SITWELL
SIR OSBERT SITWELL
H. M. TOMLINSON
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE
GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN
HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS
RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

Members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters

DEPARTMENT OF ART

WAYMAN ADAMS
EDMOND AMATEIS
HUGO BALLIN
CHESTER BEACH
GIFFORD BEAL
THOMAS H. BENTON
LOUIS BETTS
ISABEL BISHOP
PETER BLUME
LOUIS BOUCHÉ
ALEXANDER BROOK
ARTHUR BROWN, JR.
CHARLES E. BURCHFIELD
GILMORE D. CLARKE
PETER DALTON
WILLIAM ADAMS DELANO
DONALD DE LUE
SIDNEY E. DICKINSON
GUY PÈNE DU BOIS
AYMAR EMBURY II
RUDULPH EVANS
BARRY FAULKNER
JOHN F. FOLINSBEE
LAURA GARDIN FRASER
LEO FRIEDLANDER
DANIEL GARBER
JOHN GREGORY
GEORGE GROSZ
ERIC GUGLER
WALKER HANCOCK
HERBERT HASELTINE
EUGENE HIGGINS
MALVINA HOFFMAN
CHARLES HOPKINSON
EDWARD HOPPER
DONAL HORD
CECIL HOWARD
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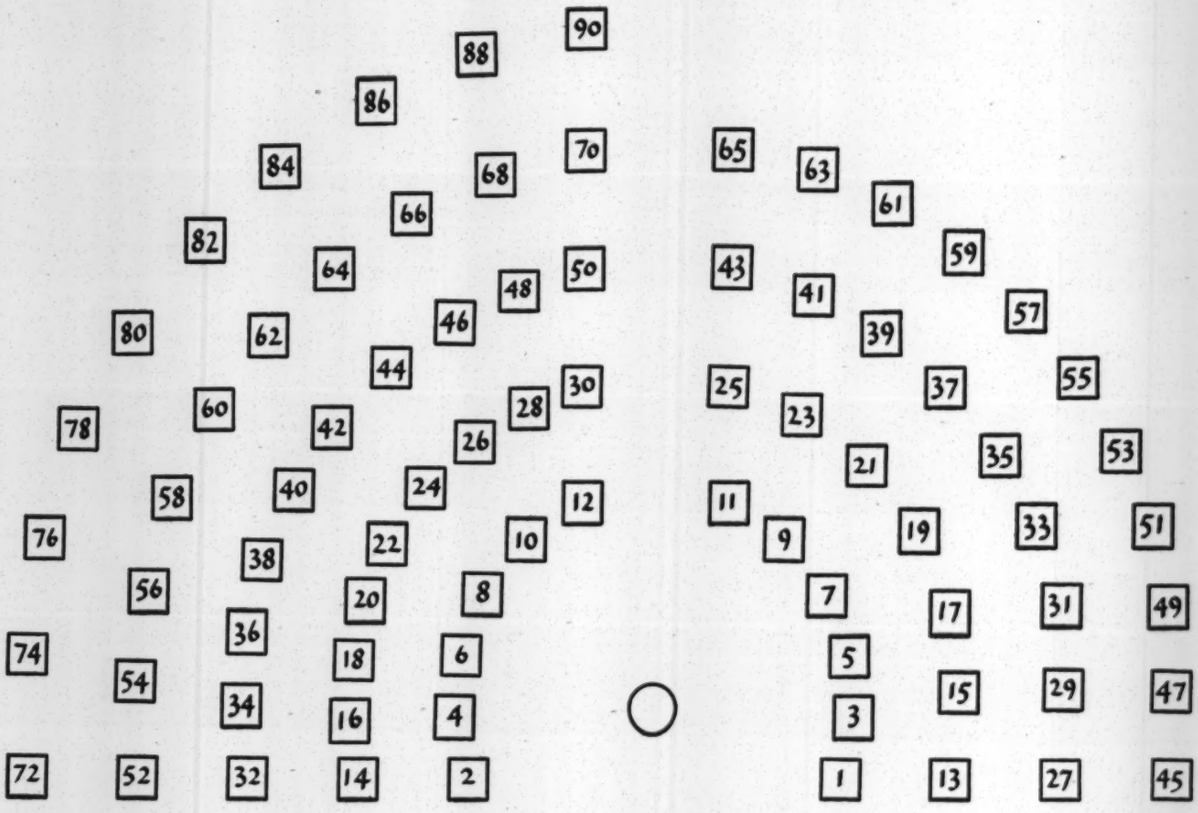

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2 Marc Connelly
4 Louis Kronenberger
6 Reginald Marsh
8 Isabel Bishop
10 Maxwell Anderson
12 John Mason Brown
14 Irwin Edman
16 Clare Leighton
18 Otto Luening
20 Oronzio Maldarelli
22 James Kellum Smith
24 William Carlos Williams
26 Edmond Amateis
28 Germàn Arceniegas
30 Jacques Barzun
32 George Grosz
34 Robert Lowell
36 Peter Blume
38 Louise Bogan
40 Henry Seidel Canby
42 Rachel L. Carson
44 Malcolm Cowley
46 Peter Dalton
48 W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
50 John F. Folinsbee
52 Leo Friedlander
54 Eric Gugler
56 Hermann Hagedorn
58 Lillian Hellman
60 Glenway Wescott
62 Edward Hopper
64 Cecil Howard
66 Rolfe Humphries
68 Matthew Josephson
70 Marquis James
72 Philip James
74 Henry Kreis
76 Alfred Kreymborg
78 Harrie T. Lindeberg
80 Percy MacKaye
82 William McFee
84 Quincy Porter
86 Wallingford Riegger
88 Ernest Roth
1 Archibald MacLeish
3 Senator J. William Fulbright
5 Mark Van Doren
7 Robert E. Sherwood
9 Douglas Moore
11 Léonie Adams
13 Paul Manship
15 Chauncey Brewster Tinker
17 Barry Faulkner
19 Deems Taylor
21 Gilmore D. Clarke
23 William Adams Delano
25 Mahonri M. Young
27 Arthur Brown, Jr.
29 John Hersey
31 Roger Sessions
33 Van Wyck Brooks
35 Pearl S. Buck
37 John Dos Passos
39 Leon Kroll
41 Charles Hopkinson
45 Carl Sandburg
47 Walter Lippmann
49 Henry R. Shepley
51 Thornton Wilder
53 Eugene Savage
55 Arthur Shepherd
57 Louis A. Simon
59 William Zorach
61 Gertrude Lathrop
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THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK

December 13, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

As you know, the library of the American Academy of Arts and Letters is limited to works by and about members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Our collections include books, pamphlets, musical scores, photographs of art works, and autograph manuscripts and letters, some of which have been acquired by gift, and some through purchase.

For the last five years we have been engaged in filling the gaps in our collection of books, an undertaking that should approach completion within the next six months. The next project to engage our attention will be the ordering and cataloguing of the manuscript collection. Members of the Academy and the Institute, we have learned, are at present being solicited to present their papers to the Library of Congress. It is not our intention to enter into rivalry with the Library of Congress; we have neither the staff nor the funds available to deal with large quantities of manuscript material. But we feel that the library of the American Academy should be the repository for manuscript material of three special categories: 1) material dealing with the Academy or the Institute; 2) correspondence between members dealing with problems of art, literature or music; and 3) at least one literary manuscript or musical score by each of the members indicating methods of work.

Would you be good enough to look over your files and see if you have anything that would fit into any of these classifications? By presenting such material to the Library you would help us complete a record of the artistic life of this country as expressed in the words and works of the most distinguished practitioners of the arts in our time. Future scholars will naturally look to us for such documents, as scholars of today look to us for material on earlier members.

Very sincerely yours,

Chauncey Brewster Tinker

Chairman of the Library Committee

27-4-64

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

April 15, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The American Committee appppreciates your encouraging message to Abner Green on the occasion of his 40th Birthday and 20th Anniversary of service to foreign-born Americans.

The many splendid messages which came from all parts of the country, as well as the testimonial tendered to him in New York, reaffirms our confidence in his leadership.

We wish to express our thanks and look to your continued support and cooperation for the work of the American Committee to help win repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law and restore democratic rights to foreign-born Americans.

27-7a-39

Sincerely yours,

George B. Murphy

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Co-Chairman

gbm/eb
ftul/1283

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 4-3457

June 3, 1954

Dear Friend:

We cordially invite you to attend the sessions of the National Conference of Defense Committees which is to be held at the Ukrainian Hall, 85 East 4th Street, New York City, on Friday evening, June 18, at 8:00 P.M.; Saturday (10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.), June 19; and Sunday (10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.) June 20, 1954.

This is an annual conference of secretaries of defense committees, and others active and interested in the work of protecting the rights of foreign-born Americans, throughout the country. Reports on activities and interchange of ideas to intensify this work, expecially in relation to the campaign to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law, are the purposes of this conference.

If you carnot attend all sessions, we particularly hope that you can attend the Friday evening session at which Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will make a general report of all activities throughout the country.

We hope that you can attend and participate in the discussions.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Murphy, Jr.

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Co-Chairman

ftul/1283

27-Ta-40

[Amer. Peace Crusade]

January 4, I954

The Du Bois Dinner, I952, by the American Peace Crusade

At the request and insistence of the officers of the American Peace Crusade, a dinner was tendered Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois on June II, I952 at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York The financial results of this dinner were

Gross Income	$8273.2I
Total Expenses	5720.27
Net Income	$2552.94

and Thomas Richardson

In addition, there was pledged at the dinner the additional sum of $ 585.00

All disbursements from this fund were made by check, signed jointly by Abbot Simon up until the time of Simons resignation in February, I953. At a meeting, Feb. 6, I953 Messrs Simon and Richardson promised " that the indebtedness would be met by monthly payments" On December I9, I952, Mr. Richardson stated that the indebtedness of the Crusade to Dr DuBois was $I225. This sum was arrived at by taking half the proceeds of the dinner for the Peace Crusade. No report was ever made of sums collected on the pledges.

27-4-19

Since then the following payments have been made to Dr DuBois

Jan. 5, I953	$ I50.00
Feb. 20, I953	50.00
Dec. I7, I953	I00.00
Total paid	$300.00

Total due, according to Richardson's letter of Dec.I2, I952, $925

This all takes no account of the pledges of $585.

[Signed]

Copies: Richardson, Monaco, Lowell, Morford, Doxie W. Robeson

sent to Richardson Morford [Amer. Peace Crusade]
Morrison Patterson
Lovett Robeson

COPY

January 4, 1954

REPORT ON THE DU BOIS DINNER, 1952, BY THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE.

At the request and insistence of the officers of the American Peace Crusade a dinner was tendered Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois on June 11, 1952 at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York. It was stated that the receipts would go for the Du Bois Foundation to publish and reissue Dr. Du Bois' writings. The financial results of this dinner were:

Gross income	$8273.21
Total Expenses	5720.27
Net Income	$ 2552.94

In addition there was pledged at the dinner the additional sum of $535.00

At a meeting February 6, 1953 Messrs. Simon and Richardson promised "that the indebtedness would be met by monthly payments." All disbursements from this fund were made by check signed jointly by Abbott Simon and Thomas Richardson up until the time of Simon's resignation in February, 1953. On December 13, 1952 Mr. Richardson stated that the indebtedness of the Crusade to Dr. Du Bois was $1225. This sum was arrived at by taking half the proceeds of the dinner for the Peace Crusade. No report was ever made of sums collected on the pledges.

Since then the following payments have been made to Dr. Du Bois:

Jan. 5, 1953	$150.00
Feb. 20, 1953	50.00
Dec. 17, 1953	100.00
Total paid:	$300.00

Total due, according to Richardson's letter of Dec. 12, 1952: $925.00
(This still takes no account of the pledges of $385.)

W.E.B. Du Bois

(signed)

27-4-17

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
~~125 W. 72 STREET~~, NEW YORK ~~23~~, N. Y. • PHONE ~~SU 7-5135~~
35 W. 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y. MU 4 - 8256

January 25, 1954

Dr. W.E.B DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, N.Y.

27-4-16

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a check for $100.00, to be credited to the debt owed you by the American Peace Crusade from the dinner held in June, 1952.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

January 26, 1954

The American Peace Crusade W.E.B. Du Bois Dinner 1952.

to ½ net proceeds from dinner $1225

to ½ of pledges of $585
collected .....Total ?

Credit:

January 5, 1953	$150.00
February 20, 1953	50.00
December 17, 1953	100.00
January 26, 1954	100.00
Total:	$400.00

Balance due: $825.00
Plus half amount collected from pledges.

W.E.B. Du Bois

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135
NEW ADDRESS: 35 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York MU 4 - 8256

March 1, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Enclosed, please find a check for $100.00, in payment on the debt due you from the dinner held in June, 1952.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

EnclC:

March 3, 1954

The American Peace Crusade W.E.B. Du Bois Dinner 1952.

to ½ net proceeds from dinner.....$1225

to ½ of pledges of $585
collected.....Total ?

Credit:

January 5, 1953	$150.00
February 20, 1953	50.00
December 17, 1953	100.00
January 26, 1954	100.00
March 2, 1954	100.00
Total:	$500.00

Balance due: $725.00
Plus half amount collected from pledges.

W.E.B. Du Bois

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135
NEW ADDRESS: 35 W. 26th Street, New York 10, New York MU 4 - 8256

March 22, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am enclosing a copy of the March issue of the magazine "In Defense Of Peace" for your information.

With reference to the enclosure in your letter of March 3d, concerning Mr. Kennedy, I wonder if it would be possible for Rev. Darr and me to see you at your convenience. I will call you after you return to the city.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

27-7a-37

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 8, 1954

ACTION URGED TO BAN H-BOMB AND TO KEEP U.S. OUT OF INDO-CHINA WAR

Declaring that the H-bomb tests which brought such great tragedy to the people of Japan make clear the awful menace of total destruction hanging over mankind, the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade has called for the greatest possible outpouring of expression in every form from the American people demanding an end of all H-bomb tests and a pledge that such weapons not be used pending international agreement to outlaw them.

The Board warned of the peril to the American people growing out of increasing United States involvement in the war in Indo-China. The lives of thousands of American boys are in danger, the Board said, and there is a serious threat that if the power of the United States is used to prolong or expand this war, it may become the trigger of an H-bomb war which would visit terrible destruction on our nation.

The Board called for an end of U.S. involvement in Indo-China and urged that the United States government seek a speedy-cease-fire there and a peaceful settlement of the conflict at the Great Power Conference in Geneva on April 26th.

In view of the critical importance of foreign policy decisions now under debate in Washington, the Crusade Board stated that letters, wires and resolutions at this time to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, members of Congress and local state and city officials can make a real difference in saving our nation from another Korea and from atomic disaster.

The Board called especially for delegations to Congressmen and Senators while they are back home during the Easter recess from April 15th to 25th. It urged that individuals begin immediately to prepare such delegations by going now to neighbors and shopmates to urge them to take action.

(MORE)

27-74-33

The Board declared that the great strength throughout the world of the desire for a relaxation of international tensions had resulted in the agreement of the Four Great Powers at Berlin to meet with the People's Republic of China on April 26th at Geneva. The Board urged widespread support of the Geneva Conference to end the war in Indo-China and to assure peace in Korea and throughout Asia.

Another action of the Board called for early public hearings and favorable action by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Senator Langer's Resolution S.C.R. 71, reaffirming the Constitutional authority of Congress alone to declare war and thereby limiting the danger of the people of the United States being drawn into war without their consent.

The Board welcomed the proposal of the World Council of Peace for an International Meeting, to be jointly prepared by persons and groups seeking a relaxation of international tensions, which would permit a free exchange of all viewpoints and a serious study of possible solutions to pressing world problems. Such a meeting, the Board said, by bringing persons together across geographical and ideological boundaries and by deepening understanding and friendship between peoples, would be a step towards peace.

27-74-34

# # # #

EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN MEMO -- April 8, 1954

A. P. C. RESIDENT BOARD CALLS FOR ACTION!

HALT H-BOMB! - - - - - - - - - - - - - STOP INDO-CHINA WAR!

You will find enclosed a press release on the April 5th Resident Board meeting of the American Peace Crusade. Also enclosed is the text of Senator Langer's resolution.

The H-bomb menace and the danger of the U.S. going to war in Indo-China are arousing millions of Americans to the need of assuring peace. Millions are ready to respond to peace leadership at this time. The APC and peace workers around the country must find the ways to give this leadership and to supply instruments for action and expression by the people.

WE SUGGEST CONCENTRATED EFFORTS BEGINNING IMMEDIATELY ALONG 2 MAIN LINES:

I. ACTION DIRECTED TOWARD GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS:

A) We stress especially the importance of arranging delegations to visit Congressmen while they are home for the Easter Holidays -- April 15 to 25th.

Most Congressmen have not yet decided on their position about U.S. involvement in Indo-China. In this election year they will respond to pressures now from their constituents. They can be made to go on record on the H-bomb menace and opposing further U.S. involvement in Indo-China, especially opposing U.S. troops being sent there

Congressmen should be urged to contact the President and make public statements on these issues. Senators especially should be asked to press for immediate public hearings on Senator Langer's resolution and to vote for the resolution in the Senate.

B) Visits to local, city and state officials and governmental bodies can also be fruitful at this time.

They should be urged to make public statements on the H-bomb and Indo-China issues. Governmental bodies, such as city councils should be urged to memorialize the President and Congress on these issues.

II. ACTION DIRECTED TOWARD AROUSING THE PUBLIC:

A) We stress the importance of beginning this emergency campaign by first mobilizing our own forces. We urge the immediate organization of meetings, large and small, among peace workers and friends of peace for the discussion of these issues and for the adoption of plans of action.

B) Particular emphasis should be placed upon the distribution of leaflets and sale of post cards at factory gates, and at meetings of labor and other organizations

Enclosed is a sample post card. They sell for 2¢ each for orders up to 100, 1½¢ for orders from 100 to 1,000 and 1¢ each for orders over 1,000, plus postage.

We will send you a sample leaflet on the H-bomb next week. You have already received a sample leaflet on Indo-China, which we will be bringing up to date soon.

(OVER)

27-74-32

C) It is possible to evoke a positive response at this time from labor, religious and other community leaders for action on these issues, either in cooperation with local peace groups or independently. We urge that you include in your plans of action visits to such leaders. We stress especially the importance of sitting down for serious discussions with trade union leaders.

D) Letters to newspaper editors should be stimulated.

The NEW YORK TIMES of April 5th devoted the whole of its letter column to letters on the H-bomb.

E) With warm weather in most sections of the country, we urge the use of tables on street corners, shopping centers and other busy places to bring these issues to the public.

* * * *

We are planning a special issue of the Peace Reporter, which will be available at the opening of the Geneva Conference. This special issue was designed to give peace workers a valuable instrument to aid in the stimulation of activity and discussion on the pertinent issues now before the entire world, some of which will be dealt with at the Geneva Conference.

A major feature of this issue will be an article by Dr. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist, on the H-bomb menace.

Other articles will deal with Indo-China, the Langer Resolution, reactions to the H-bomb development and the Caracas Conference. Finance permits the printing of only a limited number of copies. Please place your order immediately, as we are going to press on April 15th.

Even though personnel and resources may be limited in some of your committees, we want to stress the absolute necessity of securing whatever motion and activity is possible immediately.

The American Peace Crusade will seek in every way to help the American people to express themselves on these grave issues - to end the H-bomb menace, to get a cease-fire in Indo-China and to assure the success of the Geneva Conference.

To carry out this responsibility we need your help. Let us know what you are doing. Help us financially by sending whatever you can spare immediately.

---

dpo

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

April 12, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, NY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please find enclosed a check for $100 to be credited to the debt which the American Peace Crusade owes you.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a pamphlet put out by the American Friends Service Committee by William Worthy, Jr.

I have also taken the liberty of sending you, under separate cover, some mimeographed material based upon the last Resident Board meeting of the A.P.C.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encls:

27-74-31

April 13, 1954

The American Peace Crusade W.E.B. Du Bois Dinner 1952.

to ½ net proceeds from dinner.....$1225

to ½ of pledges of $585
collected..... Total ?

Credit:

January 5, 1953	$150.00
February 20, 1953	50.00
December 17, 1953	100.00
January 26, 1954	100.00
March 2, 1954	100.00
April 13, 1954	100.00
Total:	$600.00

Balance due: $625.00
Plus half amount collected from pledges.

W.E.B. Du Bois

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

May 11, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The new address of the World Council of Peace is:

Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
Estate-Haus
Mollwald-Platz 5
Vienna 4, Austria

The telegraphic address is PAIMONDE - VIENNA.

I am enclosing a copy of a printed announcement issued by the American Friends Service Committee. I thought perhaps you might be interested in attending this Institute, either the entire week, or a portion thereof. If so, we would be able to defray your expenses. I would be happy to hear from you on this matter.

The May meeting of the American Peace Crusade Resident Board will take place on Monday, May 17th at 7:30 P.M. at our headquarters, 35 W. 26th Street. The points of action and discussion will be Indo-China; the H-Bomb and legislative activity in relationship to these points.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

27-74-28

[Enc.]

COPY OF ANNOUNCEMENT FOR AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE:

ANNOUNCING the SECOND AVON INSTITUTE
the "QUAKER APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS"
June 13 - 20, 1954 -- Avon Old Farms -- Avon, Connecticut

The Quaker Team will include:

HARROP FREEMAN
Professor of Law, Cornell Law School. Author chapter on "Civil Liberties"

A.J. MUSTE
Honorary Secretary, the Fellowship of Reconciliation

CLARENCE PICKETT
Honorary Secretary, The American Friends Service Committee

ALEXANDER PURDY
Dean, Hartford Theological Seminary, Member Executive Committee, Five Years Meeting of Friends.

IRA DE A. REID
Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, Former Director of Research, The National Urban League.

Dean of the Institute: Olcutt Sanders, Public Relations Director, American Friends Service Committee

FOREIGN GUESTS will include:

Claude Bourdet -- Editor, Observateur, Paris.
Joseph Murumbi -- Secretary, the KENYA AFRICAN UNION.
TOM WARDLE -- Specialist, Colonial Affairs, London.

COmplete cost for Seven Full Days $49.50

Wonderful Recreation! Round Table Groups with Selected Quaker Leaders.
Registration is limited to 200.

Send now for an illustrated booklet describing the 1954 AVON INSTITUTE in detail.
It and a registration blank will be sent early in April.

27-7a-29

May 13, 1954

Mr. Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
35 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Richardson:

I shall not be able to attend the American Friends Service Committee Conference at Avon, Conn.

I thank you for the new address of the World Council of Peace.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

97-14-30

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

June 15, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed please find our check for $100 to be credited to the debt of the American Peace Crusade to you.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

mn
enc.

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

June 17, 1954

The American Peace Crusade W.E.B. Du Bois Dinner 1952.

to ½ net proceeds from dinner $1225

to ½ of pledges of $585
collected Total ?

Credit:

January 5, 1953	$150.00
February 20, 1953	50.00
December 17, 1953	100.00
January 26, 1954	100.00
March 2, 1954	100.00
April 13, 1954	100.00
June 17, 1954	100.00
Total:	$700.00

Balance due: $525.00
Plus half amount collected from pledges.

W.E.B. Du Bois

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

July 19, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several of us from the American Peace Crusade are getting together with a number of people in the cultural field this Thursday evening* at 8:30 P.M. to discuss the problem of cultural exchange between peoples in its relation to relaxation of international tensions.

We shall be meeting in the home of Dr. Annette Rubinstein, 59 West 71st Street. The gathering will be informal and unpublicized.

Your participation would be very helpful. We hope that you can come.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

27-7a-26

*July 22nd

July 23, 1954

Mr. Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
35 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

Mrs. Du Bois and I both had engagements to attend the Polish reception on the night of Thursday, July 23rd.

We could not, therefore, attend the meeting at Dr. Annette Rubinstein's.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-74-27

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

August 2, 1954

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Mr. Laffitte has been kind enough to send us a report of World Meeting for the Relaxation if International Tensions held in Stockholm from June 19th to 23rd. I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of this report for your information.

You will notice that Eric Johnson, a Quaker, attended that Meeting from the United States. We have suggested to the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia that a report by Mr. Johnson on the World Meeting to an informal gathering of persons from various fields would be most helpful. In the event that there is agreement to this proposal, we would hope that you would join us in taking part in such a gathering. We shall keep you informed of future developments in this regard.

We were sorry that you and Mrs. DuBois were unable to attend the discussion of cultural exchange at Dr. Annette Rubinstein's home July 22nd. It was quite successful and a sub-committee was set up to explore the matter further.

I would like very much to have an appointment with you so that I might tell you of the conclusions reached at this gathering.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

27-74-25

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

August 6, 1954

We bring to your attention a project which the Campaign Committee of the Crusade has recommended as a major undertaking of the APC during coming months.

In view of the importance of this project, we would ask you to give thoughtful study to the enclosed Memo.

With the ending of the war in Indo-China, new and exciting perspectives arise for the achievement of a peaceful world. It is proposed that the American Peace Crusade take responsibility for the publication, before the end of the year, of a document worthy of the times and challenge we face - a document portraying the new perspectives of peace and their meaning for the American people. It would have to be a compelling, inspiring document - carefully considered and very well written. Without doubt, such a document would make a great contribution to the future work for peace in our country.

The enclosed Memo suggests what might be the scope and purpose of such a document, and provides a first draft of an outline of its contents. This Memo, however, does not attempt to be exhaustive and seeks only to provide a basis for discussion of this important project.

Before proceeding further with this project, we must have the advise of the most thoughtful and capable persons in our movement. We hope, therefore, that you will want to take the time to give this Memo your careful attention. We would ask you to write us your appraisal of this project. We need especially your suggestions for revision of the outline of contents or for additions to it.

Upon hearing from you and others to whom we have written about this project, we will present all comments and opinions to the next meeting of the Resident Board. If this body determines that the project should be undertaken, we shall recommend that an Editorial Board be established to supervise the work on the project.

For an undertaking of this scope to be completed before the end of the year - and before Congress reconvenes - work on it must be started very soon. You will understand therefore, why we hope that you will give us your thoughts on this project as speedily as you can.

With best wishes to you,

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

27-74-20

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

August 13th, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The enclosed Memorandum and covering letter have been sent to the principal Sponsors of the American Peace Crusade in order to get their counsel about a proposed major undertaking for the Crusade.

We would want very much to have your views about this important project.

I would like an opportunity to talk with you about the project at any time convenient to you.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

27-79-21

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 WEST 26th ST,
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

Sept. 22, 1954

Dear Friend:

This is to inform you that the first American Peace Crusade Resident Board meeting of the Fall-Winter season will take place on Saturday, Oct. 9th at 12:30 p.m. at the A.P.C. headquarters, 35 West 26th Street, 4th Floor, New York City.

During the last few months, some of our sponsors and numerous peace councils have suggested that this Resident Board meeting concern itself with the following points for our Fall-Winter program:

1. Preservation of the U.N. as a fully representative body.
2. Peaceful co-existence.
3. German rearmament.
4. Relaxation of international tensions.
5. Defending and building APC.

We feel that these points are so important that we would like to have the opinion not only of Resident Board members but also of representatives of peace councils around the country. We have therefore decided to make the October 9th meeting an enlarged Resident Board meeting to provide for non-Board member participation.

We are extremely anxious to have full attendance from all Resident Board members so we ask you to fill out the attached form and send it to us immediately.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Co-Director

27-7-19

Mr. Thomas Richardson
Co-Director, American Peace Crusade
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

I will (not) be present at the Sat. Oct. 9th, Resident Board meeting.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

REMARKS:

SENATE CONCURRING RESOLUTION #71
(Introduced by Senator William Langer, Republican, North Dakota, on March 22, 1954-
Referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.)

T E X T

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring): That the Congress hereby reaffirm its exclusive power to declare war and that pursuant to the Constitution, vesting that power in the Congress, the Armed Forces of the United States shall not be ordered into action against the territory or armed forces of a foreign nation without a prior declaration of war, except to the extent necessary to repel an armed attack against the United States or any of its territories or possessions."

Senator Langer made the following statement to the Senate when he introduced the above Bill:

"Mr. President:

"Last week the Secretary of State, in the course of a speech he made, gave the impression that war could be declared without the consent of Congress.

"I now submit a concurrent resolution, for which I request appropriate reference reading as follows:"

27-79-35

[American Peace Crusade]

MEMO ON PEACE BOOKLET

Conception

A basic, long term instrument for the ongoing peace crusade, both in terms of the organization (APC) and the general movement for peace which would sum up the main principles for which the peace coalition stands, apply them to the present situation, and summon the widest possible groups to active participation in the work for peace either in direct cooperation with the APC or through parallel activities. It should make a basic contribution regarding all the main issues with which the peace movement is concerned, in terms of concrete information and potentialities. While programmatic in a broad sense, it should not attempt to offer detailed solutions, but rather the basis on which solutions can be sought.

While the APC has done valuable and essential work on each issue as it has arisen, the time now seems ripe for a well-rounded, integrated program which can raise the whole work of the peace forces to a higher level.

This is true because of the great change in the world situation that has come about through the success of negotiations in ending the hot wars in Korea and Indo-China and the emergence of the idea of "peaceful co-existence" in the widest and most disparate circles. As del Vayo wrote in the Nation, July 10, "...in the coming months the word 'co-existence' may become respectable. It is a unique moment for the liberal, peaceful forces in the United States to regroup themselves around an imaginative and courageous foreign policy."

27-74-22

As witnesses to the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence we can now call on Winston Churchill on the far right. Premier Nehru representing the middle ground, as well as leaders of the socialist countries. We can also point to the ever broader unity of all view-points in the world peace movement. These facts, along with the growing number of voices for peace in our own country, create a new and unique opportunity for APC. The fact that final peaceful solutions must still be sought, that many danger spots still remain, and that these great preliminary victories of the peace forces make those who wish war more desperate and likely to seek new war adventures, creates a burning necessity for the APC to meet the challenge of this moment.

The drawing together in one volume of the evidence of the broad support of varied governments, groups and individuals throughout the world and the growing areas of agreement as to the roads to peace should help in developing a broad and effective peace coalition in this country.

Time and Content

The basic theme of the booklet should be that of Peaceful Co-existence, developed through main phases somewhat as follows: Why it Must Be (an ardent plea for peace); How It Can Be (concrete application to main areas of international tension); What It Means for the People of America; What It Means to the People of the World.

This same pattern of development through three or four phases might be followed to whatever extent possible in the treatment of the main areas covered in the pamphlet, which will create a unifying factor.

While the final title may have to await the completion of the material, it would probably be helpful in guiding its preparation to find some sort of working title, which should convey the impression of a program for peace for the American people in the making, not presented in any final form, but which the American people will themselves participate in developing...something along the lines of Guide to Peace for the American People; Suggested Roads to Peace for America; Peaceful Co-Existence; How Can We Achieve It? etc.

(See attached rough proposals for outline)

Form and Style

The Quaker's "Steps to Peace" might be taken roughly as a model for the final form of publication. It should be definitely a collective effort. The Friends had a "working party" which consulted and discussed over a long period. In this case, the whole previous work of APC might be considered to have taken the place of such consultations by the "working party," since its basic position on the matters covered has already been worked out in the process of its activities.

If approached as a symposium, with separate sections written and signed by different people, the required unity of content and style could not be achieved, for this method is bound to be uneven in its results. This does not preclude the possibility of an introduction or some special sections which can be attributed to certain people.

The collective author should be the APC itself. When an outline is decided upon, it will be necessary to call on the best qualified people in different fields to prepare the separate sections, drawing the authors from both inside and outside the organization. To achieve the desired effect, this material should then be given to some highly gifted writer for an over-all rewriting and editing job. It may be that some sections would not require rewriting--but only the addition of some introductory or summary material to link them with the rest. The question of specific authorship of special sections might be handled by a note which would mention those who participated--where desirable attributing certain sections to a specific author--as, for example, the section dealing with atomic weapons.

The over-all style is of the utmost importance in compelling public attention. It must be written with eloquence and beauty and inspiration. It is not enough just to have these qualities in an introduction, but they must infuse the whole content, so that the reader will want to read the entire booklet, and be moved to action by it.

Probably never in the history of the world have so many fervent and magnificent appeals for peace been made as in this postwar period. This is brought home especially when one reads the proceedings of the various world peace meetings. Such statements are also being made today by many not directly connected with the peace movement--by statesmen such as Nehru--even by some who do not mean them, but whose words have great importance just because they feel compelled to say them.

The booklet should be on this same high level, to match the great words that have been spoken and the great challenge of these times. At the same time, it must draw widely on these statements from different sources in each section. This is a great opportunity to show the areas of agreement between those who are directly a part of the peace movement and those who are not.

One difficulty in achieving this is the considerable factual and documentary material that it will be necessary to include. The handling of this will have to be worked out in consultation with whoever does the overall rewriting and editing job. It may be that an appendix including some of this material will be necessary. This can be decided later.

Serious consideration should be given to the procedure of issuing a draft in mimeographed form before final publication which would go both to APC members and contacts and to a selected list of leading persons outside the organization for comment, criticism and suggestions.

This would have the following advantages:

It would widen the sense of collective participation both inside and outside the APC.

It would undoubtedly bring valuable suggestions which would contribute greatly to the final form. To avoid any feeling that suggestions have been ignored or rejected, a supplementary section could be added which would sum up reactions received, both favorable and unfavorable.

It would undoubtedly bring forth statements from leading people in various fields which could be included in the booklet itself (if permission is granted) when finally printed, and would be extremely useful for promotion purposes.

It could set actions for peace in motion earlier than the date of final publication by providing peace workers locally with material they can use in their own communities, in special peace campaigns, for leaflets, letters to press, speeches etc.

It might even form the basis for a series of conferences in different parts of the country, possibly culminating in a national conference before or after publication.

Finally, it will provide the best possible basis for raising the funds necessary for publication in its final form.

TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR OUTLINE OF PEACE BOOKLET

(This is the roughest kind of a preliminary attempt to sketch out the contents. After starting to try to work out the outline in some detail, it becomes apparent that this would not be very fruitful until further discussion takes place of the whole project, which might result in a very different division of subject. Thus the later headings are followed by much briefer and less detailed suggestions--which does not mean that these are considered of lesser importance. Also, when the main topics have been decided on and a general outline of what should be covered under each, it might be advisable for the detailed outline to be worked out by whoever is to do the separate sections.)

INTRODUCTION

The exact form of the introductory section cannot be decided in advance as it would depend somewhat on the development of the material as a whole. It might be that it should be written by some prominent individual. Or there might be a brief foreword by such a person, with an introduction in the form of a statement of its aims and purposes by the APC itself, which would show that the way is open today for the broadest possible coalition of all peace-loving forces, and state the aim of this booklet in helping to achieve this and thereby making a constructive contribution toward lasting peace.

SECTION I. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Why It Must Be - a passionate plea for peace and the statement of the main thesis of the booklet that peaceful co-existence is the only alternative to all-destroying atomic war. This would probably be the place to bring in quotations showing how widespread agreement already is on this issue. While mention would be made here of economic and other reasons for peaceful co-existence, special emphasis would be laid on the moral imperatives for peace in a world where war threatens to destroy man's spiritual and cultural treasure.

How It Can Be Achieved - a broad general treatment of how the principle can be applied and developed further in relation to the main issues which will be treated in detail in subsequent sections of the book. Here the question of easement of international tensions in all main trouble areas as the first step toward peaceful co-existence could be dealt with, the necessity for continued negotiations among the big powers and for the strengthening of the United Nations into the main world instrument for peace. Question of threat of aggression from socialist countries should be answered--supported by quotes from American officials as well as others.

What It Means for the People of America - This should show what the effects of peaceful co-existence as opposed to a policy of war and threats of war would mean to every section of the American people in terms of their own interests, and jobs, of a richer and better life--workers, farmers, the youth, the women, the Negro people, the Jewish people, people of all religions and nationalities, artists, scientists, professional people, business men etc. The specific meaning of trade in terms of jobs etc. should come in the section on trade. This section should spell out what the American people could have if money spent for war were spent for their well being. Here the question of McCarthyism and repression generally as related to the war program could be dealt with and the restoration of democratic liberties that would accompany a foreign policy of peace.

What It Means for the People of the World (possible) - This may be sufficiently dealt with in other sections so that it will not need special treatment here.

27-70-23

SECTION II. NEGOTIATIONS INSTEAD OF FORCE

The argument for negotiations as a basic principle in American life (along the lines of Tom's speech last summer).

The vindication of the principle of the Berlin and Geneva conferences, and in the stilling of the guns in Korea and Indo-China, the role of the American people, America's allies and the world peace forces in bringing this about. These victories demonstrate that the principle can be applied elsewhere. Importance of Geneva Conference in bringing together 5 Big Powers including People's China.

A. Negotiations the Road to Peace in Asia

1. Korea

Brief background--attitude of American people toward war--results of their pressure on the government. Resume of main concessions during negotiations that made agreement on cease fire possible, dangers of continued division of Korea, bellicose position of Rhee showing need for final settlement--what happened at Geneva--positions of various countries--emphasis by Molotov and Chou En-lai on wide areas of agreement that had already been reached showing that there was no necessity to break off negotiations--plea for reopening of negotiations for final peace settlement, with all-Korean elections and a democratic and peaceful united Korea. Direct effects in bringing American boys home--increasing good-will for America among Asian peoples.

Special emphasis on fact that while first, main step has been accomplished in ending the bloodshed through the truce, the seeds of further conflict remain as long as Korea remains divided. As negotiations achieved the first step, so continuing negotiations with due regard to the interests and desires of the Korean people themselves, can achieve final peace settlement which will contribute greatly to prospects of peace in Asia.

2. Indo-China

Background of situation--attitude of French people toward war. How close we came to U.S. intervention--attitude of American people and U.S. allies--importance of Berlin Conference in making negotiations on Indo-China possible--importance of participation of People's China--role of Mendes-France. Positions of different countries--concessions that made agreement possible.

As in case of Korea, special emphasis on fact that while guns have been stilled, and way opened for final settlement, continued division of Indo-China holds seeds of new war--continued cooperation and negotiations necessary to make sure that terms of peace are carried out and democratic, all-Vietnam elections held for a unified, democratic government based on the will of the people.

3. How to Prevent New Wars in Asia

With the example of the possibility of ending wars once started, through negotiations, all attention should be centered on utilizing method of negotiations to prevent new wars from flaring in other trouble spots and on avoidance of policies that will give rise to new wars.

Necessity of recognition that era of colonialism is ended, that people of Asia have "stood up," and will no longer accept a policy of domination by outside powers. Western nations must adapt their policies to these new realities--enter a new course of dealing with Asian nations as equals, ending exploitation, helping them to develop their own resources for their own uses etc. (Many quotations from conservative sources can support this)

Enumeration of policies that will increase instead of easing tensions in Asia--re-arming of Japan, military alliances with separate Asian states (Thailand, Pakistan.), building of military bases, efforts to build Southeast Asian Nato, support of colonial policies in Malaya and elsewhere, financial investments for exploitation rather than as aid to development etc., arming Asians to fight Asians, the labeling of liberation movements of the people as the result of outside aggression, attempts to isolate People's China, support of reactionary elements like Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai.

Peaceful alternatives that will ease tensions, and open the way to peaceful co-existence--as indicated by, for example:

1. The Chou-Nehru and Chou-Nu program, and its extension to all parts of Asia.

2. The position of India--Nehru statements

3. The role of People's China in Asia

4. Forces opposing rearming in Japan and people's will to peace throughout Asia

5. Proposals for all-Asian collective security pact

B. Negotiations the Road to Peace Everywhere

Here, or elsewhere in the booklet, there should be a section pointing up the necessity of applying these same principles in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

C. Negotions the Road to Peace in Europe

Dangers to peace through a policy of rearming Germany, through EDC or other means, and of keeping Germany divided, and a policy leading to division of all Europe into two opposing military camps. Attitude of European people, governments, peace forces on EDC.

The Berlin Conference--areas of possible agreement indicated by proceedings, concessions there proposed, position of countries involved.

Need for continued negotiations to settle problem of a peaceful, unified Germany--proposals for collective security by Soviet Union and others (e.g. anti-EDC conference in France where somewhat similar proposal was made). Reactions of people in Europe.

This section should end with a strong plea for negotiations on all issues chiefly among the big powers, who have the main responsibility for maintaining peace, but also including smaller nations where their interests are involved, bi-lateral negotiations where a dispute is between two countries only, but stressing the importance of the United Nations as the main center for international negotiations, leading into the next section--explaining the main reason for the importance of Geneva was the fact that it brought the five leading powers together at this period when it was not possible to do so within the UN.

SECTION III. THE UNITED NATIONS AS THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF WORLD PEACE

Should begin with a strong plea for the restoration of the UN to its original purpose of reconciling differences and maintaining world peace--show why it has failed to do this.

Should point out that the principle of co-existence is embodied in the United Nations itself, whose purpose is to united the countries of the world regardless of their social and political systems.

Point out that Charter provisions for unanimity of the big powers recognizes necessity of reaching agreement on matters pertaining to world peace first and foremost among the five big powers--that as long as People's China is absent this purpose is not fulfilled.

Need for universality of membership of all states willing to abide by UN Charter and accepting its principles.

Strong plea for admission of Chinese People's Republic as prime immediate necessity--quote opinions on this--answer US arguments against admission.

Also section on various committees and subsidiary UN organizations.

SECTION IV. ON BANNING ATOMIC WEAPONS AND ARMS REDUCTION

1. The A-Bomb and the H-Bomb

Why they must be banned, along with all weapons of mass destruction

The very existence of these weapons makes peace a necessity for the survival of the human race--and their growing desctructiveness makes big power agreement on their control and prohibition essential. Such agreement would be a tremendous step toward easing world tensions and the settlement of other issues. World opinion on this issue.

27-12-24

A. Possibilities of reaching such agreement

Brief review of past negotiations--US and USSR proposals--concessions made to facilitate agreement--general recognition of unworkability of Baruch plan--an answer to the charge that the USSR is unwilling to agree to international inspection.

B. Present status of negotiations in London and in UN Disarmament Commission. Proposals for an interim pledge not to use atomic weapons, pending final agreement on their complete prohibition. Proposals to end H-Bomb tests (Nehru and others). Pleas of Marshall Islanders to UN.

C. What the use of atomic energy for peace instead of war would mean to our country and the world. President Eisenhower's proposal for an atomic pool. Announcement by USSR of establishment of first stomic power plant for industrial purposes.

2. The Question of Disarmament

Necessity of ending arms race as means for easing world tensions and reducing war danger--what it would mean in increased wellbeing for people of America and everywhere--world opinion on this issue--concrete proposals made by various countries--possibilities of agreement.

SECTION V. EAST-WEST TRADE

Trade as a primary means for ending world tensions and as a mutually fruitful basis for peaceful co-existence.

What trade embargoes are costing the people of the world--what lack of such trade means to American workers and American business.

Importance of trade taking place even in spite of embargoes, and the desire for its expansion in all countries.

Potentialities of such trade for the United States and the world with the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, the People's Democracies (special section devoted to each), and what it would mean to Americans.

This section should be well documented.

SECTION VI. EAST-WEST SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

Need for greater understanding, personal contact, friendship and cultural and scientific interchange among all the world's people--what the United States and its people would gain.

What is actually going on in this field--the individuals and delegations and cultural and sport groups who are visiting back and forth everywhere else in the world, participation in international conferences, what all this would mean to America and Americans if our country would open its doors and permit travel abroad. (There is an immense amount of material that could be drawn on for this.)

SECTION VII. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN WIN PEACE

1. How the American people have already affected government policies in relation to the cease fire in Korea, and preventing intervention in Indo-China thus opening the way for the armistice.

2. American voices for peace--a survey of the many American organizations and individuals that have come out for an end to the cold war and for peaceful policies in various spheres, negotiations, co-existence, trade etc.

3. Our allies in the struggle for peace--the world peace movement who it embraces and what it stands for--attitudes of governments allied with our country as well as those in the socialist sphere.

4. Concrete proposals for action. This should be in two parts--one outlining the program of the APC and calling for the widest possible association with it--the other suggesting parallel actions by many people through their own trade union, religious, community or other groups--showing how large an area of agreement there is on certain peace issues despite differences on many other things. It should give very concrete proposals for action through educational work, leaflets, meetings, letters to the press, pressure on Congress and our elected officials, etc. etc.

SECTION VIII

If the procedure of issuing the booklet in draft form first is followed, this final section might be devoted to comments and criticisms and statements received from both rank and file and leading individuals.

* * * * * *

December 21, 1954

Dr. Herbert Aptheker
1015 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Aptheker:

I have just been reading again Lenin's "Imperialism." I wonder if you will be so good as to tell me where I could find the best logical follow-up of this argument. It leaves me a little dissatisfied, or perhaps I would better say, a little at sea in my own thinking.

We still remember with great pleasure our evening with you and hope you will explain to Bettina that I was not privy to the plot that spirited her away.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

political affairs
A Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism
Editor: V. J. JEROME

832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233

December 24, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

There is, of course, a very considerable literature illuminating the concepts Lenin put forth in his IMPERIALISM. Indeed, in the sense that Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism, practically everything written by Marxists, since the 1890's, falls into this category in one way or another. There are, however, certain works which deal more directly with certain fundamental aspects of imperialism, in an effort to apply or develop Lenin's theory.

Among these are:

NEW DATA FOR LENIN'S "IMPERIALISM" by Eugene Varga and L. Mendelsohn
MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION by J. Stalin
THE CRISIS OF BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE by R.P.Dutt
THE PROBLEM OF INDIA by R.P. Dutt
AMERICAN IMPERIALISM by V. Perlo
ATOMIC IMPERIALISM by J.S. Allen

By the way, while not all these books are published by New Century publishers, they can supply them. I hope this is of some service.

We are very happy that you had a pleasant evening with us; certainly Fay and I enjoyed it very much. Our warmest wishes to Mrs Du Bois and to you for a splendid New Year.

Cordially,

Herbert Aptheker

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

February 16, 1954

Mrs. R.E.G. Armattoe
7 Northland Road
Londenderry, Ireland

Dear Mrs. Armattoe:

I have just been shocked to learn from a West African paper of the sudden death of your husband.

He was in this country recently attending the United Nations and I had hoped to see him but did not get the chance.

Please be assured of the deep sympathy of myself and my wife at your great loss.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-7

mailed, but undelivered & returned

[Atlanta Univ.]

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
Atlanta, Georgia

Office of the President

April 21, 1954

Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick
Atlanta University
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Doctor Reddick:

As I promised in our conference on April 20, I am giving you this statement relating to the administration's attitude toward your services as Librarian at Atlanta University.

I am unwilling to recommend to the Board of Trustees that you be given permanent status at this time. My unwillingness stems from the conviction that you have not proved yourself to be one who is fully capable of recognizing the various needs of a library which must serve an educational center such as we have here; I have the further feeling that you have not taken your work seriously enough.

In our conversation I mentioned to you my opinion that you spend a great deal of time off the campus; that you had not shown decided professional growth during your period of service with us; that you had permitted slipshod administrative practices to exist in our library; and that there had arisen in the minds of a number of persons the question of whether you were more interested in outside activities than you were in the University library.

I am further concerned, as I said to you, about the relationship between the library and our professional school of library service. If our school of library service is to be an excellent school, we must certainly have an excellent library - both as an exhibit of what a good library should be and as a place in which our students can get first-rate practical experience.

I am bringing these things to your attention at this time so that you will be aware of my official attitude toward your professional services. None of the other personal things which we discussed casually has had any bearing upon my decision to inform you of this attitude. I think I should say further to you that unless these doubts are removed and decided improvements are evident in our library, I will find it impossible to recommend a continuation of your relationship beyond June 1, 1955.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ RUFUS E. CLEMENT

REC.C

[Atlanta Univ.]

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 22, 1954

Dear President Clement:

In all my life I have never received a letter like yours of April 21. For a sensitive man with a house full of children to get a letter like that--so harsh and extreme--might be enough to cause him to commit suicide.

As for my employment relation with the University, that is mainly up to the University. I have not asked for permanent tenure and cannot think of any job in the world that I would want to retain against the wishes of the employer.

But when it comes to my reputation, that is a different matter. I cannot afford to stand by and permit the record of a life time to be blackened by reports that rest upon such flimsy basis of fact. Two eminent librarians, at different times, have referred to me as "a distinguished librarian." I surely would not want to lose that through an impression that I sincerely believe is based upon mis-information and a few odd incidents.

It is simply not true that I do not take my work seriously. Does a somewhat breezy manner mean that a person is not serious underneath it?

It is simply not true that I spend "a great deal of time" that belongs to the University "off the campus." Certainly within the past year I have not spent the equivalent of a month of the University's time away from the campus though last summer I "contributed" my month's vacation to the University. (It just happened that I could not take my vacation at the time that it came.)

I am, of course, far from perfect but I think that it is a gross exaggeration to characterize two or three slip-ups as bad administration. Several persons who know a great deal about running libraries have commented favorably upon the chart of the organization of our library here. As we have worked it out, it takes care of all of the duties and functions of the library, on paper, at least. It may break down at times or somebody may fail to follow through but I had not thought that anything of this sort had happened frequently.

We stand ready at any time to receive criticism or suggestion. We invite it--especially when we are sure that it is constructive. This is the reason that we asked the survey committee to give us a frank appraisal after it had looked over the organization and administration of the library. What we got was a two-hour--and apparently frank--conversation about the library. There was much that was praised and only one point of criticism that was within the authority of the

Librarian to rectify. This concerned the ability of one of our staff members to get along with others. I am, therefore, quite eager to see the written report of the survey committee.

I have had a short interview and pleasant conversation with two members of the team that looked over the library in connection with the ALA inspection of the Library School. Since I suggested two or three points that the committee had, apparently, forgotten for the moment to raise in its inquiry and since the two members asked me at the end of the interview about one or two problems that they had to face in their own work, I had the notion that they were favorably impressed. In due course I will have a chance to re-check this.

I stand ready at any time to submit the organization and administration of this library to a board of experts, from outside this campus. We are definitely interested in making this library as modern and up-to-date as the resources of the University will permit and would change any administrative practices tomorrow morning that is shown to be obsolete or improper.

I say all this, knowing full well, personally, that a few years ago the two leading library schools of the nation considered the libraries of their own universities as being far from "model" or "excellent." Very often theorists disagree with operations that must be hemmed in by practical--often budgetary--considerations. The same library administrators on the other hand, did not consider the teachings of their campus library schools as perfect either. Such is life.

As for any local reports that may have unconsciously influenced your thinking, all that I can say is what you already know about such things; extreme care should be exercised in evaluating both the context and the motivations of such observations.

Something terrible must have been happening within recent months and before I leave Atlanta University I want to have a chance to cut the ground from under the development of misunderstanding. The situation is extraordinary and I trust that you will join me in positive extraordinary steps to meet it:

First, I want to plan a weekly schedule of my own hours in the library with you, so that you will know that.

Secondly, I should wish to have set up a regular, weekly conference with you at which time there would be a review of problems and unusual developments. This would give me a chance to give my interpretation of events and it ought to prevent things from going too far before they have been jointly considered.

I sincerely trust that you will make it possible to make these moves very soon.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick

President R. E. Clement
Atlanta University
Campus

Easter Sunday 1954.

AYERS

Dear Mr. DuBois:— I have just read your splendid article "Cannot this paralyzed nation awake?" It says the most in the fewest words and was such a treat to read that I just had to let you know it did my soul good. There surely are millions more like myself who are just hungry for leadership of good people. It makes me positively ill for our leaders to pretend to be so religious & at the same time be planning more war & destruction. Our country is so full of fear it is like a chain reaction itself. I have often thought how one would treat a neighbor who had

27-4-46

just moved next door - Would I stick my nose in the air and not recognize them? Would I warn them not to dare let their dog or child or chicken or rose bush step over the line into my yard or else? Would my husband clean his gun in plain sight of them, & any boy stick out his tongue at their boy? Would I use the party line to tell any neighbors of my fear of this new neighbor? Or would I follow Jesus' teaching & welcome them into the neighborhood? I could offer help in moving; make them a cup of coffee or watch their baby while they are getting settled -

I feel sick at heart to hear preachers blathering on the radio about the evils

[3]

of communism & the threat of the Soviet Union etc, when they very obviously know nothing about it. Even if they honestly dislike Russia, as Christian ministers they should teach love not hate-

27-4-47

My granddaughter age 2 watched a movie "The Circus" - When a clown leaped she leaped - when he danced she did the same - I got to thinking how imitative children are. It is no wonder then that there is so much child delinquency when every Sat. afternoon thousands of children attend shows of crime, war & sex - One 12 yr. old boy was drawing pictures in my study - all war blasts & bombing - I asked him why he always drew such things & he answered "What else is there?" I finally got

him to draw my bird, cat, dog, a flower + some fruit - He was positively delighted + relaxed while visiting me -

I think all this ridiculous modern art, the music that is just noise, dirty books, alcohol + narcotics, all go together, + are the result of this fear hysteria -

When Jesus said "Father forgive them for they know not what they do", he probably meant the soldiers who actually did the dirty work - The Powers that be, in the background, were like ours, as you say "we are doing this deliberately" -

How I wish more people were as brave + honest as you are - Trust you + your lovely wife once in LA You wouldn't remember me - I was

an artist with a dozen grand-
children - I have tried to teach
my 6 children to think -
One more thought I must get off
my chest then I won't bore you
any more - It is this: I should
think that our boys would despise
all us middle aged people for
allowing war + other evil to be -
They must think we are lunatics
to teach them as babies to be polite,
to be honest + thoughtful + kind
+ sober + healthy + decent - Then
without asking them if they want to,
we put a flag in their hands +
send them out to be murderers -
They learned their 10 Commandments
+ took them seriously - It is no
wonder so many soldiers are drunks

27-4-48

probably trying to dull their brains -

Thankyou again for writing as you do - I certainly will help any & all peace movements -

Yours Sincerely & Respectfully

Martha Oathout Ayres -
11147 So. Berendo Ave -
Los Angeles 44
California -

May 24, 1954

Miss Martha O. Ayres
11147 So. Berendo Avenue
Los Angeles 44, California

Dear Miss Ayres:

I have had your letter of Easter Sunday a long time, and simply want to acknowledge it and tell you how much I sympathize with what you say.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

20-1-45

[Baker]

17 Sawin Street
Roxbury 19 Mass.
April 12. 1954

27-1-15

Dear Cousin William:

I learned that you spoke here in Boston. Raymond usually brings in the Guardian on Friday night. The papers had not come when he went to the Drug Store. When he did bring it in Monday I was so sorry to have missed hearing and seeing you. If you are here again this season I hope I will not miss seeing you.

I trust you and wife are well.

I have been trying to get to see Alice for over a years. I hope to come soon, now that the weather is getting settled and warm.

Love to you both.

Sincerely yours

Julia

May 24, 1954

Miss Julia Baker
17 Savin Street
Roxbury 19, Mass.

Dear Julia:

Will you please send me a recent copy of the "Guardian". I do not care what date.

And also, if you can, find out exactly when Monroe Trotter died.

I shall be very much obliged.

It was nice to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-120

Nov. 3, 1954

Mrs. Lillian Baldwin
Riversville Road
Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Lillian,

The book which accompanies this was found on our library shelves.

I read it, but the moment I opened it I saw your name. In proof of my utmost honesty I am returning it to you. How it got away I have no idea.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

12-1-21

[BALTIMORE]

School 116a - Room 250
Aisquith and Orleans Streets
Baltimore - 2, Maryland
January 7, 1954

sent 1/14/54

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Negro History Week is coming soon. Our class decided to learn about some well known Negroes who are living today. We selected your name as one of America's well-known Negroes. Will you send us your photograph and your autograph? If you can send these to us it make us very happy.

Sincerely yours,
Class 6B

27-4-7

Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas
July 22, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Both of us are feeling fine. We do hope that you and Mrs. DuBois are well. I got your card sent when you were on vacation. Did you get the six (6) dollars which I sent you for the books?

Both of us would appreciate a line from you written in your own dear hand — that marvelous left handed writing. Always we thank God for a teacher like you. We are so proud of you — first fighter for our rights in the dark days.

Love to you,

Gloria Virginia Perry Banks

27-1-27

July 30, 1954

Mrs. Glovina Virginia Perry Banks
Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Virginia:

It was so nice to hear from you.

Yes, I received the six dollars in due time after I came back from my vacation last winter.

I am glad to hear that you are both well and still alive in this extraordinary world. I am managing to keep out of jail and to eat enough for support.

Shirley joins me in best love.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-1-28

Washington, D. C.
August 4, 1954

Dear Mrs. Du Bois,

Mr. Banks forwarded some mail to me here to-day. I left Texas Friday and motored up here stopping in Newnan, Ga, one night and in Hartwell, Georgia one night. I stopped in Atlanta and visited George and Mrs. G. A. Towns. He is quite gray but has his usual smile. He does not see too well or hear too well, but she sees and hears what he misses. The Pres. of Morris Brown Dr. Lewis and his wife Alice Hunnicutt Bell - an A.U. grad. have a home just above the Herndon mansion and across from the Towns. We sat and talked of the old days. Morris Brown is building new dormitories, Atlanta is the same. I visited in the Bowen Circle a new division in South Atlanta.

27-1-22

Mr. Banks is fine. We do think the two of you should come to see us some day. If I get the chance I may get up to New York before returning to Texas, but of that I am not sure. Your letter came in my forwarded mail to-day.

Love to both of you there,

Sincerely,

Gloria Virginia Perry Banks

(Mrs. W. R.)

Banks

"The Bastion"
Box 2895
State College
Prairie View, Texas
December 27, 1954

Dear Ones:

In the beginning, let me thank you for sending me the Howard Fast book, Silas Timberman. I am reading it now. I got Basso's The View from Pompey's Head and Katherine by Seton for Christmas as well as the N. Y. Times Sunday edition and The Reader's Digest. One thing is certain, Fast writes well, but the two of you in In Battle for Peace did an unusual book. I wanted to sell more of them, but fear had gripped all here and I had to make gifts of some of them. A friend of ours sued the school board of Hobbs, New Mexico for tenure and back salary as she was just put out on a charge of insubordination. She took her students on Saturday to a play day with white children in Brownfield and Artesia. She had a May day exercise which made the Board angry. She filed suit — lost wholly in Hobbs (I was at the Hearing — so I know a bit about what can happen) won in Santa Fe with the State Board, had to go on to State Supreme Court. She won there and got her job back and will get a year of salary. I sent a copy of your book to her defending lawyers — Moise and Sutin of Albuquerque.

27-1-23

When I was in N. Y. C. this summer I was quite hurried as I was motoring with relatives. We were out two weeks. I had a good time. It was good to hear Dr. Du Bois' voice. Wish I might have seen both of you, but Mrs. Du Bois was ill. What sane week Mr. Marcantonio died too. A great pity!

Prairie View is building, but the moral side is not too good. T. S. U. goes along too. Mr. B. is still a Board member until 1959. Anne Cooke is to teach at T. S. U. this summer. For two summers now she has toured with her Howard Players and thus she found T. S. U. Last visit of hers she presented Molière's The Miser - large white audience attended.

Do plan - the two of you - to come and see us here. We have enough room. Tell Dr. Du Bois it is still quiet enough to hurt one's ear drums, but that I do have hot water. I have no telephone yet but expect to get a dial telephone soon.

With thanks and love to both of you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lovina Virginia Banks.

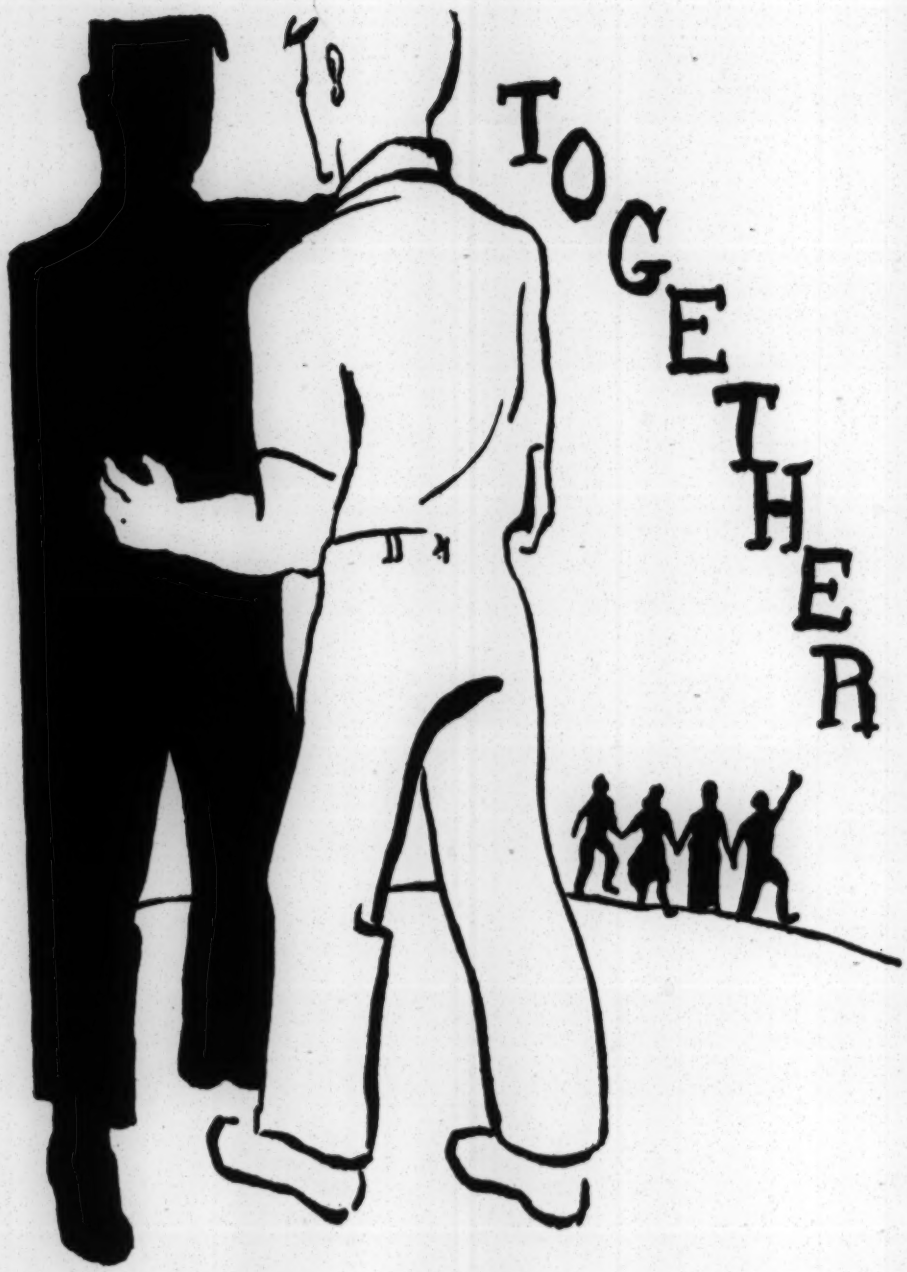
(Mrs. W. R.)

27-1-24

(Is Dr. Du Bois all right? I know he never writes much, but the autograph in the book did not resemble his left handed writing. I hope he is fine for he sounded so well over the telephone when I talked to him in New York.)

The Dallas Fair acknowledged Mr. B. as an outstanding citizen here Oct. 17-20 and John Rice ed the Fair officials gave him a fine time.

[1954]
[BARD COLLEGE]



32-33-6

Together

8th INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE
BARD COLLEGE
Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Volume 2 *April, 1954*

Editor, MICHAEL RUBIN

Associates

Esther Heiferman
Richard Lewis
David White
Arthur Martin

Cover designed by NANCY BORDEAUX

"Together" was conceived as a further means for stressing the importance of such International Student Conferences as the one held here at Bard. By touching upon some of the problems at "Africa, the Eleventh Hour," we hope to focus the reader's awareness on the scope and direction of this year's conference.

The title "Together" has been retained from the initial issue of the International Student Conference Magazine in the reaffirmation of the fact that only by mutual help and cooperation can we hope to achieve a greater degree of understanding so essential to the attainment of world peace.

"Together" is published in conjunction with Bard's 8th International Student Conference through funds made available by the Bard Community Government.
Articles, or sections thereof, contained in this magazine may be reprinted by permission of the author and by acknowledgment of its source.

Calendar

8th INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

Bard College

April 30, May 1, 2, 1954

Dedicated to the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Friday, April 30th

8:30 p. m. Opening Session
Address by Professor Rayford Logan ..... *Memorial Gymnasium*

10:00 p. m. Reception ..... *Albee Social and Art Library*

Saturday, May 1st

7:30-8:30 a. m. Breakfast ..... *Dining Commons*

11:00 a. m. Address by W. E. B. DuBois ..... *Bard Hall*

1:00 p. m. Luncheon ..... *Dining Commons*

2:00 p. m. Panel and Discussion ..... *Bard Hall*

6:00 p. m. International Banquet ..... *Memorial Gymnasium*

7:30 p. m. Address by Curtis C. Strong ..... *Memorial Gymnasium*

10:00 p. m. International Dance ..... *Zabriskie Mansion*

Sunday, May 2nd

9:30 a. m. Breakfast ..... *Dining Commons*

10:30 a. m. Cars leave for Hyde Park ..... *Stone Row*

Dedication

Once again it is our privilege to dedicate TOGETHER *to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in recognition of her support of Bard College's 8th International Student Conference and her continued faith in the validity of the brotherhood of man.*

Welcome

It is especially significant that International Students' Week-end has chosen for its topic this year, the broad and demanding question of "What Will Happen to Africa?" It is indeed time that the countries of the West look carefully and critically at the relationship which exists between themselves and Africa. It is time that they open their eyes to the lessons that history has taught in regard to colonial domination and that they recognize, without further delay, the violent symptoms which speak for the instability of their present positions. Fifteen, perhaps even ten years ago, there would have been no great interest, excepting some of a superficial variety, in a conference devoted to African affairs. Now there are few issues which have comparable capacity for arousing interest on the part of all but the most politically unaware among us.

There is obviously no major problem in the world today whose eventual solution can be determined by the interests of only one or two nations in total disregard of the wishes and opinions of all others. What once could be treated as an isolated issue involving only a handful of ambitious powers must now be seriously considered in relation to the entire world. Two World Wars have made most of us aware of the folly that lies in the type of colonial power politics which had so captured the imagination and resources of powerful countries in years past. Political adventure and irresponsible action with regard to colonial territory is no longer tolerable. In Africa, especially, we are being made increasingly aware of the consequences of such actions when they are exposed to a changing political atmosphere.

It is the purpose of this week-end to bring together those, who because of their experiences and backgrounds, are especially qualified to approach the question of Africa with the diversity that is essential to any basic understanding.

With these thoughts in mind, we welcome our guests and fellow students and all the members of the Bard community to freely participate in this our 8th International Students' Weekend.

Elsa Heister
Martin Self
Co-chairmen

A Conference Message From Alan Paton

Mr. Paton is the author of "Cry, the Beloved Country," and the recent success, "Too Late the Phalarope." At the present time, he is living in Natal, South Africa.

I wish you every success with your International Students' Conference, which this year is to study the problems of Africa. These problems are very complex, and want all the attention you can give them. They are economic, political, social, and moral; the more that people outside Africa understand them, the better it will be for Africa and for the peace of the world.

These problems are more complicated in those countries where there is a settled white population, and where there appears to be a conflict of interests. Upon the resolution of this conflict depend our peace and our future. In the southern countries two propositions are put forward. One is that the conflict can be resolved only by a complete separation of interests; this proposition is called *apartheid*. The second proposition is that the conflict can be resolved only by the evolution of a common society. It is reasonable to say that complete separation is feared by black people, and that the common society is feared by white people, because in such a society they would be outnumbered.

This in the briefest possible terms is the situation in Central and Southern Africa. The situation is dangerous because the longer it persists, the greater the cleavage grows. The very persisting of the situation renders solution more difficult. But that is of course true of most difficult situations. The great thing is to keep our heads, and to use them too.

This is what you are proposing to do, and it is very important that you should. The more understanding and knowledge that there is of Africa by people outside it, the greater the hope that we shall move towards a solution that has the sympathy of that world. Ultimately it is only such solutions that can have any stability, and Conferences like your own help us to move more surely towards them.

What Is Africa?

Dorothy Dulles Bourne

Associate Professor of Sociology

Mrs. Dorothy Dulles Bourne, Associate Professor of Sociology, was formerly director of the school of social work at the University of Puerto Rico and the director of social work and the Department of Education of Puerto Rico. She has also held various positions in the fields of social work and government in the United States.

It is rather appalling to think of Africa as a topic for a week-end! What is Africa? Variety of climates, nations and people; resources, opportunities, frustrations, horror and beauty.

The more one thinks of Africa, the more it loses all meaning as a unit; only its bulk and shape on a map make it a whole. Yet geographical divisions are real and must continue to be used—more rather than less as our knowledge grows. A continental division is the first step in breaking down our complex world into parts which are comprehensible. But one problem in trying to find some kind of unity in this great continent is complicated by discovering that some things in Africa are more like Europe, some more like Asia than like Africa, whatever our concept of Africa may be. This inconsistency is true of all divisions in society. One member of a family may be more like another family than his own, nevertheless, he *is* a member of a particular family. Class groups, nations, races all show these variations. Recognition of this is one of the paths to understanding individuals, races and nations.

We in the United States should have a special interest and bond with the Negro parts of Africa because of our Negro population. The neglect of this interest has added to our Negro "problem." One of the results has been to build up a defensive attitude on the part of some of our own Negro leaders on the subject of their African origin—an attitude reflecting an understandable nostalgia which is, however, largely artificial in the light of history. It is impossible to consider the Negro in the United States as the product of African culture in a contemporary sense. His origin has, of course, great importance and interest as the source of subsequent development, but it is what has been derived from this which makes him what he now is—the product of a different culture.

We have often made the mistake in this country of assuming that there was a single African biological and personality type. Nothing could be farther from the truth and we now recognize great differences within the Negro race—differences of feature, temperament and customs. Superimposed on these variations we now have innumerable combinations resulting from the cultural, environmental factors of American life.

It is interesting that Julian Huxley, writing on Africa, speaks of archeological discoveries which show the co-existence of two races, one of an un-

negoid type. "It is unknown whether our present concept of negroid is the result of inter-marriage of these two races." This early period produced implements which included "fine knives . . . scrapers admirably adapted for shaving down and softening hides without tearing them." Reconstruction of the culture which these findings represent leads, in the light of modern anthropology, to respect for the ingenuity and adaptability of these early men.

For the Negro population of our country to know its own African history as it really was is both to their advantage and ours, for, whenever a minority group has a firm pride and self-respect the whole culture—minorities and majority—is enriched.

Although the Negro dominates Africa numerically its greatest problems lie in the relations among the many groups which differ not only racially but politically and religiously—white domination and its conflicts conspicuous in Kenya and South Africa, large Mohammedan populations, Asiatics, the transition from "indirect" rule by the British to varying degrees of genuine autonomy. Julian Huxley, speaking from the liberal British standpoint, asks: "Shall we be able to preserve the savour of difference, to fuse our culture and theirs into an autochthonous civilization, to use local difference as the basis for a natural diversity of development?"

This is the question the world faces. The new views of the value of various cultures, not judged by our values but by theirs, can give dignity to all human societies.

Bard College's 7th International Banquet

African Reactions To United States Foreign Policy

William R. Morrow

Assistant Professor of Psychology

Dr. Morrow was an Associate Clinical Research Psychologist at the Menninger Clinic in Topeka where he worked on the V. A. Research Project on Selection of Psychiatrists for residency training. More recently he was an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland.

News Item: "Arabs threw building blocks at two carloads of Americans bound for the U. S. air base at Nouaseur (Morocco) last night" (NY Times 8/25/53).

News Item: A spokesman for Istiqlal (Moroccan Nationalist Party) said: "The people of Morocco have lost faith in the United States" (NYT 11/4/53).

These are recent examples of growing anti-Americanism in Africa. What are its causes? What light can modern psychology throw on this issue?

When asking what "psychology" has to say about broad social trends, some people have in mind a particular brand of speculative theorizing. They have in mind a psychology divorced from the other social sciences, which does not examine seriously the influence on people's behavior of their social surroundings—the social, political, and economic conditions under which they live. A psychology which may even purport to "dissolve social facts into the psychological mechanisms of individuals" (Asch, cited below, p. 267)—thus making the other social sciences secondary if not superfluous. A psychology which seeks the basis of irrational and destructive social trends in individual irrationality, and thus tends to conceive "human nature" as essentially irrational.

In his recent *Social Psychology* Professor Solomon Asch of Swarthmore College has analysed this view, the view of both behaviorism and psychoanalysis, the view of modern advertising and propaganda machines (see esp. ch. 1). An assumption of this view is that the social matrix within which human beings develop introduces nothing essentially new in human nature. Instead men are assumed to be like other animals, who are conceived as inherently creatures of blind impulses and habit, dominated by a narrowly self-centered quest for "need-gratification." This view almost seems to deny the role of genuine thinking; it treats mental processes as if their distinguishing feature was distortion of reality, as if men were universally dominated by emotions that are held to be irrational, easily swayed by suggestion, by nature subjectivistic. Make a lie big enough and repeat it often enough, as Hitler said, and they will inevitably fall for it. If you want to counter a lie, you must use the same tactics of arbitrarily manipulating people.

(Continued)

Asch calls attention to another approach, that of modern gestalt psychology, which is closer to the democratic American tradition of Thomas Jefferson. According to this view the individual's interaction with the gestalt of social organization (as well as physical surroundings) into which he is born and develops, brings about a radical transformation of his essential nature (see esp. ch. 4, 10, & 11). The very core of his human nature normally comes to include an objective orientation toward the world as it actually is. Thus people "have the capacity to face facts, to think and judge rightly, and to act upon their judgments if they are in possession of the facts" (p. 28). People exhibit "common sense"—people generally, not just a small elite. Of course "circumstances can stifle these trends," in which case it is necessary to search for the origins of irrationality in stifling social, political, and economic circumstances. But under certain conditions—sometimes in the very teeth of repressive circumstances—"the need to face facts sincerely, the determination to rid oneself of distortions, may become decisive" (p. 23).

Which theory is more applicable to the development of African anti-Americanism? Do such attitudes arise via unconscious projections, displaced aggression, scapegoating, the gullibility of backward people for Communist propaganda, and other arbitrary, irrational processes? Is the remedy, then, a bigger propaganda program having greater appeal for primitive emotions? Or is this anti-Americanism based on a realistic perception of U. S. policy as an obstacle to African strivings for freedom and independence? Is the remedy, therefore, to alter U. S. policy, to make it more democratic? In order to clarify this issue let us ask: (1) What is U. S. policy toward the conflicts in Africa? (2) What conceptions of U. S. policy are held by representatives of the African peoples, how realistic are these conceptions, and how are they related to anti-American reactions?

What has been U . S. Policy on Africa in the U. N.?

Among the clearest issues for policy on Africa are those which have recently come before the United Nations Organization. Let us consider some major examples involving different sections of Africa.

Malan's Union of South Africa is notorious for its brutal racial discrimination. This was described recently by the General Secretary of the (white) Garment Workers Union of Johannesburg as a policy of systematic "violence, terror, wholesale imprisonment, and slavery; it means landlessness, poverty, and the denial of education, vocational training, and elementary democratic rights"—aimed at "maintaining a reserve of cheap labor for the mines and the farms" (Nation, 1952, 174, 344-346). The dangerously explosive situation thereby created led in 1952 to a U. N. proposal for a commission to "study the racial situation" in South Africa. This was passed by a 35-2 vote in the General Assembly's Special Political Committee (11/20/52) and by a 35-1 vote in the Assembly itself (12/5/52). Hailing this action, Madam Pandit (India's degelate) declared that "Africa and Asia are on the march and they will no longer accept the indignities imposed on them in the name

(Continued on Page Eighteen)

Is The White Man Finished In Africa?

by John Gunther*

Mr. Gunther, the author of "Inside USA," "Inside Asia," "Behind the Curtain," and other books on current affairs, has recently completed an extensive trip to Africa.

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Africa is the Africans' own continent. The European minorities obviously cannot hold down the huge African majorities if the Africans concentrate on getting rid of them.

But why should the white man *have* to be finished? No matter how much Africans may dislike colonial rule, and granting all its abuses, colonialism has done Africa an infinite amount of good. Without it, Africa would not be on the road to self-government today. Consider the contributions of the white man—even if they were selfish to an extent—in education, law, standard of living, communications, scientific agriculture, natural resource development, public health, the abolition of slavery and tribal warfare.

Why, then, are almost all Europeans in Africa on the defensive? Because of the feeling that it is morally wrong for one nation to rule another. Because of Christianity—the missionaries' teaching that all men are equal under God. Because of India and the Middle East, where nonwhite governments give an example of self-government.

I met many Africans who conceded that they were not yet even remotely fit to handle their own political affairs. Nevertheless, nationalist Africans feel that they must learn government by practicing it. They would much prefer bad government of their own to good government by a white outsider. The only way to start learning to walk is to crawl.

Meanwhile, the price of European survival on this great continent is reform. Without it some Africans will turn to the Communists. Already there are places where the Communists are almost in a position to hijack the nationalist movement and take it over. This would be a tragedy not only for the Africans but for the whole Western World.

Alleviation of racial disharmony isn't all that is necessary. Particularly in education ,the white man must make profound reforms. The Governor General of the Belgian Congo said to me, "It is dangerous to educate Africans. It is must more dangerous *not* to educate them."

The white man isn't finished in Africa yet, and it would be a pity if he were, for he has tremendous contributions still to make. But he will be finished if he does not act justly, for Africa has seen the example of Asia and is marching with the times.

Panel Outline

Africa in Ferment

I. The Present Problem

What are the causes of the present crisis in Kenya, and the Union of South Africa?

Does there exist the potential for similar upheavals in other parts of Africa?

What are obstacles to the attainment of higher standards of living for the Africans?

II. How Should the Problem be Approached?

Can the rising demand for greater independence, and freedom of the African people be handled in such a way as to allow for peaceful change, or will violence prove unavoidable?

How can the potential explosiveness of African politics be most easily reduced?

How can the problem of granting self-government to territories with a sizeable Europeon minority be solved?

Why have the Gold Coast, and Nigeria made greater strides toward self-government than other areas?

Does the Belgian system of colonial rule, with no vote for either Europeans or Africans in the Congo, avoid or postpone the possible conflict?

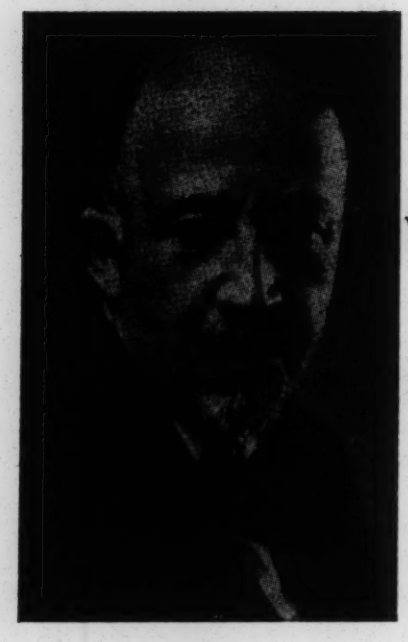
III. Africa in Global Perspective

How does the present African crisis affect the international community?

Will Africa's place in the anti-communist camp be best determined by bolstering European power, or by allowing greater self-determination and gradual independence for the African people?

Assuming that allowing greater self-determination and gradual independence for the African people would keep them out of the communist camp; what new problems would be posed by this development?

What effects would an independent Africa have on the economies of Western Europe?



W. E. Burghardt DuBois

Well Known Author and Teacher

Born in Massachusetts in 1868, Dr. DuBois attended Fisk, Harvard, and the University of Berlin, receiving his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1895. After he served as Professor of Greek and Latin at Wilberforce University, he became active in the Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He has been editor of *Crisis* Magazine (1910-1935) and *Enemy of the Negro* (1933-1945). He was also made head of the Sociology Department of the University of Atlanta.

Besides writing over twenty books including *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace,* and *Dusk of Dawn,* Dr. DuBois was the founder of the Pan-African Congress and recipient of numerous honorary degrees from outstanding universities.

Rayford W. Logan

Chairman of the Department of History at Howard University

Rayford W. Logan has long been a student of colonial problems. He was secretary and interpreter at the Second Pan-African Congress in Paris, 1921; the Third in London, 1923 and the Fourth in New York, 1927. He has contributed a number of articles on underdeveloped areas to many magazines. His most important book on colonial problems is *The African Mandates in World Politics.* (Public Affairs Press, Washington, 1948)

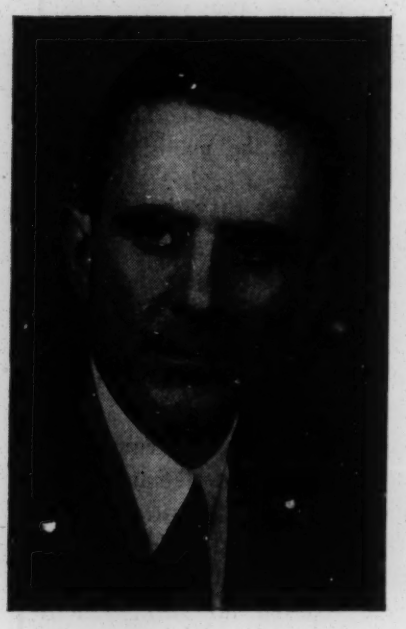
Professor Logan served as Foreign Affairs Advisor to the *Pittsburgh Courier* at the United Nations Organization Conference, San Francisco, 1945. Following a trip to the Dutch West Indies in 1946, he published a series of articles in the *Courier.*

During 1951-1952, Dr. Logan was Fulbright Research Fellow in Paris to make a study of the administration of the French overseas territories. At the same time he served as representative of the NAACP, one of the non-governmental organizations accredited to the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations. Last summer he was recipient of a State Department grant to travel in Senegal, French Sudan, Liberia and Ivory Coast.

He received his A.B., Phi Beta Kappa, from Williams College in 1917. Enlisting as a private, he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant (Infantry) and saw action in the Argonne Forest. He received his Ph.D. in History from Harvard in 1936. Dr. Logan has written extensively also about the Caribbean. His latest book is *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901.*

Curtis C. Strong

Government Official, Department of State



Curtis C. Strong began his career as a teacher of English and Social Studies after graduating from Whitman College, and continued his academic work at Columbia University, Teacher's College. He has traveled extensively throughout Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and Morocco. During the war he served with the Navy in Morocco and Algeria and was released from active duty as a lieutenant. From 1947 through 1949 he was the Public Affairs Officer in Tangier in charge of the U. S. Information Service in Morocco.

Within the past few years he has held the post of Foreign Affairs Officer in the State Department's Bureau of United Nations Affairs, specializing on colonial questions arising in the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. He has served as advisor to the U. S. Representatives on the Trusteeship Council at the Council's 7th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Sessions. Drafting policy papers, background studies, and speeches for use of U. S. Representatives in the United Nations has been among his numerous responsibilities. Also, particularly when assigned as an advisor on a U. S. delegation, he has carried on informal liason and consultations with members of the U. N. Delegations of other countries.

African Profiles

Presented here are several short profiles on some of the most important areas of Africa. We hope they will help further the understanding of the problems which will be discussed during the International Student Conference.

BELGIAN AFRICA

The Belgian colonial system has shifted from the unrelieved harshness and brutality of an earlier day to a pervasive and somewhat more efficient "paternalism." The official policy of the Belgian administration can be summed up in the slogan of a former governor-general: "To dominate in order to serve."

THE BELGIAN CONGO

Population: Total, 11,000,000; European, 209,000
Resources: Copper Gold, Tin, Manganese, Uranium
Administration: Administered by a governor-general who has unrestricted executive and legislative powers, who is responsible to the cabinet minister for the colonies. The colony has no representative institutions of its own.

FRENCH AFRICA

French colonial policy is based on the idea of "assimilating" a colonial elite to French culture and orientating colonial policies toward France. Under this system, the ultimate reward for a small number of individuals is French citizenship, and for a whole people, membership in the French Union. For French Africa, apart from Algeria, it provides 39 seats in the 544 seated National Assembly to the 40 million people in the African territories. There representatives are chosen by electorates which are broad in theory but somewhat restricted by qualifications for voting.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Population: Total, 16,535,000; European, 63,000
Important Resources: Gold, Diamonds, Timber
Administration: Administered by a governor general, who is appointed by the French Government. The area is represented in the French National Assembly.

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Population: Total, 4,441,200; European, 23,400
Important Resources: Gold, Diamonds, Lead, Timber
Administration: Administered by a governor-general. Represented in the National Assembly, and the French Union.

(Continued on Page Sixteen)

African Profiles (Continued from Page Fifteen)

BRITISH AFRICA

Britain's policy in Africa is to transfer its colonies, at a gradual pace, into self-governing segments of the Commonwealth. This policy reflects, in part at least, a British awareness that the old methods of colonial empires are obsolete and that the shift from the old structure to the more flexible system of the Commonwealth is not only the best, but the necessary way of maintaining Britain's world position. In Africa this pattern is complicated by the fact that while some British colonies have remained primarily African, others have a sizeable majority of white settlers, intent upon dominating the huge African majority.

THE GOLD COAST

Population: Total, 3,989,000

Resources: Manganese (second only to U.S.S.R.), great reserves of Aluminum ore

Administration: Partly self-governing by their own legislative council under their new constitution which was established in 1951, and amended in March 1952 to increase native rule. In the elections of January 1951 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was elected Prime Minister, the first African to hold this office. Some power, especially in the fields of foreign affairs, and finance, still resides in the British governor.

NIGERIA

Population: Total, 28,700,000

Resources: Tin, Lead

Administration: Administered by a governor, but with some native self rule. Nigeria received a new constitution in July 1951 which gave the natives a larger role in their government, without giving them administrative ministerial responsibility.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

The Central African Federation was established by an act of Parliament in July, 1953. It united Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. The Africans opposed the federation when it was proposed because of their fear that it would lead to the extension of South Africa's racial policies, endanger their landholdings, and deprive them of their protection from London, against the European settlers in their countries.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Population: Total, 2,158,350; European, 116,000

Resources: Gold, Chrome, Coal

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Population: Total, 1,977,000; Europeans, 37,000

Resources: Copper, Zinc, Cobalt, Gold, Manganese

NYASALAND

Population: Total, 2,400,000; European, 5,000

Resources: Rubber

(Continued on Page Twenty-three)

His Excellency Professor Ahmed Bokhari who spoke at last year's International Banquet. Dr. Bokhari is Pakistan's permanent representative to the United Nations.

African Reactions (Continued from Page Nine)

of a white civilization" (NYT 12/6/52). The U. S. delegate, however, joined the colonial powers in abstaining—a discreet form of opposition.

In central Africa the British rulers of Tanganyika recently extended their seizure of African property by forcibly expelling some 3,000 Wameru tribesmen from their lands, to the profit of 13 Englishmen. A resolution criticizing this action and requesting return of the lands with compensation and indemnity was supported by a substantial majority in the Assembly Trusteeship Committee (12/3/52) and then in the Assembly (12/21/52). The U. S. voted No both times and helped to defeat the measure by preventing the required two-thirds majority. "An angry bloc of anti-colonial powers" was "incensed" by this defeat (NYT 12/22/52); they indignantly rejected a watered-down substitute backed by the U. S. which did not ask for return of the lands.

In west Africa the Ewe people of Togoland have had their land split in two by the British and French rulers who dominate it. Their insistent demands for unification and independence finally impelled the U. N. Trusteeship Council to appoint a mission of inquiry. Dominated by the colonial powers with majority control of the Council, the mission's report opposed "any alteration of existing administrative arrangements." In November 1952 the U. S. introduced a Council resolution endorsing this colonial opposition to the Ewe people's demands. The reason offered was that allegedly "there is not present in the two territories wide enough support for any particular form of unification." What two small nations in the U. S. bloc (Nationalist China and El Salvador) thought of this reason is suggested by their insistence on an amendment "to record that the majority of written communications received by the mission had favored unification and independence but that because of a time shortage the mission could not learn which of several proposals to achieve these ends was most popular" (NYT 11/26/52). In short, the Ewe people agreed on wanting unification and independence but apparently were not fully agreed on details of how best to arrange it . . . Partly to meet this problem a resolution was offered in the Assembly Trusteeship Committee recommending joint talks between Ewe representatives, Britain, and France to reach a "prompt, constructive, and equitable" settlement of Ewe demands for unification and independence. A substantial majorty supported this proposal, but the U. S. joined the colonail powers in voting No (12/16/52). A few days later the colonial powers and the U. S. succeeded in defeating a similar though milder proposal in the Assembly which requested Britain and France (without Ewe representatives) to bring about unification "in conformity with the desires and aspirations of the people" of Togoland. The U. S. opposed this as "much too far reaching" (NYT 12/21/52). The U. S.-backed compromise finally adopted recommended only that France and Britain "intensify their efforts" to settle the Togoland problem. The nature of these "efforts" was described a few months ago by a distinguished African leader, Mr. S. E. Olympio, who has represented his Ewe people before the U. N. For U. N. trusteeships such as Togoland, observed Mr. Olympio, "the guarantee of self-government is spelled out by the U. N. Charter itself. Yet in Togoland, more than anywhere

else in West Africa, the only results of our insistence that this guarantee shall be progressively implemented have been recriminations, persecutions, broken heads and prolonged visits to the local jails" (Nation, 1953, 177, 562-563).

In north Africa the French rulers have answered the Moroccan and Tunisian people's rising demands for independence by wholesale jailings and suppression of the most elementary civil liberties. With respect to Tunisia, in 1952 an aroused group of small Arab and Asian nations sponsored a resolution in the Assembly Political Committee and then in the Assembly, calling for resumption of negotiations between France and "the true representatives of the Tunisian people for the purpose of implementing the right of self-determination of the Tunisian people." In both bodies the colonial powers and the U. S. voted No and barely mustered enough votes to kill the resolution (12/12/52 & 12/17/52). A compromise measure in the Assembly expressed "hope that the parties (unspecified) will continue negotiations on an urgent basis with a view to bringing about self-government for Tunisians in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the U. N." When this was passed by an overwhelming 44-3 majority (with 8 abstentions), the U. S. voted with the majority (12/17/52).

Last fall, with the French continuing their policy of forceful repression, the Arab-Asian bloc introduced a resolution in the Assembly Political and Security Committee calling for resumption of civil liberties, freeing of political prisoners, and free elections to set up a representative Tunisian Government. The U. S. and the colonial powers voted No and succeeded in defeating this resolution. A watered-down substitute was then offered, merely recommending in general terms that the principles of the U. N. Charter be applied, i.e. "that all necessary steps be taken to lead to full sovereignty and independence" for Tunisia. This was passed by a clear majority; the U. S., however, voted No (10/26/53). Two weeks later in the Assembly this substitute was supported by a 31-18 majority (with 10 abstentions) but was lost for want of the required two-thirds majority. The U. S. delegate, explaining his stand, said: "The United States favors the ideal of self-government" (NYT 11/12/53). His vote, however, was No.

As for Morocco, essentially the same resolutions were offered and voted upon in 1952 as for Tunisia. The U. S. voting record was the same except for a resolution on Morocco identical with the Tunisia resolution mentioned above on which the U. S. had voted Yes. When this Morocco resolution was considered in the Assembly Political and Security Committee, the U. S. voted No (12/17/52). Two days later the U. S. voted with the majority for a substitute watered down to recommend only steps toward "free institutions" (but not "self-government") for Morocco.

Last August the Arab-Asian bloc, charging a French reign of terror in Morocco, requested an urgent meeting of the powerful U. N. Security Council to take up the "unlawful intervention" of France to overthrow the pro-Nationalist Sultan and replace him (NYT 8/22/53) with another who would be more "amenable" (NYT 8/30/53). The U. S. voted with the colonial powers against allowing debate on the issue (9/3/53) . . . A few weeks later

the Arab-Asian bloc introduced into the Assembly's Political and Security Committee a resolution recommending termination of French martial law in Morocco, the holding of free elections and other necessary steps to insure full sovereignty and independence within five years. This barely failed of passage, but a majority did approve a watered-down substitute recognizing in general terms the Moroccan people's right to "complete self-determination" and "free democratic institutions." In explaining his stand the U. S. delegate, having what the New York Times called a "delicate assignment," said that "movements toward self-government always brought a reaction of sympathy and support in the United States" (NYT 10/14/53). Despite this "sympathy and support," however, he voted No on both the original and the watered-down substitute. When the substitute was later considered in the Assembly the U. S. again voted No and helped to defeat it (11/3/53).

A little over a year ago several U. N. resolutions which won majority approval dealt with no specific country but endorsed in general terms the democratic rights of colonial and semi-colonial peoples. An assembly resolution supported "the exercise of the sovereignty of any State over its natural resources" (12/21/52). This was intended to place the rights of small nations above the special privileges of powerful foreign corporations. The U. S. voted No . . . A resolution in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee requested colonial powers to furnish information on the extent to which self-determination is exercised and fostered in their colonies (12/3/52). Even the biased reports of the colonial powers provide some check on their claim that they maintain colonial rule not for exploitive profits but for the people's own good, to foster their development. These reports have contained damaging admissions on such matters as the pitiful per capita expenditures for African education (e.g. in Tanganyika the British spend about 30 times as much per capita for educating Europeans as for educating the African people!). On this resolution, too, the U. S. voted No . . . A resolution in the same Committee (12/1/52) and then in the Assembly (12/16/52) re-asserted the basic democratic tenet that U. N. members should "uphold the principle of self-determination of all peoples and nations" and aid the exercise of this right in territories under their control. In both bodies the U. S. voted No.

How are Africans Reacting to U. S. Policy?

The above summary reveals the nature of U. S. Government policy in the U. N. toward the conflicts between colonial rule and the African peoples' rising demands for freedom and independence. How are Africans reacting to this record, and what are the psychological characteristics of their attitudes toward the United States? Adequate data on this question are not easily accessible. American newspapers, with their vast newsgathering resources, present almost no information on the activities of the African peoples' numerous organizations—their meetings, discussions, resolutons, statements, etc. And I am not aware of any systematic research on relevant attitudes of the African people. Recently, however, when the dramatic explosions in north Africa erupted into the U. N. and provided a forum, we heard from some of the (anti-Communist) African

The well-known ballad singer, Josh White, who entertained at last year's conference

African Reactions (Continued)

spokesmen of these colonial peoples. What they say is probably an understatement of African opinion in areas of greater Communist influence such as South Africa.

An Istiqlal (Moroccan Nationalist Party) spokesman, after observing U. S. opposition to his people's plea in the U. N., said it would be "hard to convince Moroccans that the U. S. hoped for more self-government in Morocco because Washington had not backed up its words with deeds" but had instead "encouraged a colonial regime" (NYT 8/28/53). Mr. Ahmed Balafrez, Secretary-General of Istiqlal, condemned the U. S. and other Western powers for "exerting their influence to oppose the freedom and self-determination of peoples . . . to which . . . their current statesmen pay lip service. Their vote encourages oppressive colonial policies . . . It is certain to weaken the trust of all Asian and African peoples in the good faith of the Western powers" (NYT 10/20/53). In a comment suggesting the awareness of these "backward people" regarding developments in the U. N., an Istiqlal spokesman noted "that Americans were warmly welcomed by the Moroccans after the 1943 landing and that cordial relations with the U. S. forces continued until last year's vote in the U. N. by the U. S. in support of the French and at the expense of Moroccan independence. After that, the spokesman said, the first outbreaks against the

African Reactions (Continued)

Americans (occupying military bases in Morocco) began. 'The people of Morocco have lost faith in the U. S.,' the spokesman said" (NYT 11/4/53).

Is African Anti-Americanism Rational?—Should U. S. Policy be Changed?

In the light of the above summary of U. S. policy and some typical African reactions, can we soberly regard African anti-Americanism as irrational, a result of "primitive emotionalism"? On the contrary, wouldn't we regard the African people as irrational if they failed to react negatively when the U. S. repeatedly opposes their demands for freedom and independence? Aren't their reactions really based on a democratic frame of reference to which, as they observe the U. S. Government's role in the U. N., they see our "current statesmen pay lip service"? Can we expect to promote more favorable attitudes in Africa (and one might add, not only in Africa) merely by propaganda? On the contrary, if we are to stop the growth of anti-Americanism, must we not reverse present U. S. foreign policies with respect to colonial and semi-colonial countries?

Instead, the present Administration seems to be going full speed ahead with these policies in Asia and Latin America. For example: (1) Inflaming anti-Americanism in India by arming (over Indian protests) a corrupt anti-democratic regime in Pakistan which has a hostile armed truce with India (see for example NYT 12/5, 9, 12, 17, 18, 24/53; 2/26/54; 3/2, 24/54)—a regime just overwhelmingly repudiated by the people in their first free elections in East Pakistan (NYT 3/20/54). (2) Spurring anti-Americanism in the Philippines by insisting on maintaining huge military bases there permanently, against the will of the people (NYT 3/15/54). (3) Intensifying anti-Americanism in Latin America by U. S. actions at the Caracas Conference this year, such as being the only government to oppose "any demand or request by the Tenth Inter-American Conference for the elimination of European colonies in the Americas" (NYT 3/17/54).

Such policies, carried out in the name of anti-communism, are having the opposite effect from that intended. Instead of extending American influence, they threaten if continued to increasingly isolate the U. S. in a sea of indignant anti-Americanism. And instead of retarding the growth of communist ideas and influence, they are powerfully stimulating communist trends. For example: In South Africa "communism is making giant strides" among the African people (NYT 2/14/54); in India a major province just elected a Communist-led government (NYT 3/15/54); according to a New York Times survey "anti-U. S. sentiment is rising in South American countries" (NYT 4/27/53), and Ecuador's Ambassador to the U. S. recently warned that "relations between the U. S. and other members of the Pan American Union are deteriorating as nationalism and communism rise in the South American republics"—and attributed this particularly to U. S. "economic treatment" of Latin American countries (NYT 6/6/53).

(Continued on Page Twenty-three)

African Profiles (Continued from Page Sixteen)

KENYA

Population: Total, 5,000,000 Africans; 100,000 Indians; 30,000 Europeans.

Resources: Copper, Gold

Administration: The colony is administered by a governor who is appointed by Britain. The African members of the Kenya Legislative Council are not elected, but appointed by the governor. Most economic production is centered in the south, costal areas, and highlands—five million acres of which are reserved for the Europeans. Since late 1952 the colony has been disturbed by widespread violence by Mau Mau members of the Kikuyu tribe.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Population: Total, 417,770

Resources: Diamonds, Tin

Administration: At the present time the status of South West Africa is in dispute. The Union of South Africa regards it as an integral part of itself, and has defied request of the U.N. and a decision of the International Court at The Hague, to place it under the U.N. trusteeship system.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Population: Total, 12,912,000; Europeans, 2,500,000; Indians, 285,000

Resources: Gold (35% of the world's total), Diamonds, Coal, Copper, Tin, Uranium

Administration: The Union of South Africa is a dominion in the British Commonwealth. Its legislative power is vested in its own Parliament. Under the present leadership of the Afrikaner Nationalist party, headed by Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan, a policy of complete segregation of the races (apartheid) has been adopted, and has caused a great deal of tension within the country. When the appellate court ruled against the nationalist sponsored Separate Representation of Voters act, segregating and restricting the franchise of non-whites, Parliament approved the High Court of Parliament bill making itself superior to the courts on constitutional matters. This act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Cape Province on August 29, 1952.

African Reactions (Continued)

If our aim is to consolidate friendships with other nations and to discourage the growth of communism, it seems doubtful that present U. S. policies are the most effective means. Should not the American people see to it that these policies are replaced by a saner approach more consistent with our democratic traditions?

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Hildreth Weinstein
Corinne Zucker

This conference could not have been possible without the generous help of many other students, too numerous to be mentioned. Special thanks are extended to our hosts and hostesses and to the many faculty and administrative staff people on whose advice and assistance the committee constantly relied.

Erwin Tenn
June 54

Dear Dr DuBois,

I think the exploitation of Negro youth by the cigaret companies would make a good subject for the Guardian to pub something on. Take any Negro newspaper, or any Negro college campus paper, & you will see what I mean...

The tobacco trust has just abt reached a saturation point; and casting about for the weakest persons in which to start an intensive drive to induce ever younger humans to adopt their deleterious habit, they have decided on Negroes. In one college I know, even the Physical Education director is preaching (for a bribe of course) that cigarets are harmless. Negro advertising men have been added to the sales force; Negro chemists, authors, leaders, athletes are bribed to recommend these merchants of deaths' wares...

So far Ive seen nothing exposing this new turn in tobacco high-pressure. Have remonstrated with one or two Negro editors, but they come back with "well we couldnt continue our paper without the tobacco ads".

Thot you might consider getting off a piece about it somewhere, calling on Negro parent groups, church groups, etc to resist this nefarious drive to further wreck the Negro health for profit.

No reply nec.

Very best wishes,

Ernest Seeman.

27-1-59

COCA-COLA

IS A PRIME CAUSE OF POLIO

TOBACCO

IS A PRIME CAUSE OF CANCER

Whiskey is a prime cause of crime.

March 31, 1954

Miss Dorothy Bell
359 Ovington Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

My dear Madam:

The biography of Thaddeus Stevens to which you refer was written by S. W. McCall in 1899.

There are other biographies: by T.F. Woodley in 1934 and 1937, and the latest by Elsie Singmaster, "I Speak for Thaddeus Stevens, 1947.

I am enclosing a list of my books. The latest one is a republication, fifty years after, of my "Souls of Black Folk," first published in 1903. It is issued as of 1953 by the Blue-Heron Press, 47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y.

Before that, in 1952, I published a book, "In Battle for Peace", Masses and Mainstream, publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

I am not sure whether this information is all that you asked for but if not let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

April 2, 1954

Dr. Bernard Bender
853 Broadway, Suite 1114
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Bender:

May I apologize for this late answer to your letter of September 29th, 1953. I have just found it in my unanswered mail.

I naturally agree with the memorandum to the United Nations on the relation of Puerto Rico to the United States. I am sorry that I am too late to influence the decision of the United Nations.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

December 10, 1954

Director James V. Bennett
101 Indiana Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask if all the demands of Justice would not be met if Morton Sobell, now at Alcatraz prison, were transferred to a place of confinement nearer his wife and children, where at times they could visit him.

Beyond this, I wish some move could be taken to give him a fair trial which he has never had, but I realize that this is beyond your jurisdiction.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

copy to
Mrs Sobell

27-3-9

212 Cuyler Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey
February 11, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

As an undergraduate in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, I am at present pursuing a study of the complexities and implications of the plural community in the Union of South Africa. In the course of my research I have of course read Dark Water, in which you made the following oft-quoted statement:

> "...this shameful war ...is nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation at the hands of the White World cease..." p.49

27-179-4

In addition, I have noted your remark of June 2, 1949:

> "...the Dark World is moving towards its destiny much faster than we in this country realize." p. 10, N. Y. Times.

In the context of the above quotations, I wonder if you would assist the thinking of a student who at the moment is plagued by the fear of an academic, non-realistic approach to perhaps the most significant problem of our time, i. e., the plural or multi-racial community. Admittedly, throughout all of Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, nationalism, in various forms, is the dominant political and social force. Particularly in the Union of South Africa is this phenomenon in evidence. In South Africa there seems to exist a repressive pseudo-biological nationalism and a gradually emerging counterpoise nationalism. Essentially then, it seems that history is step by step confirming your hypothesis

BERKSHIRE

of 1920 cited above. However, Dr. Du Bois, in view of the vast disparity in technological and industrial capacity, and in view of the various international and regional agreements, and finally in light of the frequent, patent dissension within the ranks of "...the Dark World," how realistic is it for one, in this case a perplexed student, to surmise as to the possibility, in the world of today, of a form of pan-pigmentism suddenly bursting forth and precipitating a world conflict? Perhaps this group identification would never adopt violent methods? Perhaps it is a matter of a century or centuries hence? Perhaps the situation in the Union of South Africa will ignite and spread? This student is perplexed. Will you assist him, Dr. Du Bois? He would be indebted to you.

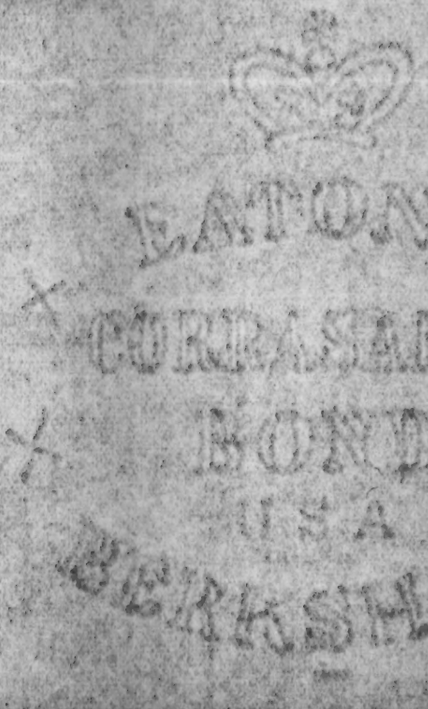
27-178-5

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Bennett

Robert C. Bennett

Dr. William E. B. Du Bois
23 West Twenty-Sixth Street
New York, New York



February 16, 1954

February 16, 1954

Mr. Robert C. Bennett
212 Cuyler Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

87-174-6

Dear Mr. Bennett:

I have your letter of February 11th.

In the 19th century I thought, with most people, that progress could only be assured by war. I was convinced that if the black people of the yellow people of the world ever gained their right to freedom it would be through conquest or armed defense against the white European world.

Since then and after the experience of two, virtually three world wars, I have given up that idea. Force is not going to insure progress and no people is going to gain freedom and justice through war. I do not therefore expect, as I intimated in "Darkwater," a great war of races as prelude to Negro freedom.

On the other hand, unless the determined aggression of the white race is curbed in some way, freedom for the colored races is not now in sight. Probably that curb, however, is coming through the very mistakes of white civilization. The present determination, for instance, of the United States, Britain and France to control Asia, Africa and South America will probably break down of its own weight and out of that, with reasonable commonsense based on science, we will be able to plan a better and more united world.

In short, then, I do not believe that a Pan African movement in Africa based on colored nationalism is going to be the final answer to the present African problems. I do believe, however, that it is going to be the beginning, and probably will involve a great deal of bloodshed and misery before this racial effort resolves itself into a new world cultural striving which will bring the African nationalists and the progressive people of the whole world into union and understanding.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Apr 25 1954

Dear Doctor:

I received your letter of Apr 18 in good shape and normal time but did not want to answer it until the meeting at Bugand had adjourned.

I hope you and Robeson had had a chance to confer about my proposal on which I will now enlarge.

If you consider that your mail is being tampered with you could find means to thwart any such actions. If you desire to communicate with me on above I offer this service. You can mail your letter to

27-1-61

Signora Vincenzo Onorato, Florence,
154 via Masaccio Italy
who will apply the proper postage. You should not identify your letter by return address etc.

In the present case the government should be glad that we are easing them out of a very awkward situation and giving us all the help they could.

If you desire to use this service I will be glad to notify Signora Onorato to honor any of your desires. I hope we can stop the Formosa war.

Yours truly

Robert Bensberg

The red ball pen decided to be useful.

October 5, 1954

Mr. Elmer Benson
c/o Mr. Jim Robertson
1315 Keston St.
St. Paul, Minnesota

My dear Governor Benson:

May I join the Progressive Party of Minnesota in honoring you today.

I can remember when the fight for human rights and economic justice began in the Northwest, and I have followed its many vicissitudes in the last 25 years. I want to bear testimony to the part that you have played amid great difficulties and much discouragement.

In the long run such effort will not be lost no matter how disappointing it may seem today, and then, as now, you will be hailed and thanked by those who are marching breast forward.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May 24, 1954

Berkshire Farms
271 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Kindly send me one of your latest catalogues.

I am especially interested in coffee.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

Professor J. D. Bernal
21, T orrington Square
London, W.C. 1, England

Dear Professor Bernal:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nations today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know, Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Professor Bernal

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

[Bloch (Emanuel H.) Memorial Comm.]

1050 Sixth Avenue
New York 18, N. Y.
February 9, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

A memorial meeting for Emanuel H. Bloch is being arranged to be held in Manhattan Center on Tuesday, February 23rd.

We would like to have a few of our prominent New York citizens as a sponsoring committee for the memorial meeting. I would greatly appreciate your becoming a sponsor for this affair.

Please send me your reply at the earliest possible moment.

27-7a-43

Yours truly,

Harriette Gordon

Harriette Gordon
for
Professor Ephraim Croass
Secretary, Bloch Memorial Committee

Please address your reply to:
Harriette Gordon
Box 2
1050 Sixth Avenue
New York 18, N. Y.

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.

47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y. SUsquehanna 7-4084

January 8, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You will find here enclosed a check for $50.00, which is a sort of an advance against royalties on THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. I say a sort of an advance, because we will not properly be able to compute the royalties until another three-month period has passed. However, your book has earned over this amount, and the only reason we are not sending more is that, as might be expected, we are in rather permanent cash difficulties -- due particularly to a not surprising tendency on the part of people to defer payment of their bills. Unfortunately we have become a part of this vicious cycle.

Nevertheless, we are enclosing this small payment as a token of our good faith, and also to take this opportunity to wish you the best of new years.

Sincerely

J. Ross

(Mrs.) J. W. Ross
for Blue Heron Press

1/29/73 ac

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.

47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y. *SUsquehanna 7-4084*

March 25, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing another check for $50.00, royalties on THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. We apologize for the irregularity in sending these royalty payments, but I am sure you understand the difficulties faced by a small concern like ours. We will have our accountant make up a regular royalty statement as soon as he has the time.

Our best regards to you.

Sincerely

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, INC.
Janet Rose

1/26/71

May 14, 1954

Blue Heron Press
47 West 63 Street
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me ten copies of my book, "Souls of Black Folk" as soon as possible, and charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE BLUE HERON PRESS, Inc.
47 West 63 Street, New York 23, N.Y. SUsquehanna 7-4084

Book

June 24, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing a royalty check for $50.00 on account. We are sorry that it can't be more, but as you know, the book selling business is slow. In any case, we do want to show our good faith, and we will try to send you another check as soon as it is humanly possible.

Sincerely

Janet Ross
(Mrs.) J. W. Ross

1/29/70

(ISABELLE BLUME)

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure in Europe as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Miss Blume

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Miss Blume c. March 4, 1954

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

December 3, 1954

Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Shirley:

Although I am still unable to set the date precisely, it seems possible that I may be able to accept your invitation to dine and discuss sometime during the last week in December or the first week in January. I look forward to this.

Meanwhile ~~two~~ 3 little matters have come up in my writing that I would like to ask about: (1) Somewhere WEB says that the book CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES was required reading for students at Fisk in his day. But I discover that this book was published in 1895. Could he have had another book in mind or was it at Wilberforce or Atlanta that this reading was required? (2) In DUSK OF DAWN WEB says he visited a half brother in Albany on his return from the visit with his grandfather. Could he give me the name and a bit of identification on this individual? (3) I am curious to know whether there were other white students, children of Fisk faculty, than Miss Mary Elizabeth Spence in school during his years here. What about Paul Cravath? Did he see much of him?

I have others I'm saving, but it would help me to know about these now, if possible.

With kindest regards to you both.

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

AB/alj

27-2-38

I may have found this later.

December 10, 1954

Mr. Arna Bontemps
Office of the Librarian
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bontemps:

While I was at Fisk the Senior class had a text-book on Christian Evidences, but I forget its name. But without any doubt such a text was in use.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-40

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8 TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

December 13, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois

Thank you very much for your prompt answer to the first of my three questions.

Your contributions to the FISK HERALD '85-88, have delighted me no end. The school paper was less solemn while you were on the staff than it was before and after. I have also enjoyed recently your contributions as Great Barrington correspondent to the NEW YORK GLOBE, '83-84. I have heard that you wrote regularly for a Boston paper while at Harvard. This one has escaped me thus far.

27-5-5

Sincerely yours,

Arna Bontemps

AB/,lj

November 24, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want to tell you first how happy we were to have xx an opportunity to talk with you while we were in New York. We do appreciate your giving us some of your time.

We are enclosing a couple of fact sheets which have just been printed on the situation here in Louisville.

As we believe we mentioned to you when we saw you, while we were in New York the prosecution issued what it said was a Bill of Particulars in our case. Actually, our lawyers say it is not a Bill of Particulars. All it does is list about 30 organizations which the prosecution says we belong to and a list of books they say they found when they illegally raided our home. As a matter of fact, we do not belong to most of the organizations listed, but we did have literature from most of them in our house. Evidently they are saying that indicates membership.

27-178-34

When we returned to Louisville and saw the complete list, we found that three of the organizations on the list were ones you were connected with---the National Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois, the Council on African Affairs, and the Stockholm Petition (not exactly an organization but that is the way they listed it).

Now the prosecution is undoubtedly going to present a very distorted picture of all these things---trying to say they are subversive and agents of a foreign power and all such foolishness. To counteract this, our lawyers think we should call as witnesses representatives of many of the organizations listed to present their true program and objectives.

We are very hopeful that you can come to Louisville to xxxxxx testify at the trial. We would like for you to tell what the Stockholm Petition was, what its purpose was, and how the government failed in its effort to brand you as a foreign agent for leading the circulation of it. We would like for you to tell the program and objectives of the Council on African Affairs---and of course the National Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois.

We feel that if you can do this it will do more than help us personally in our defense. It will be helping to fight this fantastic Kentucky sedition case, which is nothing but a part of the last-ditch efforts of the southern reactionaries to preserve segregation. Your testimony would also help to present the true picture of the above organizations to the public in this area and keep the prosecution from getting by with its effort to distort the purposes of these organizations. This will be good, as the trial will undoubtedly be covered in great detail by the local press and wire services.

All the defendants have moved for separate trials, but the test case will be Carl's which is due to be tried first and that is the one we need you for. This trial is set now to start Monday, November 29---next Monday. But of course it will

be a little while before we are ready to call defense witnesses--maybe a week, maybe several weeks. However, we would like to know right away what out-of-town witnesses we can depend on. We would like then to arrange to get them here on short notice.

So would you write us immediately and let us know if you could give some general idea of your schedule for the next few weeks so we will know when you will be available.

Money, of course, is a problem, as you well know from experience in this kind of fight. For that reason, if you show these fact sheets to some people there and get them to contribute some funds to help pay expenses for you to come down here, that would be very helpful. It would amount to a contribution to help fight these cases.

It would also contribute toward getting the truth to the public about these organizations you could speak for. However, we know there are many calls for funds. So if you cannot raise the money there, please do not let that keep you from coming. Go ahead and make plans to come, and we will get the money somewehre.

If you come, we can provide food and lodging for you. Mrs. Lillian Elder, who did such a beautiful job for the Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois, would consider it a great honor if you would stay at her home while you are here.

27-17A-35

Cordially yours,

Carl & Anne Braden

Carl & Anne Braden
P.O. Box 1302
Louisville 1, Ky.

December 1, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden
P.O. Box 1302
Louisville 1, Ky.

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Braden:

I will appear as your witness in Louisville if you can afford it and really think it necessary. The cost of the round trip by air, with cabs and tips, will be $100.

I regret that I cannot raise this sum here. I have just sent out over my own name 35,000 letters to raise money for the Marcantonio Memorial; I presided last night over a dinner to raise money for the "National Guardian"; and in addition to that, three years ago I asked practically everybody I knew to help my own case. You can see that it would be difficult for me to make any further appeals, even for a case as worthy as yours.

I think that I ought to add that I do not believe that my presence as a witness would be of any help to your case. I mean that there is very little information of a specific nature that I could furnish, but if you and your attorneys think otherwise, let me know.

At present I have only one engagement for December, and that is a lecture December 8th at the Jefferson School. There are a few other tentative engagements but I can easily cancel them.

My best regards and deepest sympathy to both of you from myself and my wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

87-178-36

December 15, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden
P.O. Box 1302
Louisville 1, Kentucky

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Braden:

I am deeply pained and astonished to hear of the terrible verdict of the jury. I only hope that nothing which I could have done hurt your case.

I am sure that under the circumstances the community in which you live is at present at least beyond ordinary influence. We can only try to bring to bear upon it the public opinion of decent people, and I hope you will let me know if there is anything I can do.

I and my wife send greetings and condolence to Mr. Braden, yourself and family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-14-37

BROWNSVILLE COMMITTEE FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Chairman
JOHN NEWTON

MAILING ADDRESS:
JOHN NEWTON
295 Osborn Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

January 19, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Bklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our committee together with the Brownsville Project Tenants Council and the Neighbors Club is sponsoring a Negro History Week Celebration to be held Sunday night, February 14, 1954 at 512 Stone Avenue, Bklyn 12, N.Y.

An interesting and entertaining cultural and educational program has been planned for the evening. We would very much like to have you as one of our principal speakers at this affair.

We would appreciate a reply as soon as possible, so that adequate publicity can be prepared. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

John Newton

JN:gl

27-4-77

January 21, 1954

Mr. John Newton
Brownsville Comm. for Fair Employment Practices
295 Osborn Street
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Newton:

I regret to say that both Shirley and I are engaged for February 14th. We cannot therefore have the pleasure of taking part in your meeting that night.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-78

May 19, 1954

Miss Helen Buckler
c/o Little, Brown and Co.
34 ~~Beaker~~ Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.

Dear Miss Buckler:

I have received your biography of Dr. Daniel Williams, which I shall read with great pleasure.

I thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 22, 1954

Mrs. Mildred Burgum
110 West 94 Street
New York 25, New York

My dear Mrs. Burgum:

Thank you for the poem on Robeson which you sent me.

I am forwarding it to him.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

W. H. O., Inc.

1135 Morse Street, N. E.
LI 4-7904

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Washington, D. C.

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Mr. Raymond James

Feb. 25, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Last Friday was the first time I heard you speak since I was in A.U. and I was delighted. Do me the favor to let me know whenever you speak I am sure I will be able to hear you again sometime somewhere.

Your address touched me deeply for many , many reasons. That is a long , long story. Only wish I could talk it over with you. It would do me loads of good.

I have not sent any thing for the Council for a long time because people in Washington are afraid to give to anything. It is indeed a drastic situation that exists.

Am enclosing a check for your pet project.

Respectfully,

Ada S. Butcher

Ada S. Butcher.

27-1-70

P. S. I gave you my card to put in your pocket. Please keep it.

March 1, 1954

Miss Ada S. Butcher
2403 East Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Butcher:

Thank you very much for your kind letter and the enclosed check.

I appreciate your good words.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-69

education for
democracy
and peace

california labor school, inc.

321 DIVISADERO ST • SAN FRANCISCO 17, CALIFORNIA • UNderhill 3-3023-3024

FOUNDED 1942
Director
HOLLAND ROBERTS

January 26, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you very much for sending us the list of your books and those of Shirley Graham now available from publishers. We have received them and expect some good sales. We are planning a special sale of the beautiful autographed copies of "Souls of Black Folk" and have ordered ten additional copies.

Your Christmas card with the strikingly symbolic photo was also very much appreciated. The Graphic Arts Workshop has made a slide of it, to climax their Negro history slide program.

There is great interest throughout the state over the impending visit of Louis Burnham. Los Angeles is arranging a large meeting at the Embassy auditorium, and several meetings have been scheduled around the Bay Area. The largest of these will take place in San Francisco on Friday, February 12. Our committee feels that this meeting would be greatly enhanced by a message from you to be read there. It would serve to point up the significance of Negro history observances as a means of clarifying the issues we are fighting around today. We are also asking Paul Robeson to send such a message. They would mean a great deal to our audience and could also be very valuable as advance publicity.

If such a message could be put on tape, which Mr. Burnham could bring with him, it would be the most dramatic and effective means of presenting it. These messages could also be presented at the big Los Angeles meeting, to be held the following night. If you are willing to put such a message on tape, would you call Mr. Burnham and ask him about the arrangements?

With thanks and appreciation for your cooperation,

All good wishes,

Holland Roberts

c.D

hr/cd
uopwa 34

Holland Roberts
Director

CAMERON & KAHN inc. Publishers

109 Greenwich Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. WAtkins 9-1991

May 7, 1954

Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Shirley,

I think I've already told you that I intended sending you and your splendid husband The Game of Death before now. As I told him, his recent statement in the National Guardian, with its particular reference to youth, caused me to think of my remissness in not previously sending you the book.

Anyway, here it is. And I hope you both find it of interest.

I'm enclosing a review which recently appeared in the Afro-American. It was suggested to me that you would find it of interest, and that after reading the book you might even want to drop Redding a note. But I would be the last to wish any such chore upon you, unless you think there might be some special purpose in your so doing.

Warmest regards to you and the inspiring and inspired W.E.B.D.,

Albert

Albert E. Kahn

AEK:ar
encl.

Book Review

By SAUNDERS REDDING

The Game of Death: (Effects of the Cold War Upon Our Children), by Albert E. Kahn. Cameron and Kahn, Publishers, 109 Greenwich avenue, New York. 256 pp. $3.00.

The Game of Death, written by the father of three sons, is meant to be an alarming book. Its thesis is plain: that in the name of the Cold War America is sacrificing not only the security but the character development of our children.

Mr. Redding

To support this thesis Mr. Kahn has made a careful selection of indisputab'e facts and authoritative opinions. Most of the facts are horrible.

The opinions, generally, are quoted in context so carefully modified that the really cautious reader could spend more time examining the sources of opinion than in reading the book itself. It is probably a pity that few readers will take the time.

Mr. Kahn starts with a report on the climate of fear. He feels that this climate has great density, and that, so long as children everywhere in America "are confronted with dire portents of war and disaster," the density is irreducible.

He makes quite a case of the fact that school children wear identification tags constructed of a metal that will "withstand heat that will incinerate human bodies."

He takes an opportunity to criticize the drills by which children are taught to "duck and cover" in case of an air attack.

"Mock air raids, involving tens of thousands of men, women and children as actors, painstakingly simu'ate ruin and death in scores of cities and towns across our land."

It is the author's opinion that this kind of thing is tragically reflected in the statistics of juvenile delinquency; in dope addiction, prostitution, crime.

The evidence of this weakening of moral fiber is supplied by the transcripts of court hearings, Congressional investigations, the testimony of social workers, and interviews with bewildered parents.

Mr. Kahn reports one mother as saying: "I visited little Joe in Bellevue and he looks normal for the first time in months. His eyes are bright, like they used to be. He's interested in things an eight-year-old should be . . . The first time I suspected Joe was taking dope . . ."

The facts that Mr. Kahn adduces are incontestable—they have made unhappy reading for a half dozen years. The frame of reference in which they are applied, however, is something else again—and so also are the contravening facts.

This reviewer doubts that the climate of fear is entirely of America's making. This reviewer doubts that the Kremlin is as blameless as the author would have us believe, and that the author himself is as convinced of Russia's integrity in international affairs as he so strongly implies.

"The Government of the Soviet Union began one conciliatory move after another in 1953 aimed at opening negotiations with the United States on a variety of long-deadlocked issues and the settlement of outstanding differences between the East and the West."

And as for the contravening facts—Mr. Kahn would do well to make as careful a selection of them as he has made of those he uses in **The Game of Death.**

Until he does so, he can hardly be relied upon either as commentator or historian. Until he does so, he may very well be suspected of having a concern for other than the welfare of American children.

June 17, 1954

Mr. Albert E. Kahn,
Cameron & Kahn, Inc.
109 Greenwich Avenue
New York 14, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Kahn:

In your letter of May 7th to Shirley you enclosed a book review by Saunders Redding.

Redding is a man of education and ability, but conceives it his present duty to hold his job. He consequently knocks every book that he can, including mine.

I am afraid I have no influence on him.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Camp Unity]

L

June 15, 1954
1 Union Square
New York, N.Y.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

With regard to the coming Independence Day weekend, Camp Unity plans to present a series of memorable and stirring programs in honor of this great national holiday. To complement the character of the occasion we would be particularly proud if you would consent to be our guest lawn program speaker, Sunday morning, July 4th.

In the event you find it possible to consider this tardy invitation, I think you would like to know the following specifics: Topically we have conceived of the program as one which will deal with the most meaningful features of "Our American Heritage" - before and since 1776. Your contribution would mean a 45 to 60 minute address in the content of a program which in its entirety (address, readings and music) will not exceed one hour and a half. The camp of course will attend to your travel expenses and to the speakers fee which I hope you will be good enough to specify in a return communication.

You and Mrs. DuBois are cordially invited to spend the entire holiday, Friday evening through Monday, as guests of the camp.

Again, please accept our deep apologies for the tardiness of this request. Unfortunately matters beyond our control have delayed the planning of many of the season's activities. May I add that I shall personally look forward to seeing you and Mrs. DuBois again and truly hope your plans will permit you to be with us.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lorraine Hansberry

Lorraine Hansberry
Lawn Program Director
Camp Unity

27-178-17

June 22, 1954

Miss Lorraine Hansberry
Lawn Program Director
Camp Unity
1 Union Square
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hansberry:

In answer to your letter of June 15th, may I say that I could speak for you Sunday morning, July 4th. I cannot guarantee that my talk will be "stirring" but I will do my best, and speak for about thirty minutes, with questions afterwards if wanted.

My fee would be $50 in addition to expenses of travel and lodging for me and Mrs. Du Bois for the week-end. I am not sure that Mrs. Du Bois will be able to leave her work so as to come, but it is possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

87-178-18

June 25, 1954
Camp Unity
Wingdale, New York

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In answer to your letter of June 22nd, we are extremely happy that you have consented to be our guest Lawn Program speaker for July 4th.

Your traveling expenses and fee will be entirely attended to. Accomodations have been reserved for you and Mrs. Du Bois. I do hope she will find it possible to come.

I should like to know, by telephone or note, when you will arrive, and if by train, the hour of arrival. If you come by train you will be met and excorted to camp.

Regarding your reference as to whether or not your talk will be "stirring", I am altogether certain that your message will more than honor the occasion and that your distinguished presence will in itself be one of the most stirring events in the camp's experience.

The management and staff of Camp Unity look forward to greeting you and Mrs. Du Bois this weekend.

Sincerely yours,

Lorraine Hansberry

Lorraine Hansberry
Camp Unity

27-174-19

Wingdale 3561
3571

LOUIS PASTERNAK, Mgr.

LAKE ELLIS CAMP CORP.
WINGDALE, N. Y.

Mon 4/5/54

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

On the name of Camp Unity, the Campers and Staff, many, many thanks for the contributions you made to a successful Holiday Week-end.

With Love,
Margaret McLaden

27-5-27

July 7, 1954

Miss Lorraine Hansberry
Camp Unity
Wingdale, New York

Dear Miss Hansberry:

May I tell you how much I enjoyed my stay at Camp Unity.

Please give my best wishes to all of your staff, and especially to your husband who was so very thoughtful in taking care of me.

Shirley and I join in best love.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

377-174-20

April 26, 1954

Dr. Richard M. Carey
147 West 116 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Carey:

I was asking my friend, Dr. Barsky, about some specialist on Old Age, and he recommended Dr. Morris Pearlmutter, in his building, 54 East 61 Street.

So I thought I might get some advice in that line and also let him see the x-rays which were taken.

I went to see him today. He is going to consult with you. Perhaps you already know him. He seems a rather nice man.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-31

February 12, 1954

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send me the following book,

with bill:

"Add Life to Your Years", by Ernst Boas, M.D.
McBride.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 13, 1954

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send me, with bill:

Bartlett's "Familiar Quotation" - latest edition.

Very sincererly yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May 19, 1954

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Kindly send to me, with bill, the following books:

"The Burr Conspiracy" by Thomas Pirlsins Abernethy; The Oxford Press.

"The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes" V.II; Simon & Schuster.

"Gulf Stream North" by Earl Conrad; Doubleday Doran & Co.

"The Heart of Africa" by Alexander Campbell;

"The Negro and the Schools", prepared by Harry S. Ashmore, for Ford Foundation Fund for Advancement of Education.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 17, 1954

Center Book Service
206 West 15 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Please send me the book by Gene Weltfish just published by Bobbs-Merrill, with bill.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 8, 1954

Mrs. Isobel Cerney
Progressive Party
2206 South Vermont Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mrs. Cerney:

I am carrying your picture as portrayed on the matches which you so kindly gave me. If not on my heart at least daily in my pocket.

I hope the primary results encouraged you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

111-2-42

27-1-45 [Ceylon, Embassy of]

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(see "Civil Rights")

MAY I EXPRESS MY DEEP OPPOSITION TO THE METHODS BY WHICH MADAME RHODA MILLER DE SILVA WAS FORCIBLY SEPARATED FROM HER HUSBAND AND BROUGHT TO AMERICA.

WILL YOU NOT KINDLY PERMIT HER TO INTERVIEW YOU AND STATE HER CASE.

I AM SURE THAT MOST HONEST AMERICANS WILL SUPPORT ME IN THIS REQUEST.

W.E.B. DU BOIS

Letteron
Rhoda Miller Silver

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May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in thepublic press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in New Zealand to free the victims of the S mith Act.

I am, dear Rev. Chandler

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Rev. Chandler. C; March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

Marco Polo Hotel
Polo, Illinois
August 9, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
20 W. 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Doctor Dubois:

In re your New World (for August) article what you say about the Chinese proposal to "out-capital capital" is of great interest. How is it to be done? A recent work came my way dealing with--as was claimed--a workable money system, B. S. Schubert the author, under which a high state of prosperity is assured. This is something no other money system has done.

Schubert claims that "script" money carrying a fixed interest charge, payable at intervals of several month's duration, will cause the money to circulate rapidly. This is sparked by the desire to avoid "demurrage" interest on large amounts held out of circulation. "Unhoardability" says the author, is its chief characteristic and it is this factor that accouhts for the general prosperity under such a monetary system.

There may be a fallacy in such a scheme but Schubert backs up his contentions by considerable documentation. He says the American Colonies carried on with script money for 90 years with general prosperity and quotes Bancroft's History (and another early historian), and even Benjamin Franklin --Senate Document No 23-- to prove it was not the Stamp Act nor the other usally ascribed causes that led to the Revolution but that when England deprived the Colonies of their script money, unemployment followed with much unrest. It was this denial of their own money that incited the Americans to

22-2-32

rebel. It must be admitted the Declaration fails to list this act of oppression in any but general terms. Schubert places the blame for the denial of the script at the door of the English bankers who expected to float large loans in the colonies and were checkmated by the Colonials' script.

Exchange of locally produced goods within a country (and imports too once they are landed within the boundaries of a state) can be facilitated by use of such script. It must be the most easily controlled of all money systems. Foreign trade and international settlements are, of course, more intricate and, I suppose, where capital is lacking; i.e., currency that will be respected in all foreign exchanges, barter on the grand scale must be substituted with the home government acting as intermediary and using its script to pay off its own traders.

27-2-37

It is unlikely that anyone anywhere can instruct the Chinese in finance, or on monetary policy, since their reputation as financiers is of the highest. One might wish however, that your article had treated more extensively as to the means the Chinese expect to employ in their determination to "out-capital capital." I wish them all the luck in the world.

I have nothing but commendation for your work in the social field. The Chinese are, in my belief, the smartest of the races and therefore, the most dangerous for predatory Westerners to molest them--and they have the wisest administrators in any government.

With high respects,

Henry A. Cheney

Henry A. Cheney

January 19, 1954

Miss Alice Childress
800 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Childress:

At this late hour may Shirley and I tell you how very much we enjoyed the "Emperor's Clothes". I think it was a very real accomplishment on the part of those who produced it and acted under difficult circumstances.

We appreciate your courtesy.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES

"But the Emperor has nothing at all on!" said a little child. "Listen to the voice of innocence!" exclaimed his father, and what the child had said was whispered from one another. "But he has nothing at all on!" at last cried out all the people.

—Hans Andersen

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by

GEORGE TABORI

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Settings by Paul Stone

Lighting by Lucas

Costumes designed by Robert Riley

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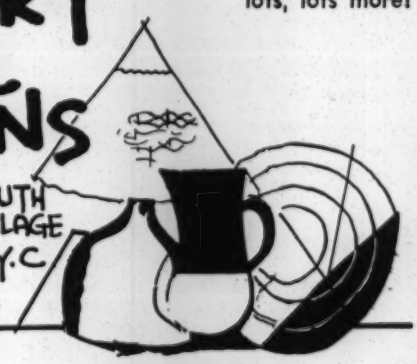

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2ND ROTTENBILLER BROTHER	**JACK DANA**
PETER	**MICHAEL LEWIN**
MRS. SCHMITZ	**MARGARET CROYDON**

TIME: A winter's day, 1930.

PLACE: Budapest.

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The same, afternoon.

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Properties by ..... JOE LIEBERMAN
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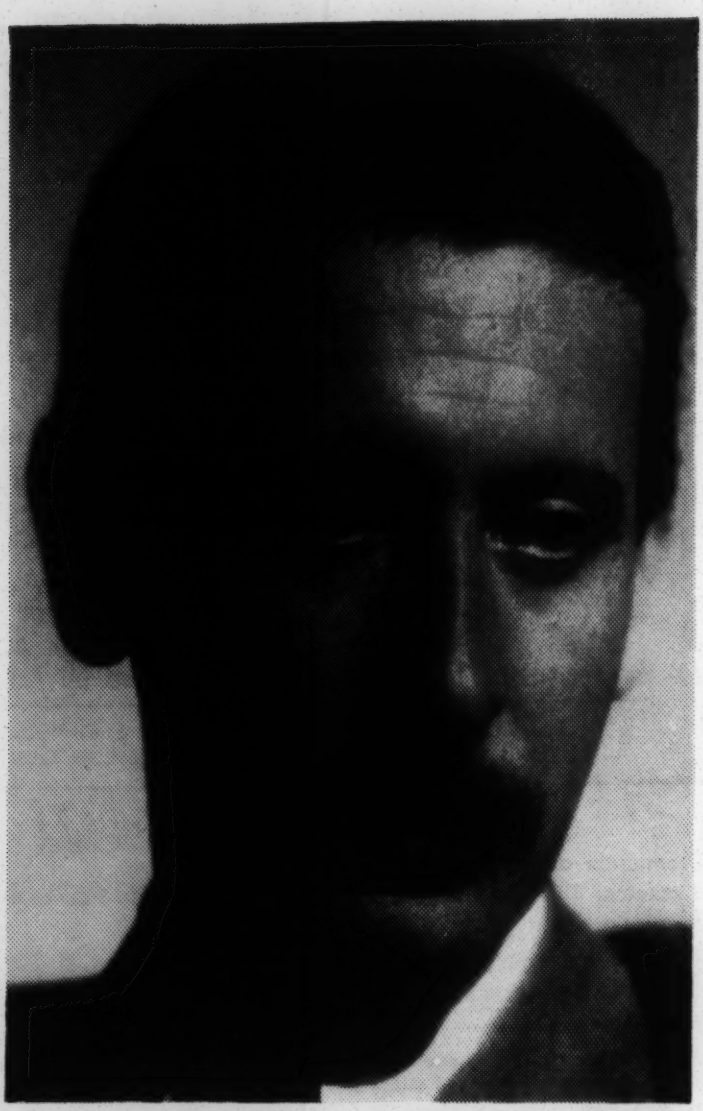

The Playwright

GEORGE TABORI was born in Budapest in 1914. One of his ancestors was the first Hungarian to bring back to Hungary the good news about the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence for which he was clapped into jail by the Hapsburg police. His father, a liberal historian-editor, was killed by the Nazis in 1944. Mr. Tabori wrote his first novel at the age of 15; it was rejected by all publishers for its alleged bawdiness. He worked as cook, waiter, kitchen-hand, maitre d'hotel, reception clerk, before becoming a translator and journalist. He left Hungary in the early Thirties and has lived in 12 countries before settling in England. He has been a citizen of that country since the war. He is the author of five novels and two plays, "Flight Into Egypt" and "The Emperor's Clothes." His apparent calm about the present, second opening of the latter play is due to the fact that he has already survived two big wars, three small ones, several Putsches, coup d'etats, riots occupations and annexations, a somewhat romanticized but virulent press campaign by the Nazis, two years of Blitz in London, three years of Arabian food and climate, and MGM Studios in Culver City, all of which left no visible damage. Mr. Tabori is finishing a new play, which he defines as an "unexpurgated Oriental farce" and which Mr. Saint Subber is expected to produce in the near future.

THE DIRECTOR

DAVID PRESSMAN was born in 1913 into a musical and theatrical family in Russia. His mother was an opera singer, his father a conductor, and the rest of the family equally divided among musicians, budding actors, and other sundry theatrical craftsmen. During the migrations immediately following World War I, the Pressman family found itself moving across the globe in two directions. David and half of the family came West, migrating through Constantinople Paris and thence to the American shores, In New York the family, after several years was somewhat reunited —with some members still missing— around the repertory of the Russian Grand Opera Co. Touring the country and living out of a suitcase, David Pressman also portrayed little children running around the chorus in Boris Godounoff, Eugene Onegin, The Snow Maiden and so on.

The troupe went to Mexico, where the whole thing finally collapsed, and the Pressman family made its way back to New York where he began school. In George Washington High School, the dramatics classes and the rehearsal club occupied a lot of Pressman's time but not to the exclusion of scholastic work. In Columbia University, Pressman worked with the Columbia Laboratory players and the dramatic society of Seth Low Junior College.

Pressman then received a scholarship to the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre, and after a 2 year strenuous course, he went to Toronto, Canada, where he directed non-professional groups and won several awards for his production at the Canadian Drama Festival.

Pressman was then invited in 1938 to join the teaching and directing staff of the Neighborhood Playhouse School where as assistant to Sanford Meisner, he was involved in training many of the students who, like Gregory Peck, became some of our country's top stars.

While teaching at the Playhouse, Pressman played, taught and directed for the Suffern Summer Playhouse and went through 3 additional summers of arduous directing chores at resort camps. He also played on Broadway in "Brooklyn, USA," and during the first year of the war, in "Eve of Saint Mark." He soon changed a stage uniform for a real uniform, and by 1943 he was a rifleman at Anzio beachhead. In Southern France, and later near the Siegfried line, he was wounded. Coming back to the front again with the 45th infantry division, he fought on as platoon sergeant until the middle of Nuremburg, where he was severely wounded again.

Coming home now to a wife who is also an actress, and a 14 month old son born while he was overseas, Pressman returned to Playhouse School, and also to a nice role in Elmer Rice's "Dream Girl." Soon the Actor's Studio was organized and Pressman was chosen as one of the original members.

The Actors Studio now moved into Television and Pressman became one of its rotating directors. He made rapid advances in television directing a whole series of full length one-hour shows titled "The Play's the Thing" at CBS. After that he directed "Treasury Men in Action" for a year and a half and for a time he produced "Big Story" on NBC. He also produced and directed the "Nash Airflyte Theatre" and later "The Cosmopolitan Theatre" on Dumont.

Now teaching privately, and at the American Theatre Wing, Pressman was asked by the Greenwich Mews Theatre to direct George Taborl's play.

Who's who in the cast

HOWARD WIERUM (Elek)

Born in Montclair, N. J., Mr. Wierum began acting in Berkeley, Calif., at the age of eight, when he was the "Guardian of the Forests" in a pageant about John Muir attended by that great naturalist's brother. In 1935 he played a real life theatre fable by being locked out of his New York hotel room on New Year's Eve for non-payment of rent, sleeping on the subways (for a nickel!) but with a personal contract to Eva Le Gallienne in his pocket for the following season! He played Horatio in her production of "Hamlet" at Dennis, Mass., in which the Ophelia was a new youngster named Uta Hagen. He played opposite Miss Le Gallienne again in "The Mistress of the Inn." He played on Broadway and toured the country twice in productions of "Hamlet" and "Richard II" with Maurice Evans. He came out of four years in the Army as an infantry machine gunner, wearing the Purple Heart, Bronze Star and the Combat Infantryman's Badge. Broadway appearances since then have been Jose Ferrer's "Cyrano de Bergerac," which covered two seasons including extensive tours, and a featured role in "First Lady," with Helen Gahagan, Edna Best and Peggy Ann Garner. His stock experience includes leading roles opposite Glenda Farrell and Julie Hayden. Featured roles with Lillian Gish, Mischa Auer, Dagmar, Billie Burke and Eva Gabor. He has about 60 television appearances behind him, and is very proud of having sandwiched in an off-Broadway career which includes important roles in "They Shall Not Die," "Nat Turner" and "Widower's Houses."

ALICE CHILDRESS (Bella)

Alice Childress was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and raised in New York City. She decided on the theatre when her High School drama coach talked her out of a Nursing career, and into devoting her life to the theatre.

She has had over nineteen years of experience in the off-Broadway theatre, and has been active in The Urban League players, The Harlem Players, The American Negro Theatre and The Committee for the Negro In The Arts. She studied with the American Negro Theatre for ten years and played Sister Bessie and Polly Ann in "Natural Man," Dolly in "Strivers Row," Sadie Thompson in "Rain," Blanche in "Anna Lucasta." She opened on Broadway when the show moved downtown and played the role for two years. During World War II she worked with other members of the cast in the Red Cross Volunteer Company of "Three is a Family," and played the Veterans Hospital Circuit, Appeared on the Somerset Maugham Theatre (T.V.) in several roles, and also appeared on "Danger" show as a Haitian woman. She has been heard on radio on "The Wendy Warren Show." Miss Childress is the author of well-known plays such as "Gold Through The Trees," "Florence," and wrote the book for "Just A Little Simple," the adaptation of Langston Hughes' "Simple Speaks His Mind." She has just finished a full length motion picture scenario, "More Than A Notion," and is rewriting a three-act play. She has taught drama and writes courses for children. Miss Childress' main ambition is to aid in establishing a professional Negro theatre which will offer Negro artists throughout the United States greater opportunity to become professionals and to encourage theatres to adopt the casting policy of The Greenwich Mews Theatre.

ANNE STARR ROBERTS (Ferike)

Born in New York, Miss Roberts moved to Akron, Ohio, where she went to school. Between her junior and senior year in high school, she went to the National High School Institute at Northwestern on a scholarship, where she began to prepare for a dramatic career. She then taught Dramatics at Old Trail School in Ohio, while completing her senior high school year there. A scholarship at Northwestern enabled her to major in radio, and while there she did extensive work in non-professional radio acting and workshop plays. Miss Roberts spent a year on WAKR, Akron,

Ohio, announcing, script-writing, acting, music librarian, and program directing. She has done a half dozen shows in stock, and some 30 TV shows.

MICHAEL LEWIN (Peter)

Born, raised, and educated in Philadelphia, Mr. Lewis graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, having majored in Accounting. His first experience in theatre was with amateur groups in Philadelphia.

In 1946, Mr. Lewin graduated from the American Academy of Dramatic Arts, having studied under the G.I. Bill.

Mr. Lewin was seen in the ANTA production of "Golden Boy," with John Garfield two seasons ago, and the following other Broadway offerings. "Night Music" (ANTA), "Detective Story" (which starred Ralph Bellamy), "An Enemy of the People" (with Fredric March and Florence Eldridge), "Skipper Next to God" (again with John Garfield), and many others. His television appearances include "The Web," "Danger," TV Playhouse, and others. He was seen in such motion pictures as "Teresa," "Mr. Universe" and "The Big Break."

Mr. Lewin may be remembered for his brilliant direction of the recent Greenwich Mews Theatre production, "Monday's Heroes," last spring.

R. GRAHAME BROWN (Baron)

Mr. Brown was born in New York City and began acting at Howard University, where he did leads in such plays as: "The Glass Menagerie," "The Adding Machine," "The Great God Brown," "The Importance of Being Earnest," etc. He toured Norway, Sweden and Denmark in 1949 with Howard University Players, doing Gregers in Ibsen's "The Wild Duck." He also studied at Columbia University and the American Theatre Wing. Mr. Brown played Horatio in Owen Dodson's production of "Hamlet" at Howard University in 1951. He joined Greenwich Mews Theatre as a member of the cast of "Decision," and last season played the part of Dr. Trench in "Widower's Houses" at the Mews.

MARGARET CROYDEN (Mrs. Schmidt)

Miss Croyden started her career at the Michael Chekhov School. She interrupted a radio career to tour Europe in "George Washington Slept Here" and "Hasty Heart." In London she appeared in the Theatre Arts production of "Dangerous Corner" and "Time of Your Life." She has done numerous TV shows and appeared in many summer-stock and off-Broadway shows.

JACK DANA (1st Rottenbiller)

Jack Dana is a native of New York. His acting career first started in the United States Air Force where he took part in numerous army shows. When he was discharged in 1946, he majored in dramatic arts at New York University and subsequently studied with Herbert Berghof, David Pressman and Irwin Piscator at the Dramatic Workshop. While at the Workshop he appeared in several of their productions. His last appearance with the Greenwich Mews was in "Decision."

DAVID LUCAS (2nd Rottenbiller)

Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Mr. Lucas was last seen in Circle in the Square's current production of "The Grass Harp." He is a puppeteer and Marionetteer and he worked with the Glen Rock Puppeteers in 1951. He was production manager and lighting designer for the off-Broadway production of "Night Music," directed by Al Saxe. He has been the Technical Director for the Greenwich Mews Theatre for the past year and has worked as Stage Manager and Lighting Designer in the two previous productions of "Monday's Heroes" and "Widowers Houses." He has also established himself as a playwright and director, in recent months, working with the Greenwich Mews Experimental Workshop.

STEPHANIE ELLIOTT (Hugo)

A New Yorker by birth, Miss Elliott started acting at the age of 16, when she won a scholarship to the Dramatic Workshop. While there, she appeared in Workshop Productions. Miss Elliott played major roles for six months on the program "Americans By Choice" over a major radio network. Most recently Miss Elliott toured with Theatre Unlimited, in "Presidential Timber."

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE JOURNAL PUBLISHED BY THE CHINA WELFARE INSTITUTE

157 CHANGSHU LU, SHANGHAI, CHINA

CR - P 54/182 (3)

Shirley Graham
31, Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y., USA

Feb. 15, 1954.

27-1-73

Dear Friend,

In 1953 we had the pleasure of sending you regularly complimentary copies of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS believing that you would find our journal informative and interesting. In order to keep you abreast of the daily progress made in our country, we shall continue to include your name on our regular complimentary list for the year 1954. We hope that you will give us your comments and criticisms on our past issues as well as your valuable suggestions for issues to come. Your cooperation to make CHINA RECONSTRUCTS more adaptable to the need of readers the world over will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Lu Ping

Lu Ping
Circulation Manager

April 2, 1954

Mr. Lu Ping, Circulation Manager
China Reconstructs
157 Changshu Lu
Shanghai, China

Dear Mr. Ping:

In answer to your letter of February 15th may I say that my wife, Shirley Graham, is much interested in "China Reconstructs" and would be glad to have you continue to send it to her.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-74

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY THE CHINA WELFARE INSTITUTE

157 CHANGSHU LU, SHANGHAI, CHINA

DEC 1 5 1954

Dear Friend,

We take pleasure in informing you that CHINA RECONSTRUCTS will come to you again throughout 1955 -- with our Compliments!

There is one important difference however compared with former years. In 1955 you will receive twelve copies of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, for beginning with the January issue our journal enters monthly publication. This significant forward step will give our readers more frequent and more generous information about the onward march of the Chinese people in building a new nation and a richer, happier life for themselves.

We will appreciate your criticisms of our journal and suggestions for improvement, together with ideas for ways in which to reach a wider readership in your country. Please let us know the names and addresses of bookshops and agencies which might be interested in handling our journal.

We trust that you will continue to find CHINA RECONSTRUCTS a valuable resource in your work for peace and friendship between nations and peoples in the world today.

Sincerely yours,

Lu Ping

Lu Ping
Circulation Manager

P.S. If you receive more than one copy of CHINA RECONSTRUCTS, kindly pass our complimentary copy on to an interested friend or an organization which can put it to good use.

F.L. No.42/54

27-1-75

CHINA WELFARE APPEAL INC.

Friendship Cargo For China

~~439 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., Tel. MUrray Hill 6-5092-3~~

105 West 93 Street
New York 25, N.Y.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

May 3, 1954

Dear Member of the Corporation:

A special meeting as provided in article 8 of our By-laws will be held on May 13th, 1954, at 6.30 P.M., at 39 East 36th Street, in the office of Dr. Shapiro.

The purpose of this meeting is to discuss and vote on a resolution dissolving our organization, China Welfare Appeal, Inc. The members of the Board of Directors have recommended and do recommend the dissolution.

Very truly yours,

Ida Pruitt

Ida Pruitt, Chairman Board of Directors

27-1-77

CHINESE LITERATURE

26 KUO HUI CHIEH, PEKING, CHINA

Dear Reader:

You probably have seen earlier issues of "Chinese Literature" before this No. 4 for 1954. We should be very grateful to you for sharing with us your considered opinion about our quarterly magazine, so that we can be guided in our continued efforts to improve both its form and content. We are asking you to fill out the slip below for our reference and shall hope to hear from you at your early convenience.

With renewed thanks for your help in making "Chinese Literature" more interesting all the time, we remain,

Sincerely yours,

Yeh Chun-chien

for "Chinese Literature"

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY
157 Montague Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

October 5, 1954

Dear Friends,

This coming Sunday, October 10, we are celebrating in a very special way a very special event——the eightieth birthday of our Rector Emeritus, Dr. John Howard Melish.

At the eleven o'clock service there will be an address by William Howard Melish that will serve to introduce to all our friends an extremely interesting little booklet written by Dr. Melish telling the story of his life, called "Autumn Days: A Recollection." The address has been appropriately entitled, "Thoughts of a Son on Reading a Father's Memoirs." Lovely music has been planned by our organist, Mr. John Huston, including an anthem "The King's Highway" by David McK. Williams that is descriptive of Dr. Melish's life in so many ways.

A celebration luncheon in the gymnasium will follow the service. Reservations for this dollar luncheon must be made before this Saturday by mail or by phone. Please be prompt as the demand will be heavy.

At all the services on Sunday there will be in the church vestibule a "birthday book" in which Dr. Melish's friends and admirers may sign their names. Mr. and Mrs. William Howard Melish will take this to Lake George when they go to spend Columbus Day——the actual birthday, October 12——with Dr. Melish.

We can all take heart from this latest courageous undertaking of a man in the crowning years of his life. The memoirs of Dr. John Howard Melish, "Autumn Days," will be treasured by all.

Won't you come and bring your family and friends to join in bearing witness to a great faith in a great man?

Cordially,

ANSON W. WRIGHT

CITIZENS EMERGENCY DEFENSE CONFERENCE

80 East 11 Street • Room 608 • New York 3, N. Y. • Tel.: ORegon 4-4767

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SAM WINN

January 22, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are very pleased that you have agreed to speak at our "Defend the Bill of Rights meeting, at the Cornish Arms Hotel on Wednesday evening February 17 at 8:30P.M.

I would suggest that you speak 20 minutes if that is satisfactory to you.

We are enclosing two tickets for the meeting.

Looking forward to seeing you

Sincerely yours,

Clifford T. McAvoy

Clifford T. McAvoy

27-5-54

27-5-53

Defend the Bill of Rights Meeting

Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd St. & 8th Ave., New York City

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1954 8:30 P.M.

•

Speakers:

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN FRANK SERRI, ESQ.

Others to be announced

CLIFFORD T. MC AVOY, Chairman

•

Sponsored by: Citizens Emergency Defense Conference

Room 608, 80 East 11 Street, New York City

Admission: 75¢ inc. tax

209

June 14, 1954

Miss Alice Citron
1406 Townsend Avenue
Bronx, 52, New York

Dear Alice:

I did not hear of your illness because I was out of town on a trip to California where I made a few speeches for the Progressive Party.

I am so glad to know that you are better, and I hope you will rest hard until you are fully recovered.

Shirley joins me in love and sympathy.

With love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

2-7-1-42

Civil Rights Congress

The injustice of the United States has again struck at William Patterson of the Civil Rights Congress, because he refuses to be a stool pigeon. He joins now that group of courageous men who rather go to jail than surrender to government persecution the names of those persons who have contributed to the work of the organization which they served. In the recent past Howard Fast, Richard Morford, Frederick Fields, Edward Barsky and Alpheus Hunton have preferred imprisonment to betrayal of trust. There will be others who yet will join this band. But William Patterson has drawn on himself especial persecution. He has persisted in fighting injustice even in court. He published "Genocide", that stinging arraignment of the United States for killing, mobbing and lynching Negroes. This American fascism will never forgive.

Write and fight to secure Patterson's release. The punishment you stop may yet be your own.

W. E. B. Du Bois
July 2, 1954

35-9-104

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Sec'y

September 3, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am sending this letter to you following our telephone conversation on the matter of the meeting to be held on September 16th - 1954.

On that evening (Thursday) a public protest mass rally on the Communist Control Act of 1954 will be held in New York city at the Chateau Gardens under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress. This is the first sizeable public meeting and its intent is to bring the grave dangers of this act to the people. We also consider of primary importance to discuss the immediate threats which will face important sections of the labor movement and the working man. In another way we are equally conserned as to the effect this act will have on American education and its intellectuals. As one of America's outstanding scholars and one who has strongly stood against the abridgement of civil liberties and upheld the principle of equal rights the audience would benefit greatly to hear your point of view on this law. In addition we hope to acheive an understanding that only through popular sentiment and opposition to this act will it be possible to forestall its application.

We have already received word that Mr. Frank Serri, Rev. William Howard Melish will speak.

It is our thinking that should you accept our invitation to speak that evening you would make a singularly powerful contribution in regard to its effect upon the struggles of the Negro people in the United States and their struggle for freedom. We therefore, hope Dr. DuBois that you will give careful consideration to this matter and take a prominent place as one of the main speakers that evening.

We would appreciate to hear from you and would want a favorable reply. We will reach you at home or your office for your answer and to make whatever arrangements are necessary.

With best wishes and good health.

Sincerely,

Selma Weiss

Selma Weiss
N. Y. Civil Rights Congress

27-4-79

September 10, 1954

Miss Selma Weiss
N.Y. Civil Rights Congress
Suite 200
6 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Miss Weiss:

As I told your representative over the telephone, I shall not be able to speak September 16th.

I am sorry, and wish you and the cause all success.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-88

June 8, 1954

Dr. P. Price Cobbs
2624½ So. Central Avenue
Los Angeles 11, California

Dear Dr. Cobbs:

I arrived in New York five minutes early after a perfect trip.

I enjoyed the whole excursion to Los Angeles, and want to thank you, Berman and Moss for your hospitality.

Shirley joins me in love to you and Mrs. Cobbs. I trust I shall see you again soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-34

120 West 127th St.
New York, N.Y.
April 26, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
31 Grace Street,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Please forgive me for disturbing your tranquility, for I know you need rest. However, I do want some information in regard to an editorial that you wrote some years ago on the Baha'i Movement. No one is able at the Crisis office to tell me anything, so I am enclosing a stamp for your reply.

Very truly yours,

L. F. COLES

May 3, 1954

Mr. L. F. Coles
120 West 127 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Coles:

The editorial on the Bahai movement which I wrote many years ago would not be suitable today.

There was an American attempt to draw the color line, which the head of the movement apparently assented to. Recently he has entirely repudiated it and the man responsible for it has been displaced.

If you wish information concerning the present Bahai movement and color write to:

Mr. Lawrence A. Hauts
1017 First Wisconsin National Bank Bldg.
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-35

120 W. 127th St.
New York 27, N.Y.
May 5, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
25 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

It was kind of you to take time out to send me information that I asked for, or rather the information that you thought I wanted. I thought the editorial was written on the Baha'I Movement, somewhere in the 20s or early 30s, and I wanted to read it to refresh myself on what you said thenm as I go back and read your editorials frequently, just as I go back and read your early books. I find them stimulating and refreshing.

I have been to Persia, where Baha'u'llah affectionately called "Bab"(Door of the Spirit). I met Abdu'l-Baha, his illustrious son, in 1912, at Howard University. I have met Shoghi Effendi, grandson of Abdu'l-Baha and Guardian of the Cause. Frankly, I didn't like him because I felt that he was greatly influenced by his California wife, He never takes a stand against war. He believes that we must obey our masters or war-lords.

Again thanking you and hoping that you can remember the date when your editorial appeared in the Crisis and when you can you will send me the said information.

Sincerely,

L.F. COLES

Community Medical Foundation

A NON-PROFIT CALIFORNIA CORPORATION

1236 SOUTH LAKE STREET • LOS ANGELES 6, CALIFORNIA

Telephone DUnkirk 9-3171 • 9-1137

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
President

KEN HARTFORD
Executive Director

file under

March 12, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Community Medical Foundation is honoring its president, Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, Minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, with a testimonial dinner. We feel that few men in public life in our community deserve such honor more.

The Community Medical Foundation, founded in 1946 and affiliated with the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, is the supporting body of the Community Medical Center. Our Foundation is a consumer-controlled group oriented toward low-income families, bringing them at nominal cost the best possible medical care. Our doors are open to all ethnic and cultural groups in our community.

We are holding this celebration not only in recognition of the years of service Mr. Fritchman has given to our organization, but also in tribute to the courageous and humanitarian leadership which he has given to the entire community in the six years since he came to Los Angeles. We believe that Mr. Fritchman's interest in our Foundation and its work typifies the kind of devotion to the cause of building a more brotherly community which he has manifested in so many ways during the past twenty-five years of service in others parts of the country, as well as here.

27-1-50

The dinner is to be held on Saturday, April 10, at 7 p.m. at the Park Manor, 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles. We are writing to you at this time confident that you will be glad to hear of this happy event. Joining us at the dinner will be many of his friends and admirers outside of our organization who wish to be included in this tribute.

We cordially invite you to join friends, both here and across the country, in sending him greetings on this occasion. Your letter, with the others received, will be placed in a presentation book and presented to Mr. Fritchman on the evening of the dinner.

We hope to hear from you before that date.

Sincerely yours,

Ken Hartford

KEN HARTFORD
Executive Director

KH;lj

March 31, 1954

Mr. Ken Hartford
Community Medical Foundation
1236 Lake Street
Los Angeles 6, California

Dear Mr. Hartford:

May I join with the friends of Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman in the dinner given to recognize his years of service.

I have the highest respect for Mr. Fritchman, not only for his positive contributions to American democracy, but also for his courage in speaking out at this time when most of the persons who should be bearing testimony for freedom seem paralyzed with fear.

I hope Mr. Fritchman and his church will continue to stand for freedom of thought and expression.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-151

[Corn Exchange Bank]

May 6, 1954

40-5c-13

MEMORANDUM TO MR. J. SUTTER, MANAGER, CORN EXCHANGE BANK

Several times recently there has been what seemed to me an unauthorized charge on our account for failure to keep the $500 balance.

Mrs. Du Bois spoke to you about this over the phone yesterday.

I am enclosing herewith the last statements for the accounts of Shirley Graham Du Bois and of 31 Grace Court, Inc.

Will you kindly have them checked.

May 21, 1954

Mr. J. Sutter, Mgr.
Corn Exchange Bank
Fifth Avenue Branch
Fifth Ave. & 20 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sutter:

Will you kindly return the April vouchers for:

Shirley Graham Du Bois and
31 Grace Court, Inc.

at your earliest convenience. I have to use them for settling my accounts.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

2915

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co.

_____ BRANCH.

No. A364714 New York, AUG 13 1954 19___

Received from W. E. B. DuBois

Dollars for rent of a safe in the vault of the

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co. _____ Branch,

from July 9 1954 to July 9 1955 being a renewal of original receipt;

it being agreed that all terms, conditions, provisions and limitations of liability, provided for therein,

shall be considered as though herein incorporated.

Corn Exchange Safe Deposit Co.

$6 00

SUPT.

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

M.Pierre Cot
Defense de la Paix
33 Rue Vivienne, 33
Paris, France

Dear M. Cot:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nations today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear M. Cot

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

139 ~~53~~ West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . W.A. Hunton, Secretary

January 14, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

At our last Executive Committee meeting I indicated that it would probably be necessary to give up our quarters at 53 West 125th Street, because of the termination of rental arrangements for the building. The probability became an actuality at the start of 1954.

Being unable financially at this time to reestablish the Council in new quarters with its full equipment and library, it has been decided that the most expedient step would be to store the Council's library and to share office space in the new quarters taken by Freedom Associates at 139 West 125th Street (Room 6, third floor). This has now been done. About half of the library is being held in the care of Mrs. Robeson, and the balance is in my care.

I trust you will drop in on us when convenient at 139 West 125th Street. The telephone is Monument 6-8700.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

139 West 125th Street, New York 27, N.Y.

Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . ". A. Hunton, Secretary

February 9, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

An enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council on African Affairs will be held Wednesday evening, February 17th, eight o'clock, at the home of our treasurer, Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, 212 West 139th Street. On behalf of Mrs. Eslanda G. Robeson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, I wish to invite and urge you to be present.

It will be the purpose of this meeting to plan for the expansion and broadening of the Council's work and influence in 1954. This kind of perspective is made necessary, in the first place, by the very fact of the new stage reached in the Africans' liberation struggles and the key role of the United States in relation to that advancement. And, secondly, it is clear that the most effective and necessary reply that we can make to the McCarran Act prosecution of the Council is to carry forward and enlarge the organization's positive program of work for African freedom.

We are most anxious to have you share in the review of the Council's past work and in our planning for the months ahead. We need your counsel and assistance in translating our plans into effective action. We therefore earnestly hope that you will arrange to attend our meeting next Wednesday evening.

I would greatly appreciate your telephoning our office, Monument 6-8700, and leaving word whether you will be present.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton, Secretary

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . W.A. Hunton, Secretary

Dear Du Bois:

Very sorry about the conflict in engagements. I will strive to avoid it next time. We had a lively and rather down-to-earth discussion, and mapped some plans which I hope may lift the Council's work up to a higher level.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Matthews have asked me to convey their warmest regards to you and Shirley.

Sincerely,

Alphaeus

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

MINUTES

Meeting of the Executive Committee and Invited Guests

held at 212 West 139th Street, New York

February 17, 1954

- - -

Present: Mr. Paul Robeson, Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, Mr. Cyril Philip, Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, Dr. W. A. Hunton and the following invited guests: Rev. Harold D. Clark, Mr. Edward Taylor, Mr. Owen Middleton, Mrs. Winnie Hall, Mr. Felix Cummings, Rev. J. Arthur Jones, Mr. Walter Garcia, Mr. Rudolph Christian, Mr. Gladstone Smith, Mrs. Halois Moorhead Robinson, Mrs. Claudia M. Chisholm, Mr. Montey Norris, Mrs. Dorothy Hunton, Mrs. Evelyn Cooper, and Mr. George Murphy, Jr.

The following Committee members were reported to have submitted excuses for their absence: Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Mr. Kumar Goshal, and Mr. Doxey Wilkerson.

The meeting was called to order at 8:25 p.m. by Mrs. Robeson, the Chairman, who presided.

Order of Business:

1. Opening Remarks.
2. Minutes of Last Meeting
3. Report on Status of Legal Defense and Campaign against the McCarran Act
4. Financial Report
5. Remarks by Mr. Robeson on the Importance of the Council's Work
6. Report on Plans for Working Conference
7. Election to Vacancy on Executive Committee
8. Amendment of Constitution
9. Annual Election of Officers
10. Good and Welfare

Opening Remarks:

Mrs. Robeson welcomed the guests, spoke of the increasing interest of people of America in African affairs and her own personal interest and experience in Africa and at the United Nations, and reviewed briefly the work done by the Council on behalf of the Africans' welfare and freedom.

Minutes of Last Meeting:

The minutes of the meeting of Nov. 17, 1953, were approved as circulated.

Report on Status of Legal Defense

The Secretary, Dr. Hunton, traced the history of the Attorney General's citation of the Council and reported that there had been no further developments since last year when the issue of the elimination of the main sections of the Council's answer to the charges was raised. Several hundred copies of literature explaining the meaning and danger of the McCarran Act had been mailed out by the Council in order to arouse public attention and protest, he reported, adding an appeal for support of the petition campaign for repeal of the McCarran Act and attendance at the Washington Conference, March 7, which is to be concerned with this subject.

Financial Report

The Treasurer, Mrs. Pinckney, reported that the statement of the Council's income and disbursements for 1952 and 1953 and budget for 1954 (10 months, March-Dec.) had been turned over to her by the Secretary and would be explained in detail by him. Copies of a composite summary of the information referred to (attached herewith) were distributed to those present. Dr. Hunton's supplementary remarks made clear the financial handicaps upon the Council's work and the accomplishments realized despite these handicaps. He stressed the fact that the substantial increase in the income target and estimated expenses in the 1954 budget reflected the objective of expanding the Council's work and that this entailed the employment of a second executive staff officer. He emphasized that a big effort and full cooperation would be required to achieve the income target and thus guarantee the Council's enlarged program of work.

Mr. Smith, Mrs. Robinson, Mr. Middleton, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Robeson and others joined in the discussion of the financial report and made several concrete suggestions of ways and means of adding to the Council's income.

Action Taken:

Vote 1. Motion to accept the Financial Report.

Motion adopted

Vote 2. Motion to establish a Finance Committee to plan and aid in the fund-raising activities of the Council.

Motion adopted

The following were named to serve on the Finance Committee: Reverend Clark, Mr. Middleton, Mrs. Hall, Reverend Jones, Mr. Smith, Mrs. Chisholm, Mrs. Cooper, Mr. Wm. Rix, Mrs. Alice H. Ware, Mrs. Rose Thaler, Miss Thelma Dale, and Mr. Cyril Philip, Chairman. (Mrs. Pinckney, Treasurer, and other officers as ex-officio members.)

Remarks by Mr. Robeson

The gathering was stirred and inspired by the words of the Council's Chairman, Paul Robeson. He paid tribute to the work done by the other officers and by the organization under extreme difficulties, and pointed out the high regard in which the Council is held in Africa, as evidenced by the testimonial statement of Dr. Z. K. Matthews (attached), from which he read extracts. He stressed the great possibilities of work for Africa in the Negro Churches and told of how warmly he had been received, as a spokesman for African freedom, at recent church conferences. He concluded by reaffirming his determination to stand by his convictions and continue fighting for the freedom of his people here in America, in the Caribbean, and in Africa, and not to retreat "a single inch."

Plans for Conference

To map a concrete program of action for the remainder of the year, enlist new forces to implement that program, and thus extend the Council's sphere of influence, Dr. Hunton proposed that a working conference, embracing representatives from New England and Middle Atlantic communities, be held in New York late in March. He suggested that a committee be organized to start working immediately in preparation for the conference.

There was considerable discussion of the proposal, among the points stressed being the importance of insuring the participation of trade unions, church groups and women in the conference and the Council's work, and the necessity of including African cultural expression in the Council's program. Emphasis was placed also upon the popular appeal of specific campaigns of direct assistance, as proven by the success of the Council's past efforts in this area of work.

Action Taken:

Vote 3. Motion to endorse the proposal for the holding of a Working Conference by the Council as outlined.

Motion adopted

Vote 4. Motion to establish a Conference Committee to undertake the necessary preparations.

Motion adopted

The following were named to serve on the Conference Committee: Mr. Christian, Mr. Garcia, Mr. Norris, Mr. Murphy, Mrs. Hunton, Mr. Charles White, Mr. John Clark, and Mrs. Halois Robinson and Mr. Felix Cummings, Co-Chairmen.

Election to Vacancy on Executive Committee

The Secretary reported that Dr. Gene Weltfish had expressed the necessity for her withdrawal from membership on the Executive Committee because of other obligations.

Action Taken:

Vote 5. Motion to accept with regret Dr. Weltfish's resignation from the Executive Committee.

Motion adopted

Vote 6. Motion to nominate Dr. Phillips Brooks to serve as member of the Executive Committee in place of Dr. Weltfish.

There being no further nominations, Dr. Brooks was unanimously elected.

Amendment of Constitution

The Secretary proposed that provision should be made for enlargement of the Executive Committee, now limited to ten members, including the Council's officers, according to Article IV, Section 3, of the Council's Constitution.

Action Taken:

Vote 7. Motion that notice be given that amendment of the Constitution to provide for enlargement of the Executive Committee shall be voted upon at the Committee's next meeting and, if approved, additional members shall be then nominated and elected.

Motion adopted

Annual Election of Officers of the Council

This being the first meeting of the Council's Executive Committee in 1954, nominations were entertained for the posts of President, Vice President, and Treasurer.

Action Taken:

Vote 8. Motion that the present officers, Mr. Robeson, Chairman; Dr. Du Bois, Vice Chairman; and Mrs. Pinckney, Treasurer, be re-elected.

Motion adopted

Good and Welfare

Following announcements of coming meetings, and thanks from Mrs. Robeson to the guests for their presence and participation in the discussion, the meeting adjourned at 11 p.m.

March 2, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
Room 6, 3rd Floor
139 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y. 27

Dear Alpheus,

A friend of mine sent this contribution to the Council.

Do not acknowledge it or use her name.

I have written her.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

March 31, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Alpheus:

I received the enclosed letter. I do not remember anything about this man and I presume that this is a circular letter.

Perhaps you know him and would like to correspond with him.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 1, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have wanted to get the Conference Call (enclosed herewith) in hand before writing you further regarding your participation in the Council's Conference on April 24th. You will recall that we talked about it shortly before you left on your trip.

As you will see in the Call under Program, we are expecting you to give the keynote address of the Conference. This, as I see it, - and this, of course, is only by way of suggestion, - would place emphasis upon Africa's present-day place in world affairs and in U. S. governmental and business affairs, and upon the responsibility which rests upon the progressive forces in America, particularly the Negro people and labor, to support the cause of African liberation.

I plan in my report to give a review of some of the Council's work, indicating the relationship of this work to the liberation struggles going on in certain key areas of Africa, and concluding with some specific programmatic proposals which will prive the basis of discussion in the afternoon session.

We are planning to round out the morning program with speeches of 10-15 minutes by spokesmen of the Church and labor. And we are also trying to get Mr. Ernest Kalibala (of Uganda, formerly on the U.N. Trusteeship staff) and Mr. Krishna Menon of the Indian Delegation to the U.N. to come and bring messages.

We have tentatively scheduled your address to start at noon. It is not necessary for you to arrive until a few minutes before then (I can, if you wish, arrange for someone with a car to bring you to the meeting). Would a half-hour be sufficient time for you? I hope you can let me have an advance copy of your address so that it can be processed for the press.

If you have any views regarding the program I have outlined or suggestions of other possible participants, I shall welcome them.

27-4-10

I trust that you and Shirley had a very restful and fully satisfying holiday trip.

Very sincerely yours,

Alphaeus

W. A. Hunton

P. S. A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council will be held on Monday, April 12th, 8 p.m. at the Council's office, 139 West 125th St. I realize the time and place may be awkward for you but hope you can come.

There has been one new development in our case before the Subversive Activities Control Board. You may recall that quite a while ago the Attorney General made a motion to strike out all the major sections of our answer to his charges wherein we explained the real character of the Council's work. We answered this motion and the S.A.C.B. has now upheld us and denied the Attorney General's motion to limit our answer. While welcoming this minor victory, we have no illusion that we will secure final justice in this case unless a broad public campaign can be developed to expose the rottenness of the McCarran Act and secure its repeal.

27-4-71

[Council on African Affairs]

Conference in Support of African Liberation
at Friendship Baptist Church, New York City
April 24, 1954

PROPOSALS FOR KENYA AID PROGRAM

The Working Conference in support of African Liberation adopts the following program in support of the efforts of the peoples of Kenya, East Africa, to secure full political, economic and human rights in their native land:

1. An Organizing Committee shall be formed from this Conference, consisting of at least one person from each organization and city here represented;

2. Members of the Organizing Committee residing in the metropolitan New York area shall constitute the Resident Committee;

3. The Resident Committee shall hold its first meeting not later than two weeks from the date of this Conference, and shall meet at regular intervals thereafter as the Committee deems necessary;

4. The Organizing Committee and Resident Committee are empowered to organize and conduct a campaign of direct assistance to the heroic peoples of Kenya, East Africa. As parts of that campaign this Conference recommends:

A. That a nationwide Kenya Aid Committee be established, consisting of outstanding leaders and representatives of many walks of life;

B. That a goal be set to raise the sum of $5,000 in the three-month period, June-August, 1954, to be sent to aid the freedom struggles of the peoples of Kenya;

C. That quantities of dried milk, vitamin pills and first aid supplies be gathered and sent to help combat disease from malnutrition among the people of Kenya;

D. That the Kenya Committee in London, England, be contacted to serve as distributing agency for the funds and materials raised in our campaign. The Kenya Committee is headed by several prominent Kenya Africans, including Peter Mbiyu Koinange, London representative of the Kenya African Union and the Columbia University-trained founder of Kenya Teachers' College, and son of an African chief who is now held imprisoned in Kenya.

5. Local Aid Committees should be established in each borough of New York City, in the metropolitan area, and in other parts of the country where it is feasible to do so;

6. In New York City and vicinity a series of monthly forums should be organized as a means of arousing public sentiment in support of the peoples of Kenya and the aid campaign;

7. The Kenya Aid Committee shall have the power to select officers and establish sub-committees as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing and other relevant objectives.

Resolution Adopted at
Conference in Support of African Liberation
at Friendship Baptist Church, New York City
April 24, 1954

DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

We fully support the aspirations of the peoples in all sections of the continent of Africa for the rights, dignity and full freedom to which all men and women are entitled. Efforts to block the speedy fulfillment of the just goals for which Africans strive, we are convinced, will inevitably lead in Africa as in Asia to tragic and bloody conflict threatening to engulf the whole world.

We therefore join in appealing to the United Nations, to those who directly rule Africa, and to our own Government to support and promote the following policies in the interest of African liberation and for the furtherance of the principles of democratic rights, social and cultural advancement, and fraternal fellowship and peace for all mankind.

We solemnly and respectfully urge endorsement, proclamation and implementation of these measures:

1. Uphold the right of Africans to assemble freely and to voice their grievances and aspirations. Insure respect for their right to live and go where they will in their own land. Abolish the practice of gross racial discrimination, in violation of the United Nations Covenant of Human Rights, in all African territories, and most particularly in Kenya, the Union of South Africa, and other territories where rule by tyrannical decree and armed might prevails.

2. Guarantee that economic planning and development in Africa shall in fact be for the welfare and progress of the African masses. Let African labor and African resources serve African needs instead of being exploited and expropriated for the benefit and profit of foreign interests. Give Africans back the land that belongs to them and control of their own economic destiny.

3. Let there be established and declared a specific time-limit for the achievement of full self-government in every colonial territory in Africa. Stop the extension and consolidation of European rule exemplified by the demand of the Union of South Africa for the annexation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, as well as South West Africa; by the virtual annexation of territories under U.N. trusteeship by the trustee powers; and by the establishment of the white-minority-controlled Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

4. Let there be instituted immediately throughout Africa full suffrage rights and genuine representative government, unrestricted by racial, property or other qualifications. Stop the jailing and exiling of leaders in Kenya, Uganda, Morocco and other territories who voice the national aspirations of their people.

5. Condemn and forbid the establishment of military bases and the presence of military forces of any foreign power in any section of Africa, and brand such action as an infringement on the sovereign rights of peoples and as a provocation to war.

6. Bar the granting of technical, financial, or military assistance in any form to any government which, as in the case of Kenya, Morocco, Tunisia, or South Africa, is engaged in suppressing the just demands of Africans and other subject peoples for democratic rights and national self-determination.

We declare that <u>Africa must be free</u>!

(The Conference, in approving the above resolution, urged that steps be taken to secure for it the widest possible endorsement of organizations and individuals in the United States, Africa, and other lands prior to submission of the resolution to the United Nations. Endorsements should be forwarded to Dr. W. A. Hunton, Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.)

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRICANS' STRUGGLE IN KENYA

Unanimously approved by the Conference in Support of African Liberation,
Friendship Baptist Church, New York City, April 24, 1954
And sent to the United Nations, U.S. State Department, and British Colonial Officials

Whereas, according to the British Colonial Secretary's own figures, British forces, up to March 1, 1954, had killed in action what were called "suspected Mau Mau terrorists" to the number of 3,649 in Kenya, not counting an untold number of others killed in non-combat action; and

Whereas, from October, 1952, up to Jan. 30, 1954, according to official figures, British authorities in Kenya had arrested 165,462 Africans, a large proportion of whom are still detained in concentration camps; and

Whereas, in addition, the most savage brutalities and tortures have been inflicted upon African suspects; outrageous sentences of death have been imposed upon Africans in Kenya for the mere possession of a weapon or for associating with a person who had a weapon; and whole communities of thousands of Africans have been subjected to collective fines and been dispossessed of their land, cattle and other possessions; and

Whereas, the authorities have jailed virtually every popular African leader in Kenya, have outlawed the representative political organization of the people, the Kenya African Union, and have annulled the limited trade union and civil rights previously won by the people;

Therefore, be it resolved that this Conference in support of African liberation voices its strongest protest against the crimes committed by the British in Kenya, and declares that peace and order can only be restored in that territory when the Government has met the demands of the Kenya African Union for the restoration of civil liberties, the abolition of racial discrimination and the granting of democratic suffrage and just governmental representation to the African people, the provision of trade union rights and a subsistence minimum wage for African workers, and the immediate release of all Africans against whom no specific criminal charges exist.

We most strongly urge the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders, the withdrawal of British troops, and the disbandment of all volunteer police and auxiliary military forces in Kenya.

We affirm that since the British Government continues to use force of arms against the Kenya Africans instead of redressing their grievances, it is the responsibility of the United Nations to take action to protect the people of Kenya against acts of genocide.

MESSAGE SENT TO LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference in Support of African Liberation, with delegates and observers present from New York and neighboring eastern seaboard states, warmly greets the officers and members of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, and salutes them for the courageous and heroic struggle which they have waged in the face of fascist-like repression by the Malan Government.

We applaud the decision of the African National Congress to invite the cooperation of the South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats and other organizations of the people in convening a great Congress of the People to frame a charter of freedom for all who live in South Africa.

We earnestly hope that the Congress will be successful in uniting all sections of the people of your country in voicing the true interests and needs of the oppressed and persecuted millions in South Africa.

We in the United States, who like you fight against the vicious code of white supremacy, recognize our common enemy as the arrogant and selfish interests who now threaten to plunge the whole world into war rather than yield freedom to people whom they have been accustomed to regard and exploit as inferior human beings.

We pledge continued support of your valiant struggle to save South Africa from fascism and make it a place where all people, regardless of color, may live in decency and dignity.

[Council on African Affairs]

April 5, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
139 West 125 Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York

Dear Alpheus:

I have your letter of April 1.

I will be glad to speak at noon for the Working Conference.

I regret to say that I cannot attend the committee meeting April 12th.

I think the circular is very effective.

Very sincerely yours,

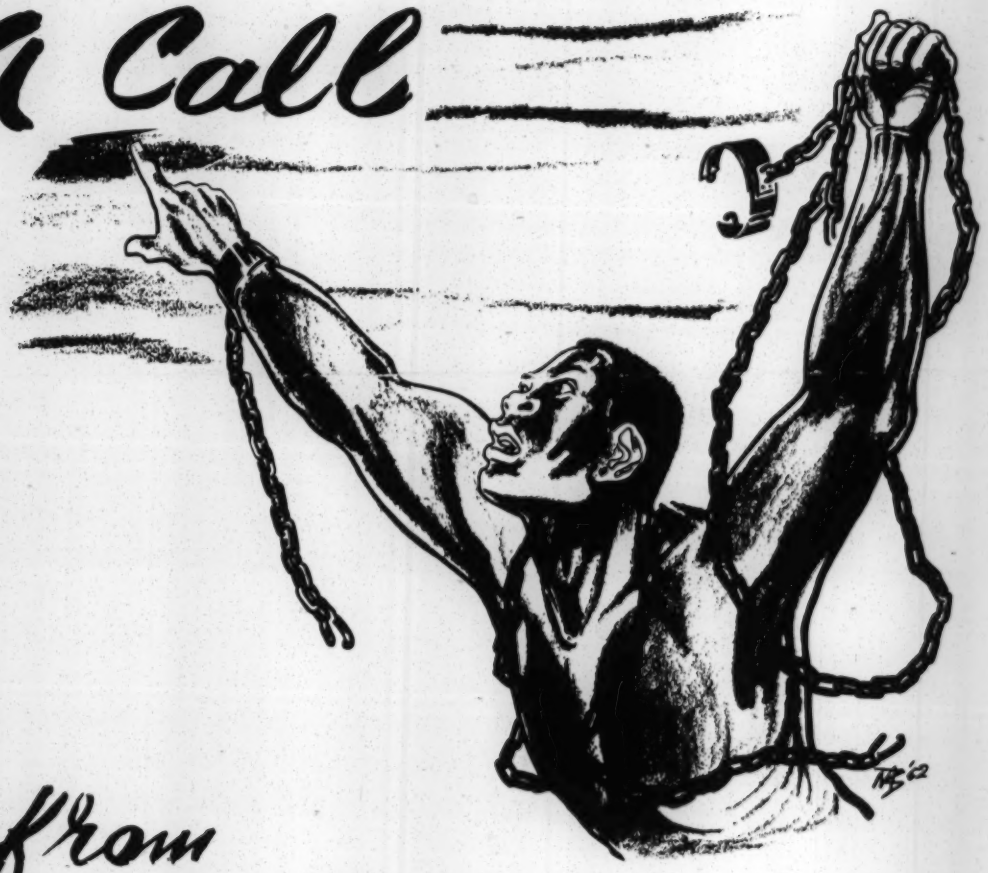
W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-72

[Council on African Affairs]

a Call



from the heroic peoples of AFRICA to Negro and white Americans

"We appeal to the men and women of our own country, and indeed of all others, for that moral and practical support which will enable us to enter the liberty and dignity which is the birthright of all men everywhere."

-- The African National Congress, South Africa.

Call to Action ...

Africa is on today's agenda!

The time has come when all freedom-loving Americans must know the truth about the heroic and desperate struggles of the peoples of Africa. From the Mediterranean to the Cape they are determined that their great continent with its ancient culture shall once again have its rightful place in the sun.

The time has come when we in America must speak out and give support to our brothers who struggle for freedom in Africa.

Do not the sufferings of the peoples of Kenya and South Africa cry out for expressions of our sympathy? Shall we not honor the brave men and women who demand and fight for their rights against great odds?

Yes, but more than this: Africa is our concern because our own security, our own democratic rights, and the prospect of our preventing the use of American means and men in shedding the blood of Africans, depend on what happens in Africa today and tomorrow.

American workers, facing increasing unemployment, must know that only by strengthening their ties with the enslaved workers of Africa can they hope to protect their living standards against the attacks of powerful interests who use their vast profits from the exploitation of Africa to beat down the labor movement at home.

Our Churches, many of which have given long missionary service in Africa, are faced today with the responsibility of initiating programs of Christian action on behalf of the people of Africa corresponding with the Christian teaching given them.

Black Americans, struggling to wipe out the humiliation and degradation of second-class citizenship, know that racist doctrines of white supremacy are grounded in the lies which continue to be taught and disseminated concerning the "backwardness" of the African people. The Africans' advance to freedom means a death-blow to the myth of African inferiority and a tremendous impetus to the advance of black Americans toward the achievement of their full rights.

. . . for a FREE AFRICA

The Council on African Affairs, believing that now is the time to act, calls upon all churches, trade unions, organizations of women and youth, fraternal, civic, and social organizations, and all other groups which may be interested in Africa's future to send delegates or observers to

A WORKING CONFERENCE

IN SUPPORT OF

AFRICAN LIBERATION

SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1954

at FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH

- 144 West 131st St., New York, N.Y.

Program

At the Morning Session, 10:30 A.M. - 1 P.M., after registering, the delegates will hear a keynote address by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, speeches by other authorities on Africa, and a report from the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. W.A. Hunton.

The Afternoon Session, 2 P.M. - 6 P.M., will be devoted to discussion from the floor by delegates as to how they and the institutions and organizations they represent can help implement a constructive program of wider information and more effective support for the African peoples' welfare and freedom. The Conference will be concluded with a statement by the Council's Chairman, Paul Robeson.

- * -

Let us come together, organize, and plan a program of action in support of African liberation - and our own security and freedom.

a full time, year round job!

The Council on African Affairs, founded in 1937, is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to serving the interests of the peoples of Africa.

The Council has the full-time and year-round job, unique among organizations in the United States, of providing Americans with the TRUTH about Africa. This it does through its monthly Spotlight on Africa Newsletter and other publications such as the recently issued documentary pamphlet, "Resistance against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa."

A major function of the Council is to act as the channel of concrete assistance from Americans to Africans. Recently, for example, the Council collected and sent more than $2,500 to aid the South African people's struggle against the Malan government's tyranny.

Numerous expressions of appreciation of the Council's work have been received from African leaders and organizations in Kenya, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Uganda and other countries. One such expression from the foremost organization of Africans in the Union of South Africa reads:

"The African National Congress highly appreciates the good work and tireless efforts made by your Council in educating our American Negro brothers and the public of America as a whole. We also express our gratitude for the assistance you have given us in our Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. The continuation of this valuable work has become more important. . . . . ."

REGISTRATION

Name.....

Address.....

Organization.....

Delegate ( ) Observer ( )

(Please use additional sheet for other registrations)

Enclosed please find $.....for registration (fee: $1 per registrant).

Enclosed please find $.....to support the work of the Council.

Return this application to:

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, N.Y.

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for a Free Africa

May 18, 1954

Dear Friend:

I wish that every Council member and every reader of our Newsletter could have been present with us at the Working Conference in Support of African Liberation held in New York on April 24th. I am sorry that I could not provide you with a report of the proceedings much sooner.

We had present some 114 delegates and observers. We would have liked many more, particularly from trade unions and churches, but we were gratified that delegates and observers came not only from the New York area but also from Washington, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Connecticut and Boston. It was a gathering of men and women, Negro and white, devoted to the cause of African freedom and eager to speak out and help organize others to act in support of that cause.

There is not space to tell of the stirring addresses by our Chairman and Vice Chairman, Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois*(see the Newsletter) and the contributions of others who spoke during the morning and afternoon sessions. You will, however, find attached here the principal Conference documents which were discussed and acted upon by the Conference delegates.

I wish to stress, as it was emphasized on April 24th, that we did not come together just to talk and listen - the Conference was not an end in itself, but simply the means toward planning and organizing to expand and strengthen the work of the Council. Therefore, even though you may not have been at the Conference, we invite and urge you to regard the decisions reached there as the common property of all who stand for African freedom.

It is in this spirit that we ask you to study carefully two of the attached documents, the Proposals for a Kenya Aid Program and the Declaration in Support of African Liberation.

We would like you to discuss both of these with others in your community, in the church, trade union, professional, civic or fraternal organizations to which you may belong. How can endorsements of the Declaration be secured? How can support for the Kenya Aid Program be developed?

Please let us have your suggestions and comments. Please ask for any information you want if you don't get it fast enough as the Kenya Aid Campaign gets underway. Please, above all, let us know that we have your cooperation. If we do, we can be sure that the decisions of the April 24th Conference will be translated into effective action in support of African Freedom.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton,
Secretary.

* The complete text of Dr. Du Bois' address may be obtained by forwarding ten cents to this office to cover the cost of postage and handling.

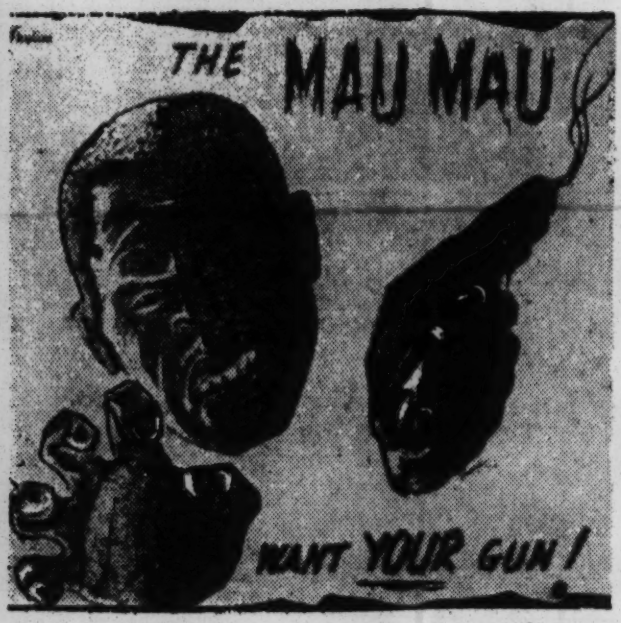
[INCOMPLETE]

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
139 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Suite 6 • MOnument 6-8700

May 18, 1954 XIII, 5 Subscription $1 a year

END OF BRITAIN'S "DIRTY WAR" IN KENYA URGED



Angered by their failure to bribe or trick their foe into surrender, the British in Kenya have launched what they call 'Operation Anvil, the latest in a long series of savage 'operations' by the 'white Mau Mau,' as the military and police are known to Kenya Africans, aimed at crushing all resistance to white settler domination. Unknown thousands of Kenya Africans have been killed and more than 200,000, like those shown above, have been arrested since Oct. 1952 in repeated 'mopping up and 'screening' operations. But the resistance goes on!

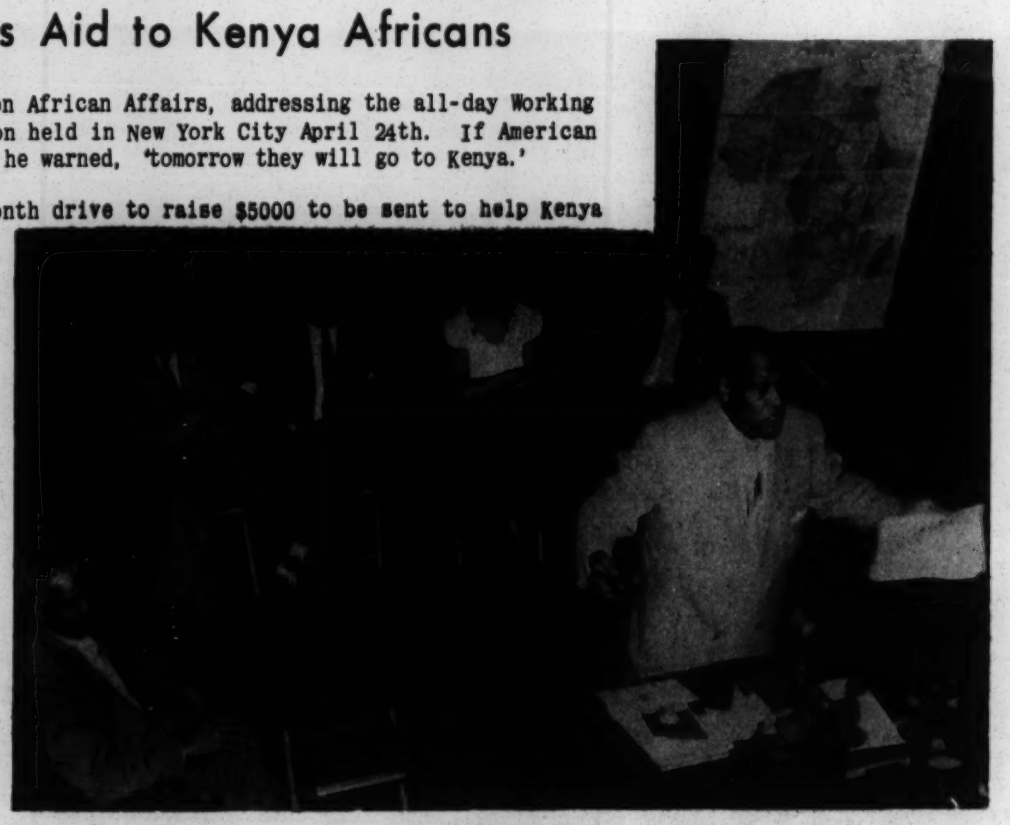
In England, the Kenya Committee, organized jointly by Africans and anti-Imperialist British, is telling the true story of the struggle in Kenya to the people. Above right: Semakula Mulumba of Uganda addressing a demonstration held by the Kenya Committee in London's Trafalgar Square.

At left is one of the vicious racist posters plastered around the white areas of Kenya. Yes, to defend themselves the Africans must use their oppressor's own weapons But what they really want is not guns, but their Land and their Rights!

Conference Pledges Aid to Kenya Africans

Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, addressing the all-day Working Conference in Support of African Liberation held in New York City April 24th. If American soldiers were sent to fight in Indo-China, he warned, 'tomorrow they will go to Kenya.'

The Conference agreed to launch a 3-month drive to raise $5000 to be sent to help Kenya Africans. It also approved a resolution calling for British acceptance of the political and economic demands of the Kenya African Union, the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders, the withdrawal of British troops, and action by the U.N. to 'protect the people of Kenya against acts of genocide.' Also adopted was a six-point resolution, to be presented to the United Nations, in support of the political and economic emancipation of Afticans in all territories.



Seated on the platform (l. to r.): Charles A. Collins, Louis E. Burnham, editor of Freedom, Edward L. Nelson, Org. Director of the Council, Mrs. Maude White Katz, and Dr. W.A. Hunton, the Council's Secretary.

Haile Selassie's Visit Linked with U.S. Aims in Middle East

On his way home from the Crimea Conference in early 1945, President Roosevelt paused in his journey off the coast of Egypt to invite Haile Selassie to meet and talk with him. This meeting, according to the State Department, was 'significant of our common determination to build a world in which the democratic rights of all people may be made secure regardless of race, color or creed.' (upper right photo)

Times have changed. Today the chief factor of interest in Haile Selassie's forthcoming visit to this country, in the eyes of the State Dept., is the Emporor's readiness and willingness for his country to serve as a 'free world' ally of the U.S. in the strategic Middle East, an area where the State Dept. has had little success in trying to form an anti-Communist bloc. Besides Ethiopia, Only Turkey and Pakistan have been won over.

Since 1945, U.S. economic and military advisers (lower right photo) have taken the place of the British advisers who formerly surrounded the Emporer and directed Ethiopia's affairs. And U.S. loans have replaced British subsidies.

In 1952 the Emporer signed (photo at left) the articles of ratification establishing the Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea, which the United Nations, after five years of discussion, finally approved in 1950. Was this the payment for Ethiopia's agreement to serve the U.S. in East Africa as Liberia serves it in West Africa?

African labor delegates greet Abdoulaye Diallo (seated) at a recent meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Diallo is Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and General Secretary of the French Sudan Trade Unions. Last March the Chamber of Commerce and the former Governor of the Sudan charged Diallo with misrepresentation in newspaper articles he had written. Workers and peasants rallied to his support. They testified at the trial that it was true, as Diallo had said, that the Chamber of Commerce was 'stealing' the peasants' crops. They also held a big mass meeting and called a half-day general strike in Bamako. Well to be brief, the matter ended with a verdict of acquittal for Diallo.

Africans in the Gold Coast are shown above registering for the General Election which is to take place there soon. Campaigning is now at fever-pitch for the 104 members, all Africans, who are to be elected to the Legislative Assembly. The most prominent candidate is, of course, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who faces his first electoral contest since entering office. All men and women aged 21 are qualified to vote if they meet certain residence, tax and registration qualifications and have not within 5 years been jailed for more than one year or convicted of any offense involving dishonesty.

IT ALL DEPENDS ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW. . .

Replying to a letter from Rev. John Piersma of the Oakdale Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, has given the following explanation of the way he and his class think:

"It must be appreciated from the outset that Apartheid, separation, segregation or differentiation -- whatever the name given the traditional racial policy of South Africa -- is part and parcel of the South African tradition as practised since the first Dutch settlement at the Cape in 1652 and still supported by the large majority of white South Africans of the main political parties.

"The deep-rooted color consciousness of the White South Africans -- a phenomenon quite beyond the comprehension of the uninformed -- arises from the fundamental difference between the two groups, White and Black. The difference in color is merely the physical manifestation of the contrast between two irreconcilable ways of life, between barbarism and civilization, between heathenism and Christianity, and finally between overwhelming numerical odds on the one hand and insignificant numbers on the other. Such it was in the early beginnings and such it largely remains. The racial differences are as pronounced today as they were 300 years ago. Small wonder that the instinct of self-preservation is so inherent in the White South African. He has retained his identity all these years. He is not willing to surrender it now."

So there you have it from the horse's mouth, so to speak.

How many Americans agree with Malan's reasoning? There are, of course, Governors Talmadge and Byrnes and many others of that ilk, not all of them in the South, either. But it is noteworthy that one also finds leading American industrialists accepting, or at least condoning, the racism of Malan and Co.

A while back it was Mr. H. De Witt Smith, Vice Chairman of the Newmont Mining Corporation (main office 14 Wall Street, New York; mining properties all over Africa and other continents), saying: "South Africa receives very bad publicity overseas, but the American investor has confidence in the Union." Last month he was echoed by another Big Businessman, Mr. Stanley C. Allyn, President and Director of the National Cash Register Company, and a Director of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Allyn, at a press conference in Johannesburg, said: "I cannot understand why South Africa gets such a bad press overseas. It is a great country, with fine people, and certainly does not deserve the criticism which it receives in some overseas countries."

We agree - South Africa is a great country in many respects and it surely has many fine people, including some whites. But as to the criticism of the country being deserved or not - well, it all depends on your point of view.

* * *

NOTES WORTH NOTING

"Free"Elections in South Africa: As predicted in our last Newsletter, Miss Ray Alexander won the election for "Native Representative" from Western Cape to the South African Assembly, receiving 3,525 votes as against 998 for the Liberal Party candidate and 190 for the other also-ran. And as also predicted, as a "Named" Communist she was stopped on April 27 from entering the House of Assembly. The seat was again declared vacant and another election is to be held. How long is this farce to be continued?

What "Western Civilization" has Brought to Africa: According to the official Bulletin Mensuel des Statistiques d'Outre-Mer (March-April, 1952), imports of wine into French West Africa increased from 11,367 tons in 1938 to 39,531 tons in 1951; and of spirits, from 611 tons to 5,643 tons. In French Equatorial Africa, imports of wine increased from 2,293 tons in 1938 to 13,969 tons in 1951; and of spirits, from 108 tons to 2,114 tons.

The Economics of Racial Oppression: In strife-torn Kenya the average earnings of African wage-earners is $73, that of Asians and other non-whites is $774, while that of the whites (who comprise six-tenths of one percent of the total population) is $1848. These figures (for yearly income) are given in a U.N. "Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Selfgoverning Territories."

Solution for Kenya: What seems to be a wise recommendation is given by W.E. Gordon of Princeton, N.J., in a recently published letter in the N.Y. Times: "The sociological and political work now indispensable to a real solution /to the present problems in Kenya/ should be done by disinterested third parties, preferably a small group appointed by the United Nations, in which no colonial power should be represented."

The New Missionaries: Following closely on Prime Minister Nkrumah's welcome to foreign investors (and banning of Communists from public office and alleged Communist publications from the country), it is now reported (West Africa, April 10) that a team of American investment experts is to make a 3-months survey, at U.S. Govt. expense, to assess the possibilities of U.S. investment in the Gold Coast.

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . W.A. Hunton, Secretary

filed under Zuko

June 1, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The enclosed was handed to me by someone who got it from a seaman, who brought it from Nigeria, so I was told. And it was said to be for you. I cannot vouch for any part of the story but send the letter on to you.

Sincerely.

Alphaeus

P.S. I am sorry we have not been able to capitalize

in some way on Selassie's visit. Under separate
envelope I have mailed you a copy of a letter I
got off to him today. I hope you approve of
the letter.

For Release June 2, 1954

Council on African Affairs
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

New York -- On the day of the official visit by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to the United Nations headquarters in New York, the Council on African Affairs addressed an urgent appeal to him to seek action by the world organization toward righting the wrongs done Kenya Africans and ending the conflict in the British colony on Ethiopia's southern border.

"We are cognizant of the great importance which Your Excellency places upon the principle of collective security in international affairs," the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. W. A. Hunton, wrote the Emperor. "But we are firmly convinced that no system of collective security can have a sound moral basis or can succeed in its avowed objectives unless it is constructed upon the cornerstone of advancing the rights and liberties of the subject peoples of Africa.

"Our organization is particularly concerned with the present deplorable and dangerous situation in the country on your southern border, Kenya. Our organization shares the opinion of responsible African leaders that the wanton killing and incarceration of thousands of Africans in Kenya can lead only to the prolongation and spread of the conflict, and that the path to peace and order in Kenya must be found in the alleviation of the oppression and grievances which the Africans there suffer.

"Since there is no prospect of the British Government changing its policy of seeking to restore order in Kenya simply by means of armed force, and since the aggravation of the conflict in this territory on Ethiopia's southern border is certainly contrary to the best interests of Ethiopia itself, I write on behalf of the Council on African Affairs earnestly appealing to Your Excellency to urge the United Nations to establish a commission composed of representatives of non-colonial powers to investigate the conflict in Kenya and make such recommendations regarding the status and rights of the African inhabitants as may bring about the speedy return to peace and order in Kenya."

The letter to the Emperor also conveyed the hope that he would use the occasion of his visit to the United States "to impress upon American opinion the urgency of support for the speedy liberation of all African peoples from foreign domination."

The Council on African Affairs, at a conference on April 24, launched a campaign to collect and forward financial assistance to Kenya Africans.

#########

(Full Text of Letter, dated June 1, 1954, to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia from Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, 139 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y. Attention is invited especially to the last paragraph.)

Your Excellency:

The Council on African Affairs joins in extending you a warm welcome upon your visit to the United States and hopes that your stay here may be most pleasant.

As a non-partisan, private organization interested for many years in promoting the welfare and rights of peoples in all sections of the continent of Africa, the Council gave much attention, in its publications and at public meetings, to the just claims of your Government before the United Nations for the return of Eritrea and Somaliland. We have followed closely and reported to the people of the United States the advances which have been made in your country since the ousting of the Italian fascist invaders.

We hope that you will use the occasion of your visit here to impress upon American opinion the urgency of support for the speedy liberation of all African peoples from foreign domination. Such foreign domination must be regarded as a danger to the security of Ethiopia and the whole of Africa, whether it takes the form of armed repression as in Kenya and French North Africa, of legislation enforcing a servile status for non-white peoples notably exemplified in the Union of South Africa, of colonial rule in its various forms, or of economic and military domination.

We are cognizant of the great importance which Your Excellency places upon the principle of collective security in international affairs. But we are firmly convinced that no system of collective security can have a sound moral basis or can succeed in its avowed objectives unless it is constructed upon the cornerstone of advancing the rights and liberties of the subject peoples of Africa.

Our organization is particularly concerned with the present deplorable and dangerous situation in the country on your southern border, Kenya. The conflict which has been raging there for more than a year and a half is a matter of great concern to Negro Americans and many white Americans, as well as to Africans in all sections of the continent. Our organization shares the opinion of responsible African leaders that the wanton killing and incarceration of thousands of Africans in Kenya can lead only to the prolongation and spread of the conflict and that the path to peace and order in Kenya must be found in the alleviation of the oppression and grievances which the Africans there suffer.

Since there is no prospect of the British Government changing its policy of seeking to restore order in Kenya simply by means of armed force, and since the aggravation of the conflict in this territory on Ethiopia's southern border is certainly contrary to the best interests of Ethiopia itself, I write on behalf of the Council on African Affairs earnestly appealing to Your Excellency to urge the United Nations to establish a commission composed of representatives of non-colonial powers to investigate the conflict in Kenya and make such recommendations regarding the status and rights of the African inhabitants as may bring about the speedy return to peace and order in Kenya.

Respectfully yours,

June 8, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Alpheus:

I am glad to get the matter which you sent to the Emperor of Ethiopia. But remember that he must not be addressed as "Your Excellency". He is "His Imperial Majesty" and has a right to that title stretching back a couple of thousand years. We say "Excellency" to ambassadors but not to ruling monarchs.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . W.A. Hunton, Secretary

August 25, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois.

I have received the statement. It impresses me as being an historic and important expression and should be handled as something more than just a press release. I am discussing the matter with others and shall let you know how we think it best to use the statement.

Sincerely,

alphaeus

If you can waste 35¢, see J B. Matthews' article in The American Mercury for Sept. The Council is referred to.

August 30, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Alpheus:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have just sent to Louis Burnham.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

enc.

for a Free Africa

September 2, 1954

To Members of the Kenya Aid Committee
and of the Executive Board of the Council on African Affairs

Dear Co-Worker:

Well, the summer has come and gone, and we address ourselves now to our plans and activities for the fall. There is much to be done, and we will be greatly aided in the doing of it if you will plan to be present with us at a meeting to be held at the Council's office, Wednesday, September 8, at 8 p.m.

Thanks to the faithful and energetic support of several of you, we have been able to carry forward our work during the summer months: the street meetings (four of them, though the last was interrupted by rain), the visits to summer camps and meetings with various other groups in New York and near-by communities, the circulation of the Kenya Aid raffle books, and the sale of AFRICA MUST BE FREE buttons and our Council literature.

I want to convey the Council's appreciation to all of you -- to Mr. Cyril Philip, Chairman of the Kenya Aid Committee, to Mrs. Robeson, Chairman of the Council's Executive Board, to Mrs. Lerner, Mrs. Logan, Mrs. Chisolm, Mrs. Upshure, Mr. Rausch and others who gave unstinting aid in the conduct of our work during the summer. And the Council's thanks goes also to its Organizational Director, Mr. Edward Nelson, who had a major responsibility for these activities.

Now, as we go into September, we have as one major task the speeding up of the Kenya Aid Campaign, and specifically the raffle project, so that we may carry it through to success in the few weeks remaining before the raffle drawing takes place on October 16. This will require a BIG PUSH on the part of ALL of us.

That -- plus other important matters requiring our collective planning and labor -- is why we are most anxious for your attendance at our meeting on Wednesday. Please don't fail us.

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton
Secretary

Dear Dr. Du Bois.
With regard to your article, it would seem that the best first step would be to send it to Mr. Carl Murphy of the Afro-American newspapers, 628 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore - with a covering letter indicating that it is offered for their exclusive use. Could you do this, or would you like me to? I shall be in touch with you on Friday. - Alphaeus.

Paul Robeson, Chairman
W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman
Rayford L. Logan, Treasurer
W. A. Hunton, Secretary

September 27, 1954

Dear Doctor Du Bois:

Anent Tubman's state visit to the U. S. next month, we ran a brief item and some pictures in the Sept. issue of our Newsletter. We need something of a more rounded appraisal of U. S. – Liberian relations for our October issue. Would you have the time and inclination to do it? Preferably, about 800 words, but we can allow more space if necessary. I should like to have it by Oct. 8, if possible.

I received recently a long letter from Azikiwe which was sharply critical of things the Newsletter has had to say about him and others. I shall shortly send you a copy of his letter and my proposed reply.

We have received a warm letter of thanks from the Kenyatta Defense Fund in London for the $500 collected and recently sent them by our Kenya Aid Committee.

Sincerely,

Ephaems

27-29-17

September 29, 1954

Dr. Alpheus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

My dear Alpheus:

Answering your letter of September 27th, I do not think that I would care to say anything about United States-Liberian relations.

Anything that I said would not be too kind, and perhaps there is no reason for stirring up unpleasant things on the occasion of the President's visit.

I am glad to hear that something has gone to Kenya.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

21-19-18

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York
Paul Robeson, Chairman . W.E.B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman . W.A. Hunton, Secretary

October 4, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed is a copy of the subpoena that was served upon me Friday, October 1st.

I am going to Washington tomorrow morning (Tuesday) to confer with counsel. Efforts will be made either to quash the subpoena or secure limitation of the documents requested, or at the least get a postponement of the returnable date.

I should, of course, wish to have the benefit of the judgment of our Executive Board members in this matter. The time factor, however, presents a problem. If a telephone poll on Wednesday indicates the possibility of our meeting, it will be so arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Alphaeus Hunton

W. A. Hunton

Grand Jury

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
for the District of Columbia

THE UNITED STATES

vs.

John Doe

REPORT TO UNITED STATES DISTRICT
COURT HOUSE
Between 3rd Street & John Marshall Place
and on Constitution Ave., N.W.
ROOM 3812
Washington, D. C.

The President of the United States to W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
139 West 125th St.
New York 27, New York

You are hereby commanded to attend before the Grand Jury of said Court on Thursday, the 7th day of October, 1954, at 9:30 o'clock A.M., to testify on behalf of the United States, and not depart the Court without leave of the Court or District Attorney.

AND BRING WITH YOU

the original or, in the absence of original, a copy of each of the following documents:

(a) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the African National Congress and/or its officers for the period of January 1, 1946 to the date of the receipt of this subpoena.

(b) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the South African Indian Congress and/or its officers for the period specified in (a) above.

(c) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and any individual outside the United States affiliated with a foreign government, foreign political party, and/or any organizations located in a foreign country for the period specified in (a) above.

(d) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any foreign government and/or political party for the period specified in (a) above.

(e) All books and records of accounts covering receipts and disbursements of funds or anything of value between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any individual, organization, or political party outside the United States and any foreign government within the period specified in (a) above.

(f) All materials published and/or disseminated by the Council on African Affairs, Inc., for the period specified in (a) above.

WITNESS: The Honorable Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge of said Court, this 27th day of September, 1954

Harry M. Hull, Clerk. (printed)

(blank)
..... By John C. Coogan, Deputy Clerk. (signed)

Attorney for ..(blank).....

(imprint of seal)

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA [COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110

For immediate release, October 16, 1954

PROSECUTION THREATENED FOR AID TO AFRICANS

At a Federal Grand Jury hearing in Washington, D.C., to which he was subpoenaed, Dr. W.A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, was informed that the Justice Department regards the work done by the Council in sending aid for the relief of needy Africans in South Africa as grounds for possible prosecution under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The subpoena served on Dr. Hunton ordered him to bring before the Grand Jury on October 7 all correspondence with the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, which have jointly led the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa, as well as all other foreign correspondence from 1946 to date, all records of funds sent abroad by the Council, and all materials published or disseminated by the organization in the same nine-year period.

The only other witness besides Dr. Hunton to appear before the Grand Jury during its three and a half day session on this matter was Dr. Max Yergan, who was ousted in 1948 from his executive post and membership in the Council on African Affairs. Yergan was closeted with the Grand Jury for the first full day and a half, while Hunton waited to be called in. He made two further appearance before the Grand Jury at intervals between testimony by Hunton.

The close questioning of Dr. Hunton on the Council's contacts with various individuals and organizations in South Africa and elsewhere, it was learned, was aimed at trying to establish that those in the leadership of movements for African welfare and freedom were Communist or Communist-controlled .

This was the same thesis that Yergan set forth in a lengthy interview in the magazine, U.S. News and World Report, May 1, 1953. The views he expressed in that interview were sharply attacked both by African leaders and by Negro spokesmen and newspaper editorialists and columnists in the United States.

Dr. Hunton told the Grand Jury that the Council on African Affairs was not the agent of any foreign principal and therefore had never considered the question of registering as such. He stated that the real issue in the case was the moral question of whether it is right or wrong for Americans to give assistance to Africans who are in distress and want.

The Council, whose chairman and vice-chairman are Paul Robeson and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, collected and sent large quantities of food and money in 1946-47 for the relief of African famine distress in South Africa. In 1952-53 it collecetd and

(MORE)

4/10/54

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

SUMMARY of INCOME and DISBURSEMENTS for 1952 and 1953 and BUDGET for 10 Months, March - December, 1954

I N C O M E				D I S B U R S E M E N T S		
1952	1953	Target 1954		1952	1953	Estimated 1954
$2981.40	$1115.28	$6000.00	Contributions			
344.35	543.28	1500.00	News Letter	$583.66	$704.62	$1800.00
464.00	256.00	800.00	Memberships ($2 each)			
	165.18	500.00	Pamphlets - net			
424.00	239.68	200.00	Film Rentals - net			
			Weekly News Service			1100.00
		500.00	Speaking Tour - net			
808.92	946.54	2200.00	Fund Raising Affairs-net			
2000.00	500.00		Loans			
			Action Programs - net	287.32	60.18	
			Miscellaneous -- net	11.24	8.18	
			Tel. and Tel.	242.73	170.55	200.00
			Stationery, postage, etc.	893.17	561.29	940.00
			Office maintenance	386.77		200.00
			Taxes on salaries	337.10	373.38	1333.00
			Take-home salary-clerical	1987.00	419.84	1126.60
			Take-home salary-executive	2001.15	1369.05	4996.60

TOTAL of ADMINISTRATIVE INCOME and DISBURSEMENTS

1952			1953			1954(10 mo.)
Net Income	$7022.67		Net Income	$3765.96		Net Income Target..$11700.00
Net Disburs.	6730.14		Net Disburs.	3667.09		Net Disburs. Est.....11696.20
Balance		292.53	Balance		98.87	
Total Income	8007.55		Total Income	4857.15		
Total Disburs.	7715.02		Total Disburs.	4758.28		
Balance		292.53	Balance		98.87	
Brought forward 1/1/52		25.30	Brought forward 1/1/53		317.83	
Carried forward 1/1/53		317.83	Carried forward 1/1/54		416.70	

TOTAL of OTHER INCOME and DISBURSEMENTS

S. Africa Aid - 1952			S.Africa Aid - 1953			Legal Defense- 1953		
Contributions		$2442.41	Contributions	$367.82		Income:		
			Prev.Bal.	7.87		Contributions	$1460.00	
Forwarded to S.Africa	2000.00				375.69	Loans	700.00	
Expenses	434.54							2160.00
		2434.54	Forwarded to S.Afr:	367.82		Disbursements:		
Carried forward		7.87	Expenses	7.44		Attorney Fees	1100.00	
					375.69	Other Expenses	300.67	
								1400.67
						Carried forward		759.33

511 East 86 St.
New York 28, N.Y.
Sept. 17, 1954

My dear Dr. DuBois,

Please forgive me for intruding on your very busy time, but I have been trying to get a copy of your play, "Haiti" for Mr. Bertolt Brecht of the Theatre Ensemble in Berlin, and have discovered that it is out of print. Is there any place that you might know where I could purchase this play to send it to Mr. Brecht? I should be very grateful for any help you can give me.

Cordially,
Louise J. Craig

27-1-42

September 24, 1954

Miss Louise J. Craig
511 East 86 Street
New York 28, N.Y.

My dear Miss Craig:

I am sorry to be so late in answering your letter of September 17. My wife tells me that she has given you the information.

Let me simply repeat that I did not write the play "Haiti". It was written by a white man, William Du Bois, under the auspices of the WPA. He is now employed in the Book Department of the New York Times.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-43

[CURRENT EVENTS FORUM]
March 3, 1954

Dear Sir,

Regarding the telephone conversation my wife had with you in reference to a speaking engagement, I would like to go into further details.

Our committee would like very much to engage you for Thursday April 8 at 8:30 P.M., if this date is agreeable to you.

The place is the Jewish Cultural Center, 516 - Clinton ave, Newark, N.J.

As you may know, this group is a former I.W.O. lodge, and now is in the process of formulating some sort of current events forum. Therefore, may I please ask you to suggest the topic you wish to speak on. Since, I understand you are about to leave on a trip Sunday, would you please confirm the date and submit the topic of discussion before you leave.

Naturally, we want as much time as possible for publicity reasons.

It is the heartfelt wish of our committee that you can make it. May I hear from you very soon?

Answered March 4
Yes $50
"The Spread of Communism"

Sincerely yours,
Leon Ritz

150 Dewey St.,
Newark 8 - NJ

27-5-37

March 20, 1954

Dear Dr. Boire:

In reference to your scheduled appearance in Newark on April 8, a Mr. J. Ames will meet you at the Information Desk in the Penn Station, Newark at about 8:00 or 8:15 P.M. to drive you to the meeting place.

If I hear nothing to the contrary, I'll assume these arrangements are satisfactory to you.

Very sincerely,
Leon Ritz.
for the Current Events Forum
of Newark.

27-5-36

April 5, 1954

Mr. Leon Ritz
150 Dewey Street
Newark 8, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Ritz:

In accordance with your letter of March 20th, I shall be at the Information Desk of the Pennsylvania Station in Newark at about 8 o'clock Thursday, April 8th.

My subject will be "The Spread of Socialism" and I will speak about one-half hour and then, if you wish, answer questions.

The remuneration will be $50.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

21-5-38

April 6, 1954

Mr. Leon Ritz
150 Dewey Street
Newark 8, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Ritz:

I forgot yesterday to remind you that since I read most of my lectures I should like to have in the lecture room a reading stand, breast high. A table will not do and interferes with my delivery.

Please see that such a stand is furnished.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-30

CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRICAL AND LITERARY AGENCY

Telegrams: DILIAG, Prague
Phones: 351-40, 346-20, 345-73

JEČNÁ 6, PRAGUE II
Czechoslovakia

V-

7.I.54.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
31, Grace Court,
Brooklyn, New York.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

We have pleasure in informing you that Messrs. Československý spisovatel, the publishing house controlled by the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, are lively interested in your work FOR SILVER FLEECE.

Kindly let us know whether this is a novel or an article or a short story and send us a copy for consideration.

With many thanks in anticipation, we are,

Sincerely yours,

Czechoslovak Theatrical
and Literary Agency

Dr Vojtěch Strnad

2701034 - 89141

Book

March 3, 1954

Dr. Vojtech Strnad
Czechoslovak Theatrical and Literary Agency
Jecna 6
Prague II
Czechsbovakia

Dear Dr. Strnad:

My book, "Quest of the Silver Fleece," is a novel published in 1911 which has long been out of print and can only be found in second hand stores.

If I come across a copy at a reasonable price I shall be glad to send it to you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[CZECHOSLOVAKIA]

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Dr. Vaclaw Navratil, Ministry of Information
Trieste 9
Prague III, Czechoslovakia

Dear Dr. Navratil:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

27-70-15

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am dear Dr. Navratil

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

21-8-16

[Czechoslovakia]

April 29, 1954

His Excellency, The Ambassador of Czechoslovakia
and Madame Karel Petrselka
2349 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois regret that they cannot attend the reception on Sunday, May 9th.

They are, however, pleased to say that they will attend a celebration on that day at the residence of the Czechoslovakian Consul in New York.

January 4, 1954

Mr. Alan Max, Editor
Daily Worker
35 East 12 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I congratulate the Worker on thirty years of survival. Not only for its defense of the right of a human being to believe in Communism but for its vindication of the right of an American citizen to disagree with dominant public opinion even if it is dictated by wealth and power. This was and still is the foundation stone of all real democracy and your success in upholding it is proved by the fact that your bitterest enemies are compelled to read your words and quote them in order to sustain their own arguments.

I trust that thirty more years of work lies before you.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

DAILY WORKER

35 east 12th st., New York 3, N. Y. Algonquin 4-7954

February 9, 1954.

W.E.B.Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

With the tremendous victory in the reversal of the 20-year "sedition" - conviction of Steve Nelson, we momentarily expect the release of our Eastern Pennsylvania correspondent, Jim Dolsen, who is still jailed in Pittsburgh on a similar charge.

To celebrate this victory, and promote the fight-back spirit for Freedom of the Press and for other journalist victims of the Smith Act, we are holding a banquet on March 19th.

We feel you, too, would want to share in this celebration. We are, therefore, asking you to join in sponsoring this important affair.

Hoping to hear from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Max

Alan Max, Managing Editor.

ANG:CIO:NY
AL:SK

301

March 1, 1954

Mr. Alan Max
Daily Worker
35 East 12 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Max;

I regret to say that during the month of March I expect to be in the Virgin Islands and therefore cannot attend the banquet on March 19th.

Thank you for the invitation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE DAN-AMERICA ARCHIVES

Address all communications to:
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Archivist

THE ARCHIVES
THE ARCHIVES LIBRARY
THE AMERICAN LIBRARY

Librarian and Archivist in Charge
SVEND WAENDELIN

KØBENHAVN Ø., DENMARK
8. KRISTIANIAGADE

Dec. 21st, 1954.

Mr.
Wm.E.B.Du Bois, Author.
409. Edgecombe Ave.
New York 32. N.Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

in connection with the Archives we have here a rather big and good American Library, containing historical, social, geographical and pictorial material. Our funds are very, very small so I have to try to get new material by begging from institutions as weel as individuals.

Several American authors have been kind enough to send us copies of their books. Professor Anson P.Stokes have sent us several valuable volumes, f.inst. your book: " Encyclopedia of the Negro". I know you have written many other books so I ask you to send us some of these, if you have any spare copies lying around.

I myself have been an American citizen. I was for years connected with the big libraries in Chicago, my last four years over there I was at the Univ. of Chicago Libraries. I returned to Denmark in order to take charge of this institution.

Hoping to hear from you and thanking you in advance for whatever you can and will do for us, I am with kind regards and best wishes for the new year

very sincerely yours

Sv. Waendelin

sent "In Battle"
"Suppression"
"Souls of Black Folk"
Jan/1955

Book Credit
Petty Funds

13 books

1952 Jr Ballad Poems
(Czech - Class

1958 Sandy 7 & 9 Junior Ed

1954 Sidney St. Co

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Africa
1915
1929 Black Gold
1939 World Afire

THE AFRO-AMERICA ARCHIVES

Form letter

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

M. Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-Pres., De L'Assemblee De
Bureau 40, Palais-Bourbon L'Union Francaise
Paris, France

Dear M.D'Arboussier:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

27-8-16

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear M. D'Arboussier

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

27-8-17

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

Ramananda Das, Secretary, All India Depressed Classes League
12 Arpuli Lane
Calcutta, India

Dear Mr. Das:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

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I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President E isenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Asia to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Das

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

4121 Forest Ave., Kansas City 10, Mo.

January 25, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May I take the liberty of appealing to you as a fellow-victim of the current hysteria for advice in a difficult situation?

I am a college teacher, a Marxist, who just lost his job under the circumstances described in the enclosed clipping. You will observe that there was no criticism of my teaching. If I had been closed-minded or doctrinaire, and that had been proved against me, they would not have had to fire me--I would have resigned.

I appeal to you because I have always been interested in Negro rights and Negro education and would like to find a position teaching in a Negro college. My thought was that you might be acquainted with some president or some institution which would not mind standing out against the forces of darkness represented by McCarthy and Jenner, even to the extent of hiring a Marxist to teach economics and sociology.

I am a Harvard A.B., Columbia Ph.D., 55 years old. The doors of practically all white colleges will I feel sure be closed to me from now on. I have a long experience in connection with the labor movement and labor is my special subject. I would be glad of any suggestions you might care to offer.

Sincerely yours,

Horace B. Davis

formerly Associate Professor of Economics, University of Kansas City

27-17A-2

February 5, 1954

Professor Horace B. Davis
4121 Forest Avenue
Kansas City 10, Mo.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I have received your letter of January 25th with great sympathy.

Unfortunately, I am unable to help you in any way. I, also, am a great sympathizer with Marxism and have taught it while I was a teacher. I recognize, however, that today there is no place in the United States where I would be allowed to teach. You can realize, that under such circumstances I am not in a position to help anyone else.

I regret also to say that you would probably have even less opportunity to teach in Negro colleges than in white. I may be wrong about this, and I advise you to make application. But in case you do apply, I should stress as little as possible your dismissal from the University of Kansas City. You might put the emphasis on the need of a change of climate.

I trust this suggestion may be of some value.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-174-3

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OPERATIONS MISSION TO LIBERIA

GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS
to Friends
on My Birthday

1888 - - - - - February Eleventh - - - - - 1954

I send you greetings on my birthday - February Eleventh. I am your debtor. Congratulations and thanks to you. I am a mixture. The elements which have become the enriching and enduring parts of myself are of you and others. Destiny has not permitted me to go my way alone. I am a part of much and many.

Along the way, I met you and John Hope and Booker T. Washington, Tobias, Nutter, Brawley, Bethune, Clark, Mordecai, Ware, Archer, Coffman and Judd, Trent, Clement, Holmes, Thompson, Alexander, Scurlock and Tubman, Nabrit, Moreland, Emmett, Walter, Roosevelt, Ralph and Truman, Bond, Homer Holt, Fairfax, Ira, Conant, Bob, Koontz, Mays, Damon, Dick and Brown, Gregg, Wright, Tapley, Powell, Jim, Thurmond, Chapin, Foster and Atwood, Houston, Givens, Caliver, Johnson, Jones, Dennis, Wallace, Bumpus, Woodson, Charles, Evans, Cobb, Frank, George W. Carver, Coleman, Spaulding, Lloyd Allen Cook, Hand, Gandy, Koch, Tranholm, John Dale Russell, Lillian, DuBois, Irvin Stewart, Drake, Virginia, Watson, Patterson, Lee, Ambrose, Young, Dudley and Moton, Sanders, Corma, Hill, Adams and a host of others. All of these persons have given, oftentimes unwittingly, of themselves freely to me and others--they have stimulated life and living. It is a goodly company.

27-18-66

The journey from Milledgeville to Savannah to Americus, Washington, D. C., Institute, West Virginia; Englewood, Europe and Liberia (West Africa) has afforded me time for contemplation on things that matter most. I have never won or lost alone nor have I ever considered myself as being the central necessity of the universe.

There has been justification for risks of faith. Defeat has pointed to victory. The travel has been purposeful and meaningful in a fellowship of worship and service. There was fun, laughter and tears along the way. The harmonies of faith and science, the attractiveness of reform without rupture, the beauty of differences, the urge for freedom among men, the challenge of the unknown and the call of God have served as beds of flowers along the highway inviting achievement.

I am greeting you as I begin anew. I have a zest for life. A feeling of radiant reality to the relevancies of our contemporary life urges us onward. Congratulations are due my friends on revealing to me the fuller meaning of my natal day--February Eleventh.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Director
U. S. Operations Mission to Liberia
c/o American Embassy
Monrovia, Liberia
(West Africa)

Dr. Du Bois -
I am thinking
to-day of friends. Yours life
has meant so much to me.
I shall join me in love to U. S.
you and yours.
John W. Davis

2-11-54

27-18-67

February 25, 1954

Mr. John W. Davis
Operations Mission to Liberia
c/o American Embassy
Monrovia, Liberia
West Africa

My dear Mr. Davis:

Shirley and I were very glad to receive your birthday letter, especially since February is also my birthday month and I was 86 on February 23.

In the array of persons who have become elements of yourself there are some names which rather astonished me and make me wonder if you are not a bit mistaken, but of course you are the judge of that.

Shirley and I send best regards to you and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

89-18-7

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

Professor Natal De Cleene
Nieukerken (Waes)
Belgium

Dear Professor De Cleene:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

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I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President E isenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the S mith Act.

I am, dear Professor De Cleene

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

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19 WEST 44TH STREET - NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

VANDERBILT 6-2785 - 2791

October 22, 1954

Dear Patient:

How long has it been since you have thought about your EYES? Take them pretty much for granted do you - like most of us?

Did you know that YOUR GLASSES can ONLY give you COMPLETE EYE PROTECTION and COMFORT if they are in CORRECT adjustment?

IF YOUR GLASSES - are not in correct horizontal and vertical alignment - if they are loose or slipping - or if they are not optically centered, (as they were originally fitted) - YOU ARE NOT getting the Eye Protection your Prescription originally called for!

Your ONLY ORIGINAL PRESCRIPTION and EYE RECORDS are on file in this office. We invite you to visit us at this time to enable us to readjust your Glasses to their original prescription so that you may receive the Protection for which your Glasses were made.

It is always a pleasure to render this service to you without any obligation on your part, and free of any charge. It is part of our service to you, FOR YOUR BETTER VISION.

Should you require Repairs or Replacements at any time, our records of your Vision enable us to give you prompt service by telephone, no matter where you may be.

We thank you kindly for your past patronage, and hope to see you shortly for your Eyeglass Adjustment.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Dell

DELL & DELL OPTICIANS

Complete Laboratory Facilities - From rough lenses to finished glasses

July 24th, 1954

Dear Sir:

The enclosed protest was today sent, registered, to the President of the United States.

I am not attaching to it a conventional press release or even a summary because, quite frankly, I do not feel competent to extract what you would consider the news value.

What I do believe is that you will want to read the full text of the protest not only because it is the first account that has appeared in the United States of how an American citizen was forcibly separated from her Ceylonese husband and brought back to the United States by American authorities, but also because of the broader issues this kidnapping raises.

Very truly yours,

Rhoda Miller de Silva

27-1-79

~~542~~ Fifth Avenue
New York, ~~N.Y.~~

~~Va 6-3889~~ Co 4-7428

Dear Mr Du Bois:-
Gloria Agrin has said that she would try, one day, to fix an appointment for me to call on you to discuss various problems. I hope it will be possible - in any event, we shall try.

Warmest greetings

RMdeS

[deSilva]

July 24, 1954

To: The President of the United States
Dwight Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am addressing this protest to you, Mr. President, because you yourself have recently stated that "when there is real violence done to our people" public opinion can be depended upon to rectify it. As an American woman who has recently been forcibly brought back to the United States from my home in Ceylon, separated by 12,000 miles from my husband, there is no question that I have been the object of "real violence".

I am also addressing this letter to you to bring to your attention a recent debate in the Ceylon Senate, where grave allegations were made with regard to U.S. policy in Southeast Asia: my expulsion, it was charged, was nothing less than the removal from Ceylon by American authorities of an individual who was openly critical of American policy - a policy which was characterized as "interference by external anti-communism."

As briefly as possible, Mr. President, here are the facts:

I, Rhoda Miller de Silva, was born in the United States and am an American citizen. I am married to a Ceylonese national, Joseph de Silva. I have lived abroad for some ten years - until, in fact, I was unceremoniously deposited at Idlewild airport on a bitter cold March morning of 1954 with no possessions but the tropical clothing on my back and some $1.50 in money.

Joseph de Silva and I met in London in 1945, when I was writing for the (London) Economist. We worked as journalists in Poland and later, in London, collaborated on a book, "Peace on the Vistula". Early in 1953, having spent many years in various countries other than our own, we decided to make our permanent home in his country, Ceylon. (The McCarran Act, with its barriers against Asian and other peoples, and its selectivity in practice as to race, color and thought, eliminated at the outset any idea we might have entertained of coming together to the United States.)

Ceylon law required twelve months residence before I could adopt my husband's citizenship. On the morning of March 17, 1954 - some two weeks before my residence period would have been completed - ten police officials in plain clothes took me from our home in Kandy, Ceylon, raced me by car, with accompanying jeep, the seventy-five miles to Colombo,

where I was moved from one police center to another, and finally to the airport. There, at precisely 3:30 P.M. on March 17, 1954, I was herded into TWA Flight No. 903 - enroute to New York.

At the head of the ramp leading into the plane, stood an unidentified American, apparently an official. "Where are you going?" he asked. "I have no idea," I answered. "You're going to New York," he said. "On whose orders?" I asked. "On the orders of the American Embassy and the Ceylon Government," he answered. "In that sequence?" I asked. At that he laughed uproariously.

At no point on my journey half around the world was I able to break loose from the "custody of the TWA" in which the American Embassy in Ceylon had placed me and which threatened me with violence every step of the way. At no stage was I able to communicate either with my husband in Ceylon or with friends who might have helped me enroute.

No charges were ever preferred against me by the Ceylonese police, although they acted with the authority of a deportation order issued by the Prime Minister. No single question was asked of me. Moreover, the Ceylonese Supreme Court, with remarkable dispatch, issued a writ of habeas corpus on my husband's demand. This writ could not be served, however, because when he arrived at police headquarters from the court house, he was told that I had been carried off by airplane <u>less than an hour earlier</u>.

* * *

Your State Department, Mr. President, in a letter dated April 9, 1954, disclaimed any responsibility for this outrageous kidnapping. The letter states: "It appears that Mrs. da Silva...(was) ordered deported from Ceylon by the authorities of that country and that this Government merely provided Mrs. da Silva with a passport valid for her travel to the United States."

Aside from the fact that I was never "provided,.. with a passport" - nor did I ever request one - this statement is less than the truth. The letter of truth may be observed here, but the spirit is entirely absent. An examination of the circumstances of this case, Mr. President, will show that the U.S. Government enlisted the services of the Prime Minister of

Ceylon to remove at least one critical voice from the scene of that Asian country. The Prime Minister's deportation order is simply a convenient screen to hide behind.

In the debate in the Ceylon Senate referred to earlier, Senator S. Nadesan, one of Ceylon's most eminent lawyers and respected citizens, who has recently won the rank of Q.C. (Queen's Counsellor), stated:

> "There is only one person who can be said to be in a position to rejoice over it (the deportation) and that is, of course, the gentleman from the American Embassy to...whom the writings of this lady were certainly not very palatable."

The Ceylon newspapers on March 18 reported that "two American Security officers assisted in the deportation of Mrs. de Silva."

The part played by these two Americans has very sinister undertones for Americans living abroad. I was immediately turned over to them at police headquarters in Colombo. They were "from the consulate" they said, but refused to produce credentials. I never learned their names. They knew "all about me", they said. "So you want to be a Ceylonese citizen - is that it? - Mrs. de Silva?" the spokesman of the two asked me, underlining the Mrs. as if it had some private meaning for him. "But you are still an American citizen, remember. Here - fill in this application form. Don't be afraid to sign it - it's only a passport blank." I needed only to "cooperate" with them, he said, and they would "help" me. It was true that my passport had expired, but there is nothing in Ceylon law that required me, as a foreigner intending to adopt my husband's nationality, to possess an American passport. The manner of these men was full of ugly innuendo and they appeared to me to be playing a game that is as old as history: here was a woman who, when faced with the bleak prospect of forced separation from her husband, might accept any alternative that was put to her. I believe, Mr. President, that these two men were trying to capture me as an informer. I gave them short shrift.

American authorities were - and only American authorities could have been - responsible for the following:

-American authorities refused to delay the plane flight from Colombo on March 17, 1954, although it was apparent that a writ of habeas corpus could not be issued by 3:30 P.M. This was the only legitimate "help" I required - not passport application blanks.

-American authorities held me captive in the plane at Bombay, where we arrived the night of March 17th - the last point within the British Commonwealth that this plane would touch and therefore the last point from which my return to Ceylon could be easily arranged when a writ was obtained. I demanded the right to ask the Indian police to take me in their custody. The air terminus in Bombay is Indian - not American - territory. Yet, I was prevented by U.S. personnel from leaving the plane even during refuelling, which I believe to be contrary to international air safety regulations. American personnel on this plane even refused to send a cable for me to Joseph de Silva in Ceylon although they knew (since all but ten dollars of my money had been confiscated) that this would be the last point from which I would have sufficient funds to communicate with him.

-At Rome, where we arrived some 24 hours after leaving Colombo, I learned that the writ had been issued by the Supreme Court of Ceylon about an hour after Flight 903 left Colombo, on schedule. Now it was clear why I was confined to the plane by American authorities in Bombay and why, although on Indian soil, I was prevented by Americans from making contact with Indian authorities.

-American authorities stopped cables I sent to friends enroute. One, sent from Zurich to Paris urgently asking for a lawyer to meet me at Orly airport, should normally have been delivered in some 45 minutes. It arrived at the Paris address about <u>24 hours later</u> - when I was already in New York.

-When the plane took off at 3:30 on March 17 from Colombo, the TWA staff told me that I was travelling without ticket and without passport and that I was confined to the plane for the entire trip. The following day, in mid-voyage, I was told that there was, in the custody of the TWA, a passport in my name: a five-day passport "for repatriation only." I was also handed the stub of the plane ticket which I had earlier been told I did not possess.

On its face, the ticket bears the note that it was delivered on March 16, <u>the day before my arrest</u>. International airlines do not issue tickets without passports. I knew then, therefore, that the five-day repatriation passport - which I have never had in my possession, nor even seen - must have been issued by your Ambassador to Ceylon, Philip Crowe, at least two days before the two men who called themselves consular agents urged me to sign a blank applying for a passport.

Finally, Mr. President, the responsibility for initiating my expulsion from Ceylon has been placed squarely at the doorstep of U.S. authorities there in the debate in the Senate already cited. Senator Nadesan, who has access to the

facts in this case, deals with "external anti-communism", which, he says, "may be identified...with only one country in the world today, and that is America."...

> "External anti-communism is a danger to the peace, prosperity and security of practically every country in the world, particularly the countries of southeast Asia. (Ceylon must) formulate our policy so that there is no interference in the affairs of this country by American anti-communism, which is seeking to involve the whole world in war."
>
> "I cannot help feeling," Nadesan continues, "that the main reason which induced the deportation of Mrs. Joseph de Silva appears to have been that her presence here was certainly embarrassing to the American Embassy in this country, because if any man or woman in Ceylon has been responsible for a full exposure of American policy it was Mrs. Joseph de Silva."

And further: "Mrs. Joseph de Silva wrote that very remarkably brilliant book..."The Rosenbergs - What Was Their Crime?" It was rather embarrassing to the American Embassy in Ceylon that the wife of a Ceylon national, who at that time, was technically an American citizen...should have written a book of that nature."

* * *

Reviewing the above facts, Mr. President, is it not sheer casuistry for the U.S. Government to disavow responsibility for the manner in which my family has been broken and I have been literally dumped, like so much baggage, in the United States? Can it seriously be denied that my deportation and incarceration in the hands of the TWA was not only managed exclusively by American authorities, but that it was inspired by them? I also submit, Mr. President, that only a high U.S. authority could have prevailed upon the Prime Minister to provide Ceylonese props and stage hands for what was an essentially American script.

> Until my deportation, the Prime Minister of Ceylon had never deported a foreign national who was legally in the country. In Ceylon, as in most Asian countries, separation of the family is particularly repugnant to the law and contrary to its precedents. This .is reflected in the speed with which the Supreme Court acted in issuing a writ of habeas corpus. The Ceylon Government, as I have noted, could not and did not charge me with anything, for I had performed no illegal act in Ceylon.
>
> Tens of thousands of patriotic and honorable Ceylonese citizens are very vocal - and entirely within the law - in their criticism of U.S. policy in southeast Asia.

Let us even suppose for a moment, Mr. President, that the order for my deportation was actually an independent act of the Ceylon Prime Minister. If that had been the case, there was only one legitimate and justifiable course of action for a U.S. Embassy to take - if it were performing the functions that Americans assume their embassies abroad still perform: to do everything possible to prevent the forcible separation of a wife from her husband; to find a solution of our problem that was acceptable to both of us.

> The job of the U.S. Embassy was to delay the departure of the plane (one telephone call would have accomplished that) so that the writ of habeas corpus could have been served. If that was not done in Ceylon, U.S. authorities still had only one legitimate function: to expedite, in every possible way, my return to Ceylon so that I could have appeared before the Supreme Court to show cause why I should not have been deported.

Instead - what did the U.S. Embassy in Ceylon in fact do? They processed a passport "for repatriation only" without my consent and without my knowledge. This must have taken several days. They sent two unidentified men who called themselves "consular agents" to harass me and try to get me to sign a passport application blank when they knew that a passport "for repatriation only" had already been issued several days earlier and was already in the hands of the airlines. They brought with them a photographer who pursued me with a candid camera. They kept secret from me the immediacy of my departure. And finally, they literally railroaded me out of Ceylon - and laughed with pleasure at their achievement. At Bombay American officials treated the TWA plane as an "Island of Sovereignty" and held me prisoner on it.

All along the route, American personnel had nothing to say except "We are taking you to New York, by force if necessary. We are carrying out orders." These words conjure up frightful memories to any one who has lived among the broken lives and in the ruined cities of Europe after the Second World War.

The Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization on December 10, 1948 and for which the U.S. delegation voted, states:

> "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the states."

There is nothing here that limits such protection to families who share the views that are currently popular with a particular U.S. Embassy or a particular congressional body or a particular Secretary of State - or even a particular President. Are Americans abroad expected to be chameleons, whose opinions change as one administration in Washington gives way to another? Is the only alternative for them the danger than an unseen hand will reach out and wreck their homes, break their marriages, disrupt their work and otherwise decompose their lives? How long can kidnapping and "repatriation by force" exist side by side with our American heritage of independent thought?

Much eloquence is spent in the United States - oratorically and in print - on the sanctity of the home, on man's freedom of choice and freedom of conscience. Whether these elements are currently more present here and more cherished here than in many of the other lands where I have lived during the past ten years is beside the point. What I can state, as an individual born in the United States who freely decided while abroad to share my husband's citizenship and live in his country, is that in my instance all of these elements have been trampled under foot by American authorities.

Joseph de Silva and I come from lands separated by half the world; from different social and cultural environments, different civilizations. We are even clothed in differently colored skins. But in our lives and in our work we have been devoted and inseparable.

I protest to you, Mr. President, not only for myself, and for him, but for all of those Americans whose lives have

placed them in foreign countries and whose peaceable work and very existence are threatened if such precedents as this kidnapping are permitted to pass without redress.

I am therefore bringing this matter to your attention and to the attention of the public opinion in which you have recently affirmed your confidence.

I am sure that you, as the highest authority in this land, will be in a position to see that all necessary action is taken to expedite a reunion between myself and my husband, Joseph de Silva.

Respectfully submitted

Rhoda Miller de Silva

542 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Va 6-3889

July 30, 1954

Mrs. Rhoda Miller de Silva
542 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. de Silva:

A few years ago I could not imagine any such an outrageous invasion of the rights of an American citizen as you have gone through, but now nothing surprises me.

I should be very glad to meet you and Gloria and talk over the matter, although as you know I am worse than helpless so far as any action is concerned.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-83

DEUTSCHER FRIEDENSRAT

BERLIN W 8, TAUBENSTRASSE 1-2 • TELEFON 22 53 41

Berlin, im Dezember 1954

Herrn
W.E.B. du B o i s

Wir erinnern uns gern an Ihren Besuch in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und auch daran, daß Ihnen in unserem Lande manches gefallen hat. Leider werden die Fortschritte in der Aufbauarbeit, die Sie feststellen konnten und die glücklichen Perspektiven des Friedens für unser Volk durch die Verträge gefährdet, die in London und Paris zur Wiederbewaffnung Westdeutschlands abgeschlossen worden sind. Deshalb sind gegenwärtig unsere ganzen Anstrengungen darauf gerichtet, die Ratifizierung und Durchführung dieser Verträge zu verhindern. Es ermutigt uns zu wissen, daß wir uns im Kampf gegen jede Bedrohung des Friedens mit Ihnen und den vielen Freunden in der ganzen Welt eng verbunden fühlen dürfen. Wir würden es sehr begrüßen, von Ihnen einiges über die Arbeit für den Frieden in Ihrem Lande zu erfahren.

Im Namen des Deutschen Friedensrates übermittle ich Ihnen zum Jahreswechsel die herzlichsten Glückwünsche. Möge Ihnen das Jahr 1955 Gesundheit und Erfolg in der Arbeit bringen!

W. Friedrich

(Professor Dr. Walther Friedrich)
Präsident
des Deutschen Friedensrates

27-1-55

(50) B 39569/54 06

February 25, 1954

Mrs. Anita Dickerson
Box 603
St. Croix
Virgin Islands

My dear Anita:

Shirley and I plan to come to St. Croix and have reservations at the Hotel on the Cay for the week of March 14th.

We hope to see you, and send greetings.

With love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 29, 1954

Mrs. Anita Dickerson
Box 603
St. Croix, Virgin Islands

Dear Anita:

We thank you so much for the lovely picture which you sent us.

It will be framed soon and hung in our parlor.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 5, 1954

Dictaphone Corp.
375 Howard Avenue
Bridgeport 5, Conn.

Gentlemen:

I find I was mistaken about the refund of $15.00 in May. It had been entered on my books simply as a "refund" without your name.

Enclosed find my check for $4.30 which I believe makes my account square.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

6-17-9

September 16, 1954

Dictaphone Corp.
420 Lexington Av.
New York City

Gentlemen:

On or about September 3 I called your office and asked for your repairman. My office is open, except Saturday and Sunday, from noon until 4 or 5 o'clock.

On the day of hurricane I was delayed coming in from Brooklyn and did not get here until two o'clock. I was notified that your man had called that day. I called your office afterward three or four times and was unable to get a man to come here. At last someone volunteered over the phone to give us advice. The work is still not done.

I have been using a dictaphone for about twelve years and heretofor have received courteous service. If your policy has been changed I should like to know it.

I am still waiting for the repair man.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

CUSTOMER'S COPY

INVOICE

INVOICE NUMBER 170674

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

FORM 944 REV. 7/53 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN. TERMS - NET 30 DAYS

NAME Dr. Dubois DATE 9-21-54

ADDRESS 23 W 26 St DEPT.

CITY NY STATE NY

LOCAL SERVICE STATION: NL

NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE		INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION	
FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION		SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	
CHARGE CALL	✓	SHOP REPAIR	

TYPE AND MODEL	CAUSE FOR CALL CODE	SERIAL NUMBER	PARTS USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	PARTS USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	AMOUNT
AE	649	570635							

PAID
OCT 1 - 1954
Dictaphone Corporation
Per OK

CUSTOMER'S PURCH. ORDER NO.		CUSTOMER'S REQUISITION NO.	
LABOR CHARGE @ $4.30 PER HOUR		TIME CODE 5	TIME USED 1/2 HRS.
SERVICE RENDERED BY	L Swift		
APPROVED BY CUSTOMER	L Hyman		

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT	
LABOR (MIN. CHG. [redacted] 4.30	4 30
SALES TAX	
TRAVEL EXPENSE	15
TOTAL AMOUNT	4 45

"We hereby certify that these goods were produced in compliance with all applicable requirements of Section 6, 7, and 12 of the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended, and of regulations and orders of the United States Department of Labor issued under Section 14 thereof."

CUSTOMER'S COPY

INVOICE

INVOICE NUMBER

DICTAPHONE CORPORATION

573942

FORM 844 REV. 7/53 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF **Dictaphone** DICTATING AND RECORDING MACHINES

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

PLEASE MAIL CHECK TO DICTAPHONE CORPORATION 375 HOWARD AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 5, CONN. TERMS - NET 30 DAYS

NAME Dr. DuBois DATE 10/9/57

ADDRESS 23 W 26 DEPT.

CITY NY STATE NY

LOCAL SERVICE STATION 4

NO CHARGE PREPAID MAINTENANCE		INSPECTION OF MACHINES ON DEMONSTRATION	
FIRST PREPAID MAINTENANCE INSPECTION		SPECIAL CALL NO LABOR CHARGE	
CHARGE CALL	1	SHOP REPAIR	

TYPE AND MODEL	CAUSE FOR CALL CODE	SERIAL NUMBER	PARTS USED ON ACOUSTIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	PARTS USED ON ELECTRONIC MACHINES QUAN.	PART NO.	PART NAME	AMOUNT
B7	804	5060							

duplicate of one left for repairman. D

Helen JAN 13 11:55 Dictaphone Corporation

CUSTOMER'S PURCH. ORDER NO.

CUSTOMER'S REQUISITION NO.

LABOR CHARGE @ $4.30 PER HOUR

TIME CODE 5

TIME USED HRS.

SERVICE RENDERED BY LOVENSON

APPROVED

BY CUSTOMER

TOTAL MATERIAL AMOUNT	
LABOR (MIN. CHG. $2.15)	4 30
SALES TAX	
TRAVEL EXPENSE	
TOTAL AMOUNT	4 30

"We hereby certify that these goods were produced in compliance with all applicable requirements of Section 6, 7, and 12 of the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended, and of regulations and orders of the United States Department of Labor issued under Section 14 thereof."

S

50040

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

Mr. Cedric Dover
3 St. Peter's Square
London, W.6, England

Dear Mr. Dover:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Dover

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace1953)

January 21, 1954.

Mr. Harry Dreis
40North Street
St. Thomas
Virgin Islands, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Dreis:

Shirley and I are contemplating a trip to the Virgin Islands, leaving here about February 21st and spending three weeks in the islands.

What we have in mind now is a week at the Bluebeard in St. Thomas, a week at that place with the beautiful beach in St. Johns, and a week at the Island Hotel in St. Croix. What would you think of this plan? Can you give us an idea of what the cost would be? If our plans go through we will write you later and confirm the trip with exact dates.

We have had, on the whole, a very pleasant year. Shirley has finished a book and has a contract for another, and I have been writing on my novel. We have entertained some guests and visited others, but have taken no trips very far from home. I shall be doing a good deal of lecturing during February and will be ready for a rest.

The weather here on the whole has been very fine up until a week ago when we had deep snow, low temperature, and then slush. I hope you had a pleasant year.

We would be glad to have a word from you. When you reply write to: 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, New York.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

LAW OFFICES
HARRY DREIS

CABLE ADDRESS
"DREIS STTHOMAS"
TELEPHONE 485
POST OFFICE BOX 484

40 North Street, Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, U.S.A.

February 9, 1954

Dear Shirley:

I have been wondering why there has been a lapse in visitors, except for a few places in town. In ascertaining the rates for you, I think I have hit on one of the answers. I think the rates are high, but here they are. Bluebeards Castle is requesting $36. a day for two with meals. Hotel on the Cay in St. Croix -$24. a day with meals. Trunk Bay in St. John is filled up for March. They are very limited in their accommodations. 9 or ten at a time and with their ruggest makeup are asking for $130. a week for two. They are to notify me if any vacancies or cancellations occur, and there is always the daily Sunday trips

The uncertainties which play a part in everyone these days, makes me suggest that if you see fit to come down in March as you plan, that you just come down. Bluebeards is under another management and thef ood may not be to your liking. As long as I am here and have my four wheeled chariot, we will find suitable accommodations for you. There is considerable griping about hotels here, food, service etc. and I have been trying in the last hour to recommend something in my mind, a special place that would have the overall appeal that would be to your liking. Perhaps Smit's Fancy. I just called Ira Smith . $30. a day, American plan with opening reservation on March 12th to be cabled collect if desired. That seems to be the picture and to me it is discouraging.

Let me know what you and W.E.B. decide. I shall be happy to see you both on home grounds. Another hotel called the Water Isle located across from St. Thomas on Water Island, the same proximity as the Hotel on the Cay to St. Croix; opened about a month ago. A boat ride coming and going at $28. a day American plan will hold reservations from March 7th if confirmed within four days. This seems to be well recommended and is different and so may be worth a trial.

I presume that you are taking the occurring events in stride. Incidentally if you are coming down via Pan American it is $78. if purchased here and I will be glad to do so for you. Julia is back and is also looking forward to seeing you.

More later.

Sincerely,

Harry

April 13, 1954

Mr. Harry Dreis
40 North Street
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, USA

Dear Harry Dreis:

A letter has just reached us from St. Thomas telling us of the burning of your home.

We are so terribly sorry and sincerely hope that the loss was not too great.

Let us hear from you when you get time.

Of course I suppose there is nothing we can do, but if there is just write us.

With love from Shirley and myself,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

R. DuBois

[Rachel Davis DuBois]
[1954?]

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORchard 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

Sept 10 -

Dear W E B D; -

On Aug. 8 - Ruth Davis died - of cancer - like Ethel. Somehow I felt like telling you about it. You will probably say, as you did with Ethel "Why doesn't she tell me before" - but - she went more quickly - I had gone to Calif. for a month to participate in a seminar, and

42-3-26

was called back -
arriving only a day
before she died. I feel
very guilty for having gone
at all - but the dr. had
said the tests were negative.

I hope you are well -
I hear from your
continued leadership -
and am thankful.
I feel fine - seem to
keep my health & strength
rebuilt also a talk
with you about the
present scene.

Cordially
Rachel Davis DuBois

I'm still at this work - but for a
few weeks am much with
Curtis daughter Susan.

WORKSHOP FOR CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

ORCHARD 4-3193

204 East 18th Street
New York City N.Y.

Nov 4 –

Dear N E B D:-

We just reread your Seeds of Peace & feel because we must work but to go to Atlanta ga. to demonstrate our groups communication method for Gov. Mitchell and his large staff now working in the 17 Southern States. If they think the method would be of value there we will be asked to

27-2-33

Grace A. Leaders.

I just felt like saying Thank you for all your love in the past.

Sincerely

Rachel DuBois

PS - I enclose copy of a recent reprint describing the method + something of my work in Germany. Hope you are well!

November 10, 1954

Dr. Rachel Davis Du Bois
204 East 18 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rachel:

Thank you for your letter of November 4th and for the enclosure.

I am glad that your work still goes on, and I am sure you will enjoy Atlanta.

It is nice to know that the "Souls of Black Folk" still interested you. Circulate it if you can.

By the way, my first book, "Suppression of the Slave Trade" is being reprinted this month.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[1954]

Economic Democracy
BOX 835
DETROIT 31 MICHIGAN

491 West Hancock
or
Detroit 1 Michigan.

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Some one sent a packet in which was included your PEACE IS DANGEROUS. It has been a pleasure to read several of your articles because of their high scholastic qualities.

The point that seems to be constantly overlooked in both peace and economic writings is that 'production generates its own purchasing power.' This is clean cut fallacy. That will hold true in both a free enterprise and communistic economy. There is the real starting po$nt for peace.

Recently we prepared an article on economics and peace. This is enclosed for your observation, if you care. Businessmen, politicians and labor leaders will not even reply when a copy is sent to them. The real fact is they know something is wrong but they don't know what and consequently cannot administer the proper medicine.

Very truly yours,

H. C. Batten
for Economic Democracy.

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. Ilya Ehrenberg
Union of Soviet Writers
Moscow, USSR

Dear Mr. Ehrenberg:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Ehrenberg

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

FACTS *about* BLACKLIST

Number 2
MAY, 1954

EDITORS: WALTER BERNSTEIN • SAM MOORE

This is the second issue of FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST. In the year and a half since the first issue, the blacklist in entertainment has increased in scope and virulence. At the same time, its aims have been more completely exposed.

Ostensibly, the blacklist seeks only to banish from the air those artists whom certain self-appointed patriots consider "subversive."

Actually – and inevitably – its aims go far beyond this simple goal. They are:

To suppress, through intimidation, any opinion or organization opposed in any way to those who blacklist;

And, ultimately, to control mass communications in the interest of that combination of venality and vicious ignorance called McCarthyism.

These twin aims of the blacklist have been increasingly successful. In particular, the giant radio and television networks have beat a steady and degrading retreat – not before an aroused American public favoring these aims, but before a handful of small-minded, profit-seeking bigots who represent no one but themselves.

But this success has also been met with a growing opposition, most recently expressed by the forthright and courageous television program, "See It Now," produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly.

This program articulated a vast American disgust with the performance of Senator Joseph McCarthy. The public response was overwhelmingly favorable, expressed in a deluge of telephone calls, letters and telegrams unprecedented in CBS history.

And yet, in direct contradiction to what this program meant, the Columbia Broadcasting System, of which Mr. Murrow is a vice-president, maintains the most rigid blacklist in the entertainment industry, under the personal supervision of another vice-president, Daniel O'Shea.

If the effect of this blacklist were only, as the blacklisters claim, to keep a few hundred actors, writers and directors out of work, then it would be of small importance to the country. But the effect is actually to paralyze any concerted action through radio and television against the sweeping evil of McCarthyism.

So long as CBS maintains a blacklist, the example of "See It Now" must be an isolated one, important but insufficient. It is not possible to fight evil with one hand, while helping it with another. Nor is it possible to appease McCarthyism by pointing to a blacklist as an example of proper anti-Communism. What McCarthyism represents – the extolling of indecency above reason – cannot be appeased short of complete capitulation.

The networks are the custodians in the public interest of our most important channels of information. The public interest of our country requires a constant extension of democracy on every level. A network that uses a blacklist betrays this interest.

Men such as Murrow and Friendly must be supported for their attempts to serve the public interest. For the same reason, the blacklist must be exposed as an instrument designed to *harm* the public interest by strangling such an expression as Murrow's.

Once the blacklist is exposed, it can be defeated. Once defeated, an overdue victory has been won for decency and freedom.

Who runs the blacklist?

The blacklist in the entertainment industry does not flow from a single source. It is the promotion of a handful of individuals and organizations, acting separately, together or even competitively. Their success is possible only in a national climate of fear and suspicion.

Their power lies in the ability to perform two functions: they can blacklist and they can "clear."

For example: Counterattack is a fortnightly paper published by American Business Consultants of New York City. It claims to tell "the facts" about Communism, particularly in the entertainment and literary fields.

Most of Counterattack's four pages are devoted to the names of alleged Communists or "fronters," with listings of their "subversive" activity. Occasionally, Counterattack will also discuss the philosophical aspects of subversion. *For example:* When Corliss Lamont complained that his book, "Soviet Civilization," had been burned on the streets of Chicago by hoodlums who had broken into a rally of the Chicago Council of Soviet-American Friendship, Counterattack took the opportunity to give its views on book-burning in general.

After stating that "burning his book did not cancel out his freedom of opinion," Counterattack went on to warn its readers not to fall for the line that anyone who burns a book is necessarily demonstrating his fear of the contents. After all, the paper asked, what is to be done with those books found to be "subversive?" The ideal solution would be to sell or give them away for pulp to anti-Communist publishers or governments. But failing that, says Counterattack, the simplest and most practical thing to do is burn them.

This attitude is matched by the list of people and organizations attacked in recent years by Counterattack, for aiding the Communist cause.

They include, among many others of similar standing, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Harold Stassen, Trygve Lie, Dean Acheson, General George C. Marshall, The New York Times, The New Yorker, and the publishing firms of Doubleday Doran and Little, Brown and Company.

In the case of Little, Brown, one of the country's oldest and most respected publishing houses, Counterattack was mainly responsible for the firing of the firm's executive editor. One of their accusations was that the editor had helped to publish books by authors of whom Counterattack disapproved.

For an artist to be listed unfavorably in Counterattack means certain blacklist. This fact is accepted without question throughout the radio and television industry. The only chance for continued employment is to be "cleared," either by Counterattack or a party acceptable to Counterattack.

Clearance: the professionals

The dean of blacklist firms today is American Business Consultants. As such, their "clearing" service deserves primary mention. Like many good business ideas, it is both simple and audacious.

For example: Counterattack will publish an item about an artist who has appeared on radio or television. Inspired by this item, letters will be written to the sponsor or network, complaining of the artist. There are never many of these letters; often they come from places where the particular program is not seen or heard.

Shortly thereafter, a representative of Counterattack may call upon the sponsor or his advertising agency with the advice that future troubles of this kind can be avoided by hiring American Business

The Editors wish to express their appreciation of the wide and generous response to the first issue of this publication. We take this space to acknowledge with real gratitude the many letters and contributions of money we have received—far too many to be acknowledged personally by two people.

This second issue tells more about the methods of the blacklist. Some may wonder why we do not print the names of the victims; it is our belief that this could possibly, in the wrong hands, become an extension of the blacklist itself.

Finally, we regret the delay between our first issue and this second one. Since we do not charge for the paper and it is put out in the Editor's spare time, there are many difficulties. We hope to issue a third more promptly, since the response of our readers has confirmed our belief that most Americans are against the use of a political blacklist and will say so when they learn the facts of its existence.

Consultants to check and certify those hired to work on the program.

As the networks and agencies have knuckled under, the attitude of American Business Consultants toward those wishing clearance has become more lordly. They are no longer satisfied with simple apologies for having belonged to allegedly left-wing organizations. They are not even satisfied with denials of their allegations, even in those cases where the allegations have been definitely disproved. In one case where Counterattack accused the wrong man, the paper made no retraction and the accused actor was too frightened to demand one.

What Counterattack requires now, before it grants total absolution, is active denunciation of any previous liberal or progressive point of view, plus complete acceptance of Counterattack's brand of anti-Communism. And even this becomes only the beginning. In certain cases, they have made it plain that a statement of religious principle would help. In another case, Counterattack demanded to know a director's future policy on hiring actors, along with the director's guarantee that he would not hire those whom Counterattack considered "undesirable."

It is also possible to obtain virtual, or we-can't-clear-you-but, "clearance" from individuals in the business.

One of these is Vincent Hartnett, a writer and lecturer who claims credit for having compiled Red Channels, the collection of 151 entertainment names that is the basic manual of the blacklist movement.

Because of his foresight, Hartnett today bears roughly the same relation to the blacklist movement as did Sutter to the discovery of gold in California. He is at once beneficiary, seer and promoter.

For example: Hartnett has written several articles for the American Legion magazine. In one of them, he named an actor as a past supporter of Loyalist Spain. Fearful of the consequences, the actor's agent arranged a meeting between his client, Hartnett and Victor Lasky, a former newspaper reporter who has become a self-styled expert on the subversive penetration of American culture.

At this meeting, the actor was told by Hartnett and Lasky that Spain was not the only suspect item in his dossier. He was also known to have appeared some years before in a Broadway play that contained alleged Communists.

And while insisting that they could not "clear" anyone, Hartnett and Lasky told the actor that it would be best for his own welfare if he were to submit to "experts" the names of other cast members of other Broadway shows in which he might appear. In this way, he could avoid even those involuntary associations that could get him in further trouble.

Clearance: the amateurs

One of the ways to get blacklisted is to denounce blacklisting on the floor of a union. Since the powerful craft unions in the entertainment field can end the blacklist by declaring unfair any program that uses it, the blacklisters have a special stake in minimizing or aborting any union action against the blacklist.

In this area, the amateurs carry the blacklist ball. They are those artists who aid Laurence Johnson, Counterattack, networks, movie studios and advertising agencies by helping provide names for the blacklist.

So far as is known, they are not paid in money for this work. Many of them, however, have recently enjoyed professional employment to a greater degree than ever before.

For example: Franklin Pulaski is a former radio announcer who has claimed that he was not working because of his outspoken views as an anti-Communist. The New York Journal-American took up Pulaski's cause editorially, and his fortunes rapidly improved. He acted on several television programs and most recently in the Twentieth-Century Fox movie, "The Robe."

During this period, one of Pulaski's extra-thespic activities was to give Twentieth-Century Fox in New York his opinion on which performers were "pure" enough to be employed by them.

For example: Paul Milton is a radio and television writer, who testified as a friendly witness before the Senate Internal Security Committee. He did not claim ever to have been a Communist, but named several other writers as "pro-Communists."

Two of the writers named by Milton were fired from programs they had been writing regularly up to that time. A short while later, Milton became a writer on one of these programs.

Blacklist and unemployment

Jobs in the entertainment industry are scarce. Fewer than half the members of AFTRA, the federation of radio and television actors, can make a living in their field. The incomes of at least a third

of the members of the Radio Writers Guild are less than two thousand dollars a year. To be a member of Equity, the union for actors in the theatre, an actor must have performed in at least one class-A production—and yet Equity estimates that only half of one per cent of its membership earns enough in the theatre to pay income tax.

In such a situation, the economic pressure on artists makes them particularly vulnerable to threats of blacklist. These threats are used without conscience by the blacklisters.

For example: a year and a half ago, an actor active in the fight against blacklist was approached by Vincent Hartnett, who asked him to reverse his anti-blacklist stand. The actor refused. Until that moment, he had worked regularly in radio and television. After that moment, he could not get a job.

A month ago, the actor reversed his position and wrote a letter attacking his own past and those presently fighting the blacklist. The letter was read at an AFTRA meeting. Immediately thereafter, the actor began to work again on radio and television.

For the artist then, the price of a job has become not even simple conformity, but the active display of a required point of view. The artist must insure his job by speaking up to show where he stands, by voting the proper way at union meetings and making his vote known, and by joining such organizations as the newly-created "Aware."

Beware "Aware"

"Aware" is a dues-paying, membership organization whose members have to be proposed, endorsed and approved before admission. Its purpose is "to combat the Communist conspiracy in the entertainment world." Its head is a lawyer and Fordham University teacher named Godfrey P. Schmidt, now considered the top man to see when "clearance" is desired. On its board of directors are the ubiquitous Vincent Hartnett, Paul Milton and Vinton Hayworth, president of the New York local of AFTRA.

The ostensible program of "Aware" is to counter the Communist menace by monitoring, investigating, studying and publishing material about its manifestations behind the footlights.

Its real program is to become that organization in the entertainment industry which an artist must join as proof of his "loyalty."

For example: an actor who found himself blacklisted at a major network, although he had been previously cleared by the FBI in another capacity, went to Vinton Hayworth for assistance. Hayworth told him that, despite the FBI clearance, the actor was possibly being blacklisted for having run for union office on an anti-blacklist ticket.

Hayworth then advised three steps for becoming employable again: the public renunciation of the anti-blacklist ticket, preferably on the floor of the union; a letter from the actor to Godfrey P. Schmidt, attesting his loyalty; and an application for admission to membership in "Aware."

The actor took none of these steps. He remains blacklisted.

Blacklist: a new disgrace

The Negro performer has always been blacklisted, in the sense of being discriminated against. The appearance on WOR-TV of a dramatic show called "Harlem Detective" was therefore a considerable democratic achievement. In addition, the show received excellent reviews, with special reference to its Negro star, William Marshall.

Shortly after a particularly good review appeared in The New York Times, Marshall was attacked by Counterattack and fired from the show.

Shortly after that, the show itself was dropped by the station.

We urge our readers to protest this action.

Write to:

Program Director
WOR-TV
1440 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Ask the station to reinstate the program, "Harlem Detective." Tell them you believe that only the audience should be the judge of whether or not a show stays on the air.

Acting together, we can stop the blacklist *now.*

FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST
542 Fifth Ave., New York 36, N. Y.

Please send me FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST. *I am interested in helping the fight against blacklist in the entertainment industry.*

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

I enclose a contribution of $..... *to help the paper.*

264

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. Fadayev
Union of Soviet Writers
Moscow, USSR

Dear Mr. Fadayev:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know tha natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Fadayev

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph. D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

107 Randolph St.
Richmond, Indiana
Feb. 18, 1954.

Dear Dr. DuBois:-

The Article in the Feb 15th issue of the Guardian is Wonderful. It says so much And tells the simple truths in such an eloquent manner, the simple truths that have kept from the American public.

These are the things that I am always trying to tell to people, who are interested, this is the true history that the American people must learn before they can ever have peace.

And true stability.

Our Country is stagnant today because the Millionaire overlords are trying to save their fortunes. And their Monopolies not American or the spirit of Freedom or Democracy.

We are being made to live a stagnant life.

Your simple words point out the truth in a way that all can see.

Why Cannot it then be printed as a leaflet?

Respectfully.

Mr. Karol Fahnestock.

February 25, 1954

Mr. Karol Fahnestock
107 Randolph Street
Richmond, Indiana

My dear Mr. Fahnestock:

I appreciate your kind letter of February 18th on my article in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

109 Randolph St
Richmond, Indiana
June 16 - 1954.

Dear Dr. Du Bois: -

Amid the absolutely Crazy Anti-Communist hysteria of our times, I have been able to make a little progress lately, With People I Come into Contact With by employing the following simple expedient.

27-1-54

When the issue invariably Comes up Concerning Communism, I always ask People if they actually know what Communism is and since ninty-nine percent Can't even give a Common Sense definition of it, this affords me the opportunity that I want.

I have out of my Car five or six of the latest dictionaries And encyclopedias on the market

And Read to them what Communism Really is.

FOR instance the New Merriam-Webster Pocket Dictionary states that Communism is ——

"Social organization in which goods are held in Common — a theory of social organization advocating Common ownership of means of production and an equal distribution of products of industry."

OR the New American Webster Dictionary which says that Communism is ——

"A social theory that the Common people shared our all property and means of production"

OR the Webster Complete Reference Dictionary which defines Communism

in the following manner. ——

"The doctrine of having property in Common"

OR The Funk and Wagnalls Practical Standard Dictionary which states that Communism is merely ——

"A theory of Government and Social Order According to which property and the instruments of production belong to the People and are held as a Common Trust and the profits arising from all labor devoted to the Common good."

27-1-55

Most people can see from such definitions, as those above, that Communism is definitely Not "overthrow of the Government by force and Violence".

OR "Conspiracy" but ~~merely~~
merely a system in which
there is public ownership of
the basic means of production,
plus more equitable distribution
for all And it isn't difficult
to point out to people that we
already have a lot of publically
owned things that originally
were privately owned, such as
schools, Roads, Bridges, Postal
Service, Power Plants, T.V.A.'s.
Federal, State and Municipal
Parks, hospitals And that truthfully
speaking, we in America have
already a certain Amount of
Community owned or Communist
property And that there is
apparently nothing subversive
about it.

The Mother of one of my
Negro piano Students Recently

told me how happy she was
about the New State owned
park., About twelve miles south
of Richmond, Where all Citizens
Swim and Picnic together
With never a bit of discrimination
allowed such as we have
here in Richmond Where the
one big swimming pool is privately
owned.

I told her that the State
park was a form of Communism
or Communist Ownership and
that it belonged to all Citizens
Equally And therefore all Citizens
were treated Equally there.

She said that if that is
basically what Communism is,
then the Macarthys Can go
Jump in the Lake.

27-1-56

What the people of this Country
Actually need. Dr. DuBois,
is more simple explanations
of the basic problems And
Issues Confronting them and then
We Can proceed to build Peace and a
peoples World. Respectfully.

MR. KAROL FAHNESTOCK

KAROL FAHNESTOCK
109 Randolph St
Richmond, Indiana

HOWARD FAST
1 WEST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

April 29, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This is just a brief note to thank you for the kindness to me, and the courage, in terms of this whole country, that you showed by carrying out the request of the International Peace Jury and presenting me with the Stalin Award.

I know how difficult these many engagements you accept are, and what strains they put upon you, and I must tell you that I was honored and deeply moved, and shall remember the occasion and your warm and kind participation for as long as I live.

I thank you with all my heart.

Sincerely

Howard Fast

Howard Fast

27-4-6

12 Grove Street
New York City

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois :

You were very kind to come to the services for Alain Locke and bring along with you that fine spirited message so reminiscent of the man who has stirred and directed the mind of youth in particular in our country for so many years.

I know that Alain Locke would have rejoiced. Over and over in these latter years he spoke to me of you in terms of warm appreciation, of support and also endearment. You were one of the few and perhaps the only representative from those who remain of the titans of a former generation who in his estimation had retained that constancy and devotion to inner belief which alone merits the profound respect of intelligent and sincere admirers.

You did all of us a great service with those remarks. If I may speak personally, not only did they cause rejoicing because Alain Locke had carried the torch in his own earnset

27-179-21

manner, but as well because we, the people of your race and all the peoples of America and the world have you still with us and your clear voice, still vibrant and assured and wise, guiding us who need guiding as perhaps never so much in the past have we needed it.

God bless you, Dr. DuBois.

With warmest regards to you and to Mrs. DuBois,

Most sincerely yours,

Arthur Huff Fauset

6-17-54

Fausett

4948 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 39

27-1-3

Dear Dr. DuBois - I have just sent off copies of the Alain Locke funeral statements to PHYLON which intends to publish them in the October issue - When it occurred to me that I had forgotten to record - permission to have your so printed

v/

Fauset

No need bother to reply to this note if permission is granted, but if there is any reason why I should not have seen Mrs. please let me know and I will catch the copy—

Warmest regards to Mrs DuBois — Bravo for the statement at Mencken's funeral!

Sincerely—

8-17-54

arthur Huth Fauset

(FIELD)

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

May 18. 1954

Received for rent on penthouse suite:

4/26/55 - $135 - completed payment on 1954

5/18/55 - $150

$285

She owed: $349.33

Susan Warner

27-4-68

September 29, 1954

Mr. Frederick Field
23 West 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Field:

I am feeling a little uncomfortable concerning the rent of my office in your building. As you know, originally the African Council undertook to pay it. When they moved away a committee for whom Doxey Wilkerson was spokesman took over the responsibility; and I undertook presently to pay my secretary.

I know that Mr. Wilkerson's committee has made payments from time to time, but I am afraid that nothing has been done for this year, although Mr. Wilkerson assured me that it would be. I do not like to mention the matter to him because I know that the poor man is in such difficulties with the Jefferson School and other things that he has had little time to give to this matter.

I want, however, that you should understand that I do not wish to trespass upon your hospitality and have no claim of that sort. Personally I cannot carry both the rent and my secretary's salary; but of course it is possible that Mr. Wilkerson has had some understanding with you.

I have been spending this last year or so in trying to finish a history in fiction of the American Negro from 1876 to 1954. It is almost finished. Whether or not it will ever be published or whether in case of its publication I will be able to realize anything from it, is a question. Of course, in the unlikely event that I get some pay I shall see that any arrears in your rent be paid. But frankly, I doubt such a result.

I am therefore writing you to ask frankly whether or not you have any understanding with Mr. Wilkerson or anyone else concerning my rent, and if it has not been paid or promised from reliable sources, then you would like me to vacate. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience.

With best regards from myself and Shirley to you and your family,

Very sincerely yours,

DBilh

W.E.B. Du Bois

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

10/9/54

Received $300 in payment of

rent for suite of Dr. Du Bois.

Susan Warren

for

Frederick J. Field

27-4-57

October 22, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26 Street,
New York 10, New York.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was very glad to learn from Miss Warren, afew days after receiving your kind letter of September 29th, that Dr. Wilkerson had dropped by the office to make the first of what he promised to be several payments on the past and current rent for your office. I trust that this matter will be taken care of regularly in the future.

It is fine to hear that you have just about completed another work. I hope you will soon find a publisher prepared to give it the wide distribution it undoubtedly deserves. Those of us in this "Exile colony" will look forward to its appearance with impatience.

My very best regards and good wishes to you and to your wife.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Field

Frederick V. Field

21-4-66

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

2936 West Eighth Street o DUnkirk 9-1356
Los Angeles 5, California

ORDER OF SERVICE

Sunday, February 14, 1954

Musical Meditation: Three Negro Spirituals -Arr. by James R. Gillette
Waldemar Hille, Organist

Opening Words: Frederick Douglass, "The Liberator" - March 1846
* Sojourner Truth

Hymn: "Oh Freedom" (See music program sheet)
*

Written Message: "Slavery in Massachusetts" by Henry David Thoreau
* "To America" by James Weldon Johnson
"Yet Do I Marvel" by Countee Cullen

Musical Message: Vesey Speaks to the Congregation from "Denmark Vesey"**
* Words by Aaron Kramer, music by Waldemar Hille
Robert Williams, Guest Soloist
The First Unitarian Church Choir
Arthur Atkins, Director

Hymn: No. 318 James Russell Lowell
*

Address: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEGRO AMERICANS TO OUR CIVILIZATION
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman

Offertory: Whisper the Word from "Denmark Vesey" Waldemar Hille

Musical Message: In diesen heilgen Hallen, from "The Magic Flute"
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
Robert Williams, Guest Soloist

Closing words by Minister and Congregation in unison:

We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans. Amen. (W. E. B. DuBois)

Postlude: Andante, from the "Fifth Symphony" Ludwig van Beethoven

The flowers on the pulpit today were contributed in memory of the Mother of Mrs. Mae M. Dennett.

The painting, "Playmates" by Ernie Critchlow, eminent Negro artist and illustrator of New York City, was made available for today's service by Dr. and Mrs. Harold Koppelman.

The congregation will kindly remain standing until the minister has left the auditorium. Visitors are invited to sign the Guest Book in the foyer or patio and to meet the minister in the patio after the service.

*Late-comers may be seated.
**See Music Program sheet for comments on the music and poetry.

Recommended Reading from Today's Address

"The Negro in America" by Arnold Rose; "Jim Crow America" by Earl Conrad; "Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States" by Herbert Aptheker; "The Souls of Black Folk" by W. E. B. du Bois; and especially for children, "We Sing America" by Marion Cuthbert; and "The First Book of Negroes" by Langston Hughes.

TODAY

12:30 p.m. UFSJ monthly luncheon, Channing Hall, 75¢. Children 50¢.
1:30 p.m. Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice monthly meeting - MR. MARTIN HALL will present an "Evaluation and Background of the Four Power Conference in Berlin"

Social Club Meetings

1:00 p.m. Rehearsal for Mardi Gras Talent Night - Starr King Room.
1:15 p.m. Unitarian Drama Workshop - Emerson Room.

Sunday Evening

8:00 p.m. LOWNDES MAURY, Pianist. Mr. Maury, distinguished musician and composer, will play compositions of Bach, Debussy, Schubert-Liszt, Chopin; and Stravinsky's unusual work - "Serenade in A". Admission 50¢.

Sunday, February 21

11:00 a.m. "GEORGE WASHINGTON: American Revolutionary" -Mr. Fritchman
12:30 p.m. Luncheon served by members of Willowbrook -Channing Hall.
1:30 p.m. SEMI-ANNUAL CHURCH MEETING - All members are urged to stay for the luncheon and then attend this important meeting at which the membership will decide the church's position with regard to the Levering Act.
8:00 p.m. "THE LIVING RELIGIONS AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER" - Professor Floyd Ross, University of So. California; with brief talks by inter-faith students of the university. Admission 50¢.

- - - -

15% OFF - LITERATURE SALE

Donald Koch, Chairman of the Literature Committee, announces the beginning today of a three weekend 15% OFF SALE of hardcover books, as well as pamphlets. If you have hesitated over that much-wanted book, now is the time to buy it. Check the price list, quantities are limited, act now.

- - - - - -

We welcome new members into the church Easter Sunday, April 18. Those considering membership should make their appointment with the minister soon. Applications are available in the church office.

10 ¢ A COPY

Delivered at the First
Unitarian Church of Los Angeles
2936 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles
California by the Minister.

"THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO-AMERICAN TO OUR CIVILIZATION"

BY STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
FEBRUARY 14, 1954

Throughout the nation during this past week schools and colleges churches and trade unions, radio and television studios have participated in the observance of Negro History Week, some with a condescending gesture, others very seriously and with some considerable degree of imagination. The participation of the churches has been far from whole-hearted and the nature of the celebration somewhat ambivalent. The Jim Crow churches, which are the overwhelming majority, find Negro History Week a rather embarrassing subject to discuss. The churches and temples of America have spoken for decades of the universal teachings of equality. It is almost impossible to escape them even if one wanted to. While southern ministers during the period of slavery found proof texts and isolated passages of Scripture with which to drape their barbarism and hatred, the serious scholar has always known that the world's great sacred literature speaks out for the equality of all mankind without equivocation. It is not the anthropologist and social scientist, the biologist and specialist in chemistry of the blood who have given us the first assurances of man's indivisible equality. These modern specialists have but stated with a new objectivity what the prophets and poets of religion have preached since the childhood of civilization.

Today we need not explore in detail this ancient religious foundation of mankind's faith in an integrated society of many cultures. Let us begin and end this large framework for our thought today with some of the more familiar passages from our own Judeo-Christian tradition. The prophet Isaiah, six centuries before Christ, declared: "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory, saith the Lord." Amos of Tekoa, another Hebrew prophet, cried out his God's angry words to the race—conscious children of Israel: "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopian unto me?"

Paul, the early Christian organizer after the death of Jesus, taught to his Jewish and Gentile converts: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth"... and to the new church in Collosae he wrote, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free." The final book of the Bible, the Book of Revelations, ends with a vision of the unknown poet author: "I saw another angal fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, to every nation, and kindred and tongue and people."

For all of its Blake-like imagery, its fantastic poetry, this cabalistic handbook of the underground Christian movement in its first days of persecution spoke without hesitation a gospel of utter equality. Only after the tragic compromise with the Emperor Constantine three centuries later did the divisions begin, leading to the bloodshed and the conflicts of later centuries, conflicts never more scandalously seen than in our own slave-ridden land until less than a century ago. In my own lifetime I have seen minister after minister broken in heart and career for having taken with simple earnestness the teachings of equality so undeniably embedded in the gospels of the New Testament, in the epistles of Paul, in the early church fathers, as well as in the far older books of the Jewish scriptures. Even at this hour we ministers in both orthodox and liberal churches can count almost on the fingers of our two hands the names of churches in our 48 states which can be honestly called inter-racial churches, where more than a token representative of the minority groups can be found. Protestant and Catholic stand equally guilty. And in most of these churches the Negro or the Nisi, the Indian or the Mexican American is expected to come as an individual, leaving his own culture behind him. For all of the

snail's pace of racial integration in American labor, in the learned professions, in politics and government service, in education and the entertainment industry, we must face the fact that the pace is more rapid than in the churches! This is a fearful confession to be made in a pulpit, and it is made with care and shame, for I am convinced of its truth. Segregation is still the dominant pattern when men come to the altar for their prayers and confessions, their sermons and absolutions. This is the irony of the Christian religion after twenty centuries.

I am not casting stones at my more orthodox brethren today. We Unitarians have enough to be ashamed of after 400 years of organizing. While we set some splendid early examples of racial equality --- in the Church of the Strangers in London, and while the Unitarian Benjamin Franklin signed an anti-slavery Memorial in 1790 and Jefferson wrote an anti-slavery plank in the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, and while Theodore Parker and Thomas W. Higginson, Julia Ward Howe and countless other Unitarians led Abolitionist forces with tremendous power, the sins of omission in the Unitarian movement are still staggering to behold. Only this week I received a letter that told me that one of our recent ministers of a Unitarian church was told bluntly by a regional Unitarian Conference not to speak in any of our churches or fellowships in that southern area because it was embarrassing to have it discovered that he is now a full-time organizer for the CIO which is vigorously seeking an integrated trade union movement.

As you will see today, we are not only facing our failures of the past, nor simply honoring the contributions of the Negro people to America over the years; we are facing the abysmal failure of our own fellow Unitarians, and to a real degree our own failure in this church, to practice the words of our professed religion: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." This church has announced for over six years that it welcomes persons from all races and creeds. Our choir, our various organizations, our service projects and our invited speakers are all evidence that this principle of equality is not an idle word with us. But let us begin our thought together today with a full confession that we have barely begun to practice the ideal we preach.

This address today has a limited purpose. It seemed to me that we have erred in taking too much knowledge for granted. If your minister was able to complete high school and college, and be graduated from two graduate schools in American universities, and continue studies in several other summer sessions in leading schools of this land, yet emerge so colossally illiterate about the Negro contribution to American civilization, it is possible that others in this church may also have suffered a similar fate. If I am wrong, and if it be that your minister is the most illiterate member of this congregation on the subject of Negro contributions, I shall be ashamed but happy... and terribly surprised!

Today I am eager that we break the ethnic silence, that we who are not as individuals a part of the Negro culture, and who have been educated in white homes and schools of the past half century or more, make note of what ought to be commonplace information... and is not. There is a convenience in ignorance that should be our shame. If every white American knew even the brief facts of the Negro contribution which we are noting today in our observance of Negro History Week, the groundwork would be laid for some very constructive new social attitudes. Democracy and brotherhood cannot flourish amongst an illiterate citizenry, as Jefferson so often told his fellow Americans, and while there is much more needed than education, we start with knowing our neighbors and what they have done. We begin to crack the silence and dismiss the lies. If we know the grandeur of the Negro contribution we cannot but hold with fresh respect the friendship of every Negro-American we meet. The group hypocrisy and falsification which weaken and frustrate our common life will be to some degree ended. Our words in the Constitution and its amendments will then conform more to our practice as a people. But the beginning is in knowledge...with our children, with our friends, with ourselves.

There are nearly fifteen million persons of known Negro descent in this country, two thirds of whom are in former slave states. Somewhat fewer than a third are in the North and a half million are in the far West. I have found that many visitors from other parts of the world know more of the history of these people and their achievements as Negroes and as Americans than do many of us, their near neighbors a few blocks away.

Some of my dearest friends and relatives do not believe it when I tell them that the median wage of the employed members of this fifteen million group is $1,000 a year. They are skeptical if I tell them that in South Carolina now half the Negroes on farms earn less than $500 a year. When I say that the median wage of the employed Negro is $1000 it must be compared with the southern white worker's median wage of $2000 and the Northern white employed person's median wage of $3,000.

In the richest nation on earth, with the best school systems and buildings in the world, it must be faced that the Negroes of America are not only poor; they are as a mass ignorant. Only two-thirds can read or write, if we depend upon draft statistics which are lower than the census report of 11% illiteracy. This ignorance is not willful; it follows from the poor, segregated Negro school system. In the South, adult Negroes have had on the average half as many years of schooling as the whites. On account of continued disenfranchisement in the South, maintained through literacy tests, only forty percent of the Negroes vote. They are still struggling for completion of emancipation. This brief summary of the facts of Negro life in America was compiled by my friend, Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, one of the great scholars of this century, and a man who understates his facts rather than overstates them.

These shocking figures regarding the continued oppression of many millions of our fellow citizens are mentioned today because it is essential that we know against what unbelievable odds the Negro Americans work today and have worked for all of the centuries since first they came to these shores. Only then can we do full justice to the quality of their contribution to our civilization.

Let us begin at the beginning of the story. Only now have we begun to make a correction in our school books and insert the fact that Alonzo Pietro, a Negro, in the late 15th century served as pilot of the ship Nina for Christopher Columbus. Only in recent years have we begun to hear of the Negroes who came with Vasco Balboa when he reached the Pacific and with Hernan Cortez in Mexico. Langston Hughes in his charming "First Book of Negroes" tells his youthful readers the romantic and stirring story of Estevanico, the Negro leader of the exploring band who discovered what are now the states of New Mexico and Arizona. Aviles de Menendez had Negro artisans with him when he founded St. Augustine in Florida in 1565.

But it was in August, 1619, that a Dutch vessel brought twenty Negroes to Jamestown, Virginia, who were sold by the captain to buy provisions. Until this time the Negroes in exploring parties and in primitive settlements were free men, and equals in social status with their white companions. It is slight mitigation indeed to say that possibly the twenty Negroes were not sold into permanent slavery at Jamestown, but only for a period of servitude, a servitude equivalent to that of the white indentured servants who came in large numbers from the old world to the new colonies. It is possible to find notices of auction sales of white servants in the several colonies during the early years of the settlements. The concept of Negro slavery grew slowly as something distinct from indentured servants. Fifteen years after this infamous Jamestown sale of twenty men and women in 1669, there were only 3000 Negroes in all of the colonies. But by 1775 there were 500,000 slaves and by 1800 there were one million. President Thomas Jefferson in 1807 eloquently persuaded Congress to cease the importation of all slaves. Illegal smuggling continued, how ever, and by 1830 there were 2,300,000 slaves, and in 1860 there were 4,441,000. This is the stark arithmetic of human bondage which must be known and faced by every American. It is no exaggeration to say that over 16 million Negroes were brought in slave ships to these shores over the years. Untold numbers of them died, on shipboard, under incredible conditions of confinement, in the fields, on the cotton plantations. The ship that arrived in 1619 brought only a few dark-skinned laborers to dig in the tobacco fields; yet it also brought, as John Howard Lawson noted in his book, "Hidden Heritage," an "unwritten indenture, a contract that promised sweat and toil, and unimaginable suffering, to unborn generations."

Let us remember that the white man and the Indian indentured servants were allowed to work off their bonds over a few years, but for the Negro it became slavery, and the monstrous rationalization by church and press, landowner and politician began, and continues in its tangled logic to this day, with fantastic distortion of the Bible and of anthropology used in its support.

We Americans of all groups and cultures are just beginning to learn in our school-rooms and libraries and in our controlled press, radio and film some of the historical contributions of the Negro people to the building of our civilization here on this continent. I find school children of the present generation who do not know that Crispus Attucks, a Negro sailor, was the first to fall in the revolutionary cause. In the Boston Massacre in 1770, he was shot down by British soldiers as he led a group of workers to protest to the colonial governor. Five thousand Negroes fought in the armies of General Washington, an army of 300,000 men. Many were later freed, but cruelly and ironically countless hundreds were driven back into slavery when Yorktown ended the war for freedom from British tyranny. Howard Fast and Herbert Aptheker have helped recent textbook-writers to remember that Negroes fought side by side with white men in most of the bloodiest battles of that war - at Concord and Lexington, at Trenton and Princeton.

When I hear the common remark that the Negro people have been gloriously patient, that only agitators pressed them to hasty action, I like to remember that the facts belie the myth of superhuman patience. The colored fighters for liberty under Washington's command helped to forge a militancy that only recent years have properly recognized. The truth is a long-suppressed truth...that the centuries of slavery in America were centuries of resistance, courage and hard-learned leadership by men and women deprived of education and slain without mercy for initiative in planning their own liberation. I do not know what your case may have been, but I was forty years old before I learned the heart-lifting story of Negro insurrections against the slave power in America. The Negro did not submit supinely. Why are the school books so silent? Do school boards fear the facts of Negro courage? There were three major attempts at insurrection, in 1800 under Gabriel Prosser of Virginia, in 1822 under Denmark Vesey of South Carolina, and in 1831 under Nat Turner of Virginia. These unsuccessful efforts - so costly in life and leadership - paved the highway to freedom later built by Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass and so many others. Our own church organist, Waldemar Hille, has been composing the music for the cantata by Aaron Kramer on the stirring story of Denmark Vesey, and our choir is teaching us this chapter in American history better than your minister can possibly do. But as we count the achievements today of the Negro-American let us rank high his hard-bought skill in social leadership for democracy. It was born in the marshes, in the woods, in the slave cabins, in the gospel halls, in the cotton fields.... until it triumphed finally in the Emancipation Proclamation, a triumph still to be fulfilled for a majority of the fifteen million living Negroes of this mid twentieth century.

We Unitarians are justly proud of the contribution we made both in individual white men and women and in collective movements for the abolition of slavery. Theodore Parker would probably be named today as the greatest Unitarian minister this land has yet produced, and it was not his theology that made him great, but his personal dedication to the abolition of slavery, not only by the pulpit artillery he swung into action, but by the hundreds of hours he spent in court-rooms, in committee meetings, in mass rallies and in money-raising for the fugitive slaves who made his Unitarian parsonage a station of the underground railroad to freedom. But our pride must not blind us, as it has blinded many, to the vast contribution of the Negro people themselves to the breaking of slavery's shackles.

Let me be most explicit today...whether the statement be commonplace or novel to you in this audience. The leadership which brought slavery to an end in this country was both Negro and white, but its greatest strength came from the Negro people themselves. I have no desire to minimize the heroism and the genius of Elijah Lovejoy, the editor martyred at Alton, of the novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe who moved millions to find courage through her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," of the orator Wendell Phillips who brought countless thousands to appreciate the meaning of American freedom for black and white alike, but I wish to place in proper perspective the titanic efforts of Negro leaders - Sojourner Truth, Harried Tubman, Frederick Douglass and Frances Ellen Harper. Their risks were far greater, their followers far more vulnerable, their training far less fortunate and less privileged. While many of you may have expected me to speak especially today of Satchel Paige and Paul Robeson, Paul Dunbar and Marian Anderson, I wish to stress even more the far-too-seldom-honored contribution of these early veterans in Negro emancipation who belong with Tom Paine and James Madison in their power of

imagination, their power to see the America that could emerge out of toil and sacrifice at that time staggering to the mind to conceive.

Later I shall mention individuals among the Negro people whom we salute with pride, but if all else be forgotten today I want you to recognize with new understanding the unsung contribution of millions of Negro Americans to the building of this nation of ours. My friend Paul Robeson, in a private home here in Los Angeles, put it with complete simplicity, yet with fresh and staggering force when he said: "The muscle and sweat of the Negro people built this nation. They picked its cotton, dug its roads, cleared its forests, mined its coal, raised its skyscrapers, laid its railroads, loaded its ships...they built America and they deserve to live in it with equality and freedom." .... I agree. Call this hyperbole...granted that there were others - light and dark, Chinese, Indian, Mexican, southern Europeans, Slav and Nordic. But without those 16 million Negro slaves and their descendants we would not be the nation we are today. Negro toil created much of the great fortunes of the robber barons and the tycoons of the twentieth century. Vanderbilt and Rockefeller, Jay Gould and Huntington may get top billing in the American drama - but the cast of characters is an inter-racial cast with the Negro people playing a role never given full credit by the critics in the reviews. Negro History Week is a time for awarding belated Oscars to the masses of men and women who built America at the grass roots, on the prairies, on the plantations, by dockside and in the mines.

It was so from the beginning. Listen to these words in an advertisement in the New Orleans Picayune, Jan. 29, 1853: "One hundred and fifty Negroes for sale - consisting of field hands, house servants, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, seamstresses, shirt-makers." And it has been so ever since. I shall in a moment speak of Negro scientists and artists, gifted and creative in their talents, but in speaking of the contribution of the Negro to American civilization I want to speak with humble gratitude for the gift of the masses of toiling people who fashioned the wrought-iron balconies of New Orleans and Charleston, who planted the first wheat in America, who cooked the food, cleaned the houses, made the skyscrapers and harvested the cotton, decade after decade, that all of us might have a fuller life of comforts and necessities. There is something unhealthy about our American hesitation to honor at its full value the contribution of the working class - white and colored. The day laborer and the research scientist both deserve our profound gratitude for work well done.

Time forbids today telling the full story of the Negro trade unionist. I must await another Sunday to speak of the Colored National Trade Union formed in 1869 when Negro agricultural workers were paid sixty dollars a year, and when it became apparent that white unions then forming were not going to include the Negro in full equality, or help him solve his particular problems of decent employment and a living wage. One name must today be a symbol for hundreds. Isaac Meyers, a caulker in Baltimore, deserves credit for being the first national figure in the Negro labor movement. He worked with intense passion for inter-racial unions and was a John the Baptist, if you will, for the CIO and independent unions of our present day which are fighting for complete integration in the labor unions of America. Philip Randolph and Joe Johnson are far apart in their labor philosophy, but both of them are indebted today to the integrity and vision of Isaac Meyers. We are making progress today because Negro labor leadership 90 years ago saw the indivisibility of the working-class movement, and the terrible weapon segregation can be in the hands of an employer without scruples.

Another chapter seldom told in the school-rooms I inhabited as a child... and I wonder if it is done better today in Los Angeles or Cleveland... is that of Negro leadership during the Reconstruction days. On January 1st, 1863, Abraham Lincoln set free four million Negroes from the bonds of chattel slavery. It was one of the very great events of western civilization and was celebrated last Friday throughout the land on the birthday of the great Emancipator, in Negro homes, and I hope in white homes as well. I must confess to some doubt as to whether the Republican National Committee does full justice to this glorious fact. The Hearst Examiner ran a half page photograph yesterday of the California Club's Lincoln Day dinner. I searched the serried rows of tuxedo-clad gentlemen celebrating the birthday of Mr. Republican of 1865, but I found not one Negro face. What did they think was Lincoln's claim to greatness if not the abolition of Negro slavery, and if Lincoln be so great a hero

in their eyes, where are the representatives of the people he sought to save for freedom's cause? In 1875 the Federal Civil Rights Act forbade Jim Crow in public conveyances and theaters or other public places. The Supreme Court afterward ruled the legislation unconstitutional, and later generations have been trying ever since to get back to the high elevation of this 1875 statute. Let us remember today that in the years 1866-76 freed Negroes were in charge of southern state governments, except in Georgia. Eight states had Negro representatives in Congress. Mississippi had a Negro Senator in Washington for seven years. On Feb. 14, 1879, Blanche K. Bruce, a Negro Senator, presided over the Senate of the United States and was honored for his leadership by the entire Congress.

For all of the limitations of schooling, for all of the inexperience of recently-freed slaves, the Reconstruction governments were clear and manifest evidence of the ability of the Negro people to fill high office in our democracy, and I bitterly resent the slanders and understatements of the textbooks I studied as a growing child. Every possible obstacle was placed in the way of the Negro leaders by white politicians. Yet these reconstruction years under Negro leadership produced the beginnings of a splendid public school system for the colored youth of the south. These years initiated engineering projects on the Mississippi River long overdue. They abolished the barbaric stocks and whipping posts, reformed the penal system and reduced the number of capital offenses from 20 to 3. In these much-maligned Reconstruction years we had the beginnings of a public works program under Negro leadership that waited until the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt for an equal in scope and imagination. The ballot box and the jury box were opened to the Negro and poor white for the first time during these years when democracy operated in the south. I share the wrath of Dr. Harold Laski as he deplores in his book, American Democracy, the conventional slandering of the Carpet Baggers, and I, like him, would say that Reconstruction failures were as nothing compared to the scandals of the Grant Administration, Teapot Dome, the Ohio Gang, and later phenomena of our twentieth century political arena. This chapter of Negro contributions from 1866-76 will some day receive its proper evaluation, but not until the Negro people achieve again the equality and status that they enjoyed for that brief hour. But when we watch the campaigning for FEPC, for the rights of a Negro prisoner in Trenton or San Quentin to have full justice in our courts, for the end of segregation in labor unions and in the armed forces, let us not be deceived by the opposition into thinking these are new proposals. They are not; they are the fruit of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to our Constitution, and we had a trial run in the eighteen seventies. It can work again... and better. This must be said until victory is achieved.

The fact that I have stressed the achievements of the Negro people as a whole over the past three centuries must not minimize for a moment the magnificent and far too seldom honored contributions of the individual Negro in America, past and present. But in a congregation such as this I assume, I think fairly, that there is a rich and warm appreciation of much individual Negro genius. Most of you know that Paul Robeson was not the first great Negro Othello, that Ira Aldridge pre-dated him by a century and won all London for his artistry in this and other great Shakesperean roles.

James Edwards, Canada Lee, Ethel Waters, Josephine Baker, Lena Horne are names we all honor in the American theater, though we resent the common boycott of the Negro actor on the stage, in radio and TV, and his general assignment to the role of buffoon or caricature, as seen in Hattie McDaniel and Rochester and Stepin Fetchit. If there be few great Negro names on the American stage it is not the fault of the Negro people; this most of us know all too well.

In literature the achievement of the Negro artist has had slightly greater opportunity of expression. Phyllis Wheatley read her poems to President Washington and gained national reknown. We think of Paul Dunbar and Countee Cullen, James Weldon Johnson and W.E.B. DuBois and realize the quality of creative talent represented in such figures, and its world-wide recognition even in a Jim Crow Century.

Time forbids mentioning more than symbol names in music and the dance...W.C.Handy, Marian Anderson, Katherine Dunham, William Grant Still, Roland Hayes and Carol Brice. The orchestra conductor, Dean Dixon, like William Grant Still, has won great recognition in serious music of a classical form, though this field has been closed to the Negro artist often against his will. While the world wel-

comes with overflowing appreciation the genius of Duke Ellington, Fats Waller, and Rosamund Johnson, it would welcome artists in traditional and classical branches of music if given opportunity to do so.

In spite of the galleries' and the collectors' prejudice, America has insisted upon honoring a few Negro artists and sculptors: Richmond Barthé, Aaron Douglass, Augusta Savage, Henry O. Tanner. One wonders what the list might become if the silent boycott of the Negro artist were truly removed from coast to coast. Scholarships and prize awards are still hard to find for Negro achievement in our land.

I omit the contribution of the American Negro to sports in this summary today only because it has compelled recognition by its overwhelming prodigality: no American, whatever his depravity of prejudice may be, can escape the impact of Jesse Owens and Joe Louis, Sugar Ray Robinson and the Harlem Globe Trotters, Roy Campanella and Althea Gibson. One blushes to think what our Olympic records would be if we depended on the so-called "Nordic race."

Tragically, our appreciation of the Negro scientist is far less developed. More Americans go to Ebbetts Field than to the chemist's laboratory, but it would be well for many of us to give some belated attention to the Negro man and woman of science. I mention this for a good reason. It is imperative that we end the myth that the colored American is primarily a common laborer, or an entertainer for our lighter hours. I know plenty of people who accept Nat King Cole at Ciro's but have yet to appreciate the Negro surgeon or the Negro physicist.

In closing this report today let me pay my own homage to the trained and talented men and women of science among the Negro people whose work is virtually unknown to the rank and file of Americans. I am thinking of such commanding persons as Dr. Charles R. Drew, foremost explorer in the preservation of human blood, of Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, first surgeon to operate on the living human heart, of Dr. Percy Julian, one of the greatest organic chemists of this century, of Dr. Ernest Just, the biologist who won the Spingarn medal for his work on the gene theory, so similar yet so independent of the work of the Soviet biologist Michurin. Here in Los Angeles we are proud of Dr. Ruth Temple and her contribution to public health.

But we must stop somewhere; I have not spoken of George Washington Carver or of Lewis Latimer who worked so closely with Thomas A. Edison, or of Granville Woods who had so much to do with later developments of the telephone. One trembles to think what gifts have died stillborn because of a Jim Crow penalty on training amongst the Negro people in this land. If these examples I have mentioned can come to flower in a society so cruel in its lockout of Negro talent, what might America be if we fully implemented the Constitution we already possess? This is the question that haunts us at such a moment in history.

When the cast is broken the Negro genius will be shared with all our people. I have no illusions. I agree with Dr. DuBois that the color bar will not be broken soon. But it is yielding; and each of us, and each forward-looking institution, can help in the liberation of a portion of our own people, our own neighbors. This church can help, and I pray that the minister who follows me, when that time comes, will find a church fully and completely integrated, where race is never in our conscious thought, where goodwill and deep affection prevail as surely as the law of gravitation or the rising of the sun. Our greatest problems are those we share as members of the human race, not as members of some racial fragment, some national component. They will be solved far sooner and more wisely when the wisdom of all of us combines together that we may learn the ancient truth that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but for all true Americans." --- W. E. B. DuBois

"I feel safe even in the midst of my enemies; for the truth is powerful and will prevail".

Sojourner Truth

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE ALUMNI SECRETARY

February 12,1954

Dr W E B DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

We enclose for your information the first list of purchasers of your book the "Souls of Black Folk" sent to the publishers.

Sincerely,

W Dickerson Donnelly
Alumni Secretary

WDD:tm

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Re:

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April 16, 1954

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This card is given to

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

in recognition for the contribution of $ 76.00 made to the Alumni Fund for the year 1953-1954.

Thanks,

W. Dickerson Bonnelly

ALUMNI SECRETARY

"Her Sons and Daughters are Ever on the Altar"

1/26/33

THE ALUMNI FUND
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NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE
June 30, 1954

Dr W E B DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr DuBois:

We have credited $76 received from the sale of Souls of Black Folk to the 1953-1954 Alumni Fund in your name. Enclosed is a gold contribution card for the above amount.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

W Dickerson Donnelly
Alumni Secretary

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Nashville, Tenn

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Miss Mary E Spence
926 - 17 Avenue, N
Nashville 8, Tenn

June 30, 1954

Mr. W. Dickerson Donnelly,
Alumni Secretary
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Donnelly:

May I thank you very much for your interest in SOULS OF BLACK FOLK, and your very interesting effort to circulate it among the alumni.

I deeply appreciate what you have done.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

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Alumni Secretary
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

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OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

October 26, 1954

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Shirley and Dr. Du Bois:

I thought you might be interested in this list of manuscripts, published works and related items in the Charles W. Chesnutt Collection at Fisk. We have completed the cataloging of this Collection. Scholars have been using it steadily in recent months, and we hope that the interest in Chesnutt will continue.

Perhaps I need not mention the twenty-one letters from Dr. Du Bois which the Chesnutt Collection contains, but I would like to repeat my former suggestion that I believe Fisk is the best possible place for the papers and books of W. E. B. D. and that I would give a pretty penny to bring them here. In fact, I believe I could get a foundation to pay handsomely to acquire them and see that they are properly housed and cared for.

I am sorry that my magnum opus is not yet completed but progress is being made, and I begin to see daylight.

With kindest regards.

Ever sincerely,

Arna Bontemps

AB
j
s

Encl.

27-2-39

350½ West 24 Street
New York 11, N.Y.

September 20, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am presently working on a history of the women's equal rights movement in this country, and several persons have urged what my own instinct already had suggested--that I seek your advice regarding sources of information on the activities of Negro women in particular.

I live not far from your office, and would deeply appreciate the opportunity to call on you there at your convenience. I am mindful that there are many demands made on your time and energies, and would be as expeditious as possible!

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Flexner

Eleanor Flexner

87-178

September 24, 1954

Miss Eleanor Flexner
350½ West 24 Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Miss Flexner:

If you will phone me: NU 3 - 3855, Ex. 10, and make an appointment, I can see you some afternoon next week.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-176-2

August 25, 1954

Mrs. Bessie Flourly
1335 - 6 Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Madam:

For the last twenty years or more I have been receiving long letters from a man who signs himself "Robert" and whom I think lives in your neighborhood as he mentions you in his last letter.

These letters, while addressed to me on the envelope, are really for various other persons, principally girls. They are written by a man who as evidently lost his mind in part and are wandering epistles touching religion and especially woman whom he wants to visit him.

I have done nothing about them hitherto because they are harmless, but they are getting to be more and more a nuisance because they have to be forwarded to two or three different addresses in order to find me.

In his last letter he mentions you and recommends that some Miss Hilda can stay at your house. I am enclosing this letter.

I wonder if you would be willing to send me his complete name and address if you happen to know it, or to ask him or his family to stop bothering me with these silly letters. It is really very annoying and I would appreciate anything you could do.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

外 文 出 版 社
FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
26 KUO HUI CHIEH, PEKING, CHINA CABLE ADDRESS: FOLAPRESS

Ref. RS1997
December 28, 1954.

Dear Friend:

In the latter part of October we took the liberty of sending you the latest issue of our quarterly "Chinese Literature", together with copies of Liu Ching's novel "Wall of Bronze" and of the picture-story book "Shepherd's Message".

Your personal comments on these publications would be of great help to our editors. We are enclosing three questionnaires which we hope you can answer at your earliest convenience. What you said in the past about our publications has been gratefully received and studied.

With renewed thanks for your help and our season's greetings,

Sincerely yours,
T. K. Cheng
per Foreign Languages Press.

P.S. If you could review these publications in newspapers or magazines in your country, we would greatly appreciate it. We would also like to get a tear sheet or copy of the write-up.

COPY [Freedom]

August 29, 1954

Dear Mr. Burnham,

I want you to know how deeply affronted I feel at your mutilation of my speech on Marcantonio in your last number of Freedom. I did not ask you to publish this article. You asked me for a copy. You might have noted it as news or referred to it. But deliberately to have cut up and slashed an article which was a hard worked and complete unit without any consultation with the author was an inexcusable breach of courtesy which I shall never forget.

Very sincerely,

(signed) W.E.B. Du Bois

27-1-39

Aug. 29, I954

want you to know how deeply affronted I feel at your
peech on Marcantonio in your last number of Freedom.
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tation with the author was an inexcusable breach of
shall never forget

Very sincerely

(signed) W.E.B.Du Bois

Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

139 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • MONUMENT 6-8700

September 4, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I fully accept responsibility for the improper use of your speech on Marcantonio. There is no justification for it; but I must say by way of explanation that I meant to include a note identifying the portion used as an excerpt from the speech, but failed to do so under the pressure of last-minute and single-handed editing in the composing room.

Please believe that I only wanted to treat this speech with all the care and respect we have employed with every article you have permitted us to publish in the past. That I did not do so, and thereby caused you this affront, is a matter of grave concern to me. I want you to know that the injury was not envisioned nor intended, and that I am deeply regretful.

I remain, with deepest respect,

Sincerely yours,

Louis Burnham

Louis Burnham

27-5-68

Friends of
Progressive Jewish Education

פריינט פון פראגרעסיווער
אידישער דערציאונג

KALMAN MARMOR, Honorary Chairman
ABRAHAM BICK, Secretary

P. O. Box #67
Madison Square Station
New York City 10, N. Y.

קלמן מרמר, ערן-פאָרזיצער
אברהם ביק, סעקרעטאר

July 9th, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

Enclosed is a check for twenty-five dollars in payment for the short article you had prepared for delivery. I am sorry that there had been a delay in sending it to you, it had been due to the sickness of our treasurer, who had only come in today to sign a number of checks, which were held up.

The exact date for the occasion has not yet been determined, we will keep you informed as soon as that has been decided upon. Similarly we will consider with you whether the same topic be preserved for that occasion or a new one selected.

Best wishes for the summer,

Sincerely yours,

E. N. Rymer

Ernie N. Rymer.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN
604 CAVANAUGH ROAD
GLENDALE 7, CALIFORNIA

April 26th, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have just this week been given the magnificent leather book in which your letter sent for reading at the Testimonial Dinner is included. Since the letters, therefore, have just come into my hands, I have been unable earlier to acknowledge yours as well as the others read at the Dinner to which over 800 hardy souls came - and survived!

I do want you to know how very deeply moved I was by your message and I shall treasure it all of the years ahead.

It was a wonderful experience to hear three hours of such warm testimonials from so many eloquent and friendly witnesses and I only wish you might have been there and shared the occasion with me. I might add that in addition to giving me a tremendous 'shot in the arm' which should last me a very long time, the Community Medical Center realized well over $1,000 for it's tremendously worthwhile work here in Los Angeles.

Ever faithfully yours,

Stephen H. Fritchman

Stephen H. Fritchman

P.S. You would have been deeply stirred, I am sure, by the applause that greeted your message.

27-1-57

September 16, 1954

Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller
South Framingham
~~Connecticut~~ Mass.

My dear Meta:

The other day my barber, Mr. Meek, told me that he had been in your home in South Framingham and had seen a bust of me. He also said that you were in a sanitarium, but I am writing and hoping that this letter may get to you.

It has been a long time since I have heard of you although I read of the death of Dr. Fuller a year or so ago.

I remember very well our meeting in Paris, and the times when I visited your home in Framingham. I hope that you are able still to enjoy life, as I am.

Specifically I am writing to ask what disposition you plan to make of my bust. Is it for sale? I should so like to have some work of yours.

My wife, Shirley Graham, joins me in love and best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Fuller

Middlesex County Sanatorium
775 Trapelo Road Waltham
Mass. (not Connecticut) Sept 26-54.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

It was a great pleasure to have your letter handed to me a day or so ago and I feel eager to reply.

First of all, I do not recall the visit of Mr. Mack but that is not strange for he was probably visiting my son Solomon. Be that as it may, he did not tell a bust of you, much as I wish that I had one. All that I have are some photographs which Dr. Fuller made of you - rather successful ones but nothing in sculpture. The only portrait head is one I made of Dr. F. years ago when he was in good health but it could never have been mistaken for one of you.

27-178-5

Middlesex County Sanatorium
Waltham Mass. Oct. 5- 1914.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:-

Since my last letter to you it has occured to me that you might like to have the photographs of "The Slave Ship." In as much as your "Suppression of the Slave Trade," which you wrote long ago, and was the inspiration for this subject, it seems fitting that you should possess the four views which I had made some time ago. Of course it is only a sketch about five or six inches high but I originally intended to enlarge it to at least three feet and possibly even more - much more for purposes of exhibition but this is the best I can

27-178-6

Sue Bailey Thurman visited me a couple of weeks ago and expressed a determination to have me do a portrait of Howard Thurman but that is as far as that has gone. She has a way of bringing about what she wants and if she is successful on that issue, well, we may yet be able to produce one of you.

I have a few pieces that you might be interested in seeing but at present my work is scattered about some at home and some in storage with the tenement to whom I sold the studio when I gave up the work.

My very best wishes to you and to Mrs. Du Bois and hope that I may hear again ere long.

Very sincerely yours
Meta Warrick Fuller.

do for the present. It is very indistinct I know, but you know how studies are, mere problems in composition.

At any rate you may be able to understand it as no one else can and imagine it in grander proportions and proper finish.

Please accept it for what it is and if and when I am discharged from Middlesex "San." The Slave Ship will be one of the first subjects I shall attempt to finish.

With best regards to you and to Mrs. Du Bois.

Sincerely yours,

Meta Warrick Fuller.

October 28, 1954

Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller
Middlesex County Sanatorium
Waltham, Mass.

My dear Meta:

I thank you so much for your kind letter of October 5th and the photographs enclosed.

My friend must have mistaken some other bust in your home for me. I could not imagine how you could have done the bust, except possibly from photographs.

I have copies of the photographs which Dr. Fuller took.

I hope this will find you in better health and I should be glad to hear from you at any time.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-178-4

[Gabriel]

Dear Doctor DuBois

I waited to send this to you until I could get a translation of the last title that Alexey had written in Russian. His mother was able to translate the words "Silver Fleece"; so I knew the title.

Alexey's father, Vladimir Sossnitsky, and his uncle Vadim Andreyev (writer

27-74-51

is the son of the author Leonid Andreyev, both work at the United Nations for the Soviet delegation.

Please give my affectionate regards to Shirley.

Love from,
Alison

November 26, 1954

550-J Grand Street
New York City 2

December 1, 1954

Mrs. Alison Burroughs Gabriel
550-J Grand Street
New York City 2, N.Y.

Dear Alison:

Thank you very much for the translation from the Soviet Encyclopedia. I appreciate it.

Shirley joins me in saying that you must drop over to see us sometime. We would be pleased to have you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-14-55

December 3, 1964

Mrs. Alison Burroughs Gabriel
150-J Grand Street
New York City 2, N.Y.

Dear Alison:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I sent to the Soviet Encyclopedia. I sent it directly by airmail.

However, it may never reach them. Therefore I am sending a copy and asking if you will see that they get it.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-74-19

BRADLEY UNIVERSITY

PEORIA, ILLINOIS

October 4, 1954

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Broocklyn 2, New York

My dear Dr. DuBois:

41-17-84

I have been tremendously impressed with your superb writing artistry. It is my most ardent wish to be able to write like a social scientist. To this end I am writing to ask if you have any old notes on sociological writing which you may have used in your sociology classes while at Atlanta University which you could possibly share with me. I will gladly pay the cost- whatever it may be.

Any information or advice which you can supply on this important topic will be profoundly appreciated and will be placed among my most treasured possessions.

Thanking you for your kindnesses rendered me in the past and wishing you continued health, happiness and success, I am

Respectfully yours,

Romeo B. Garrett

Romeo B. Garrett

P.S. I count my attendance in your Workers Education Class at Atlanta University in the summer of 1934 as my richest educational experience.

[1954]

July 20, 1959

Mr. Romeo B. Garrett
Dept. of Sociology
Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois

41-12-85

My dear Mr. Garrett:

I thank you for your interest, but I regret to say I do not think of any way of helping you. I certainly hope you will not learn (to write) like a social scientist, for most social scientists I know are unable to write. After all, the only way to learn to write successfully, is to study English grammer, and learn something worth writing about.

Thank you for your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

January 5, 1954

G.A. Georgopulo & Co., Inc.
48 Stone St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my check for $15.50, for which please repeat my order of July 3, 1953 for 500 Andron gold-tipped cigarettes, with the initials: WEBD.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 22, 1954

G. A. Georgopulo & Co.
48 Stone Street
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $15.50, for which please send me 500 Andron gold-tipped cigarettes, with the initials: WEBD.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

P.S. Please remember, "gold tipped".

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Miss Talitha Gerlach
157 Changshu Lu
Shanghi, China

Dear Miss Gerlach:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. T his Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Asia to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Miss Gerlach

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois
(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters: Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

August 15, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois, -

This is a long overdue acknowledgment of the two important communications which you sent me earlier this year. Both were much appreciated and promptly forwarded to others who would be interested. From the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions I received a cordial note saying that they welcome news and materials from the USA, but unfortunately receive very little from the peace movement or those who came to the Peace Conference two years ago. Therefore your communications are doubly welcome. It may be that mail addressed to the above committee (9 Tai Chi Chang, Peking) does not always get through at your end. In any case I shall be happy to forward whatever reaches me.

I also want to thank Shirley Graham for sending me the amazing photograph of your good self. It is one of my cherished possessions which I share with friends who also enjoy greeting you thus by proxy.

One day browsing through the book shops of Shanghai, I found your "Battle for Peace" in Chinese translation. If you have not yet seen this copy, please let me know.

I am writing these lines from the beautiful mountain resort of Lu Shan in Central China. The restful beauty of this ideal vacation spot is beclouded, however, by the fact that the surrounding areas are experiencing the worst flood in 90 years, some say the worst in history. But what a contrast to natural disasters in former years. The government is efficiently carrying out a program of evacuating people in the threatened areas, providing ample food stocks and work for evacuees, and as soon as the water recedes help in rebuilding homes, replacing farm implements and providing seed grains will be available. No one will starve or suffer needlessly nor will officials profit from the handling of relief supplies as was invariably the case in the past. With similar floods in Pakistan, Assam and Europe, one cannot help but wonder if these disasters are delayed reactions from the H-bomb tests in the Pacific last March.

At present the all-absorbing subject for discussion and study is the Draft Constitution. We who come from other countries are asked many questions about our own Constitution and how it is applied in actual practice. As a result of these widespread

27-174-22

discussions thousands of suggestions for improvement are being sent to the National Committee for Drafting the Constitution. This is indeed a unique experience on a national scale of education on the basic law of the land preparatory to the adoption of the Constitution later this year. Delegates are now being elected for the First National Assembly which will take final action on this all-important document. The seriousness with which citizens everywhere are taking their responsibility in framing the Constitution and electing their representatives is indeed inspiring.

Despite the flood, China is forging ahead steadily in its gigantic First Five Year Plan of national construction. A major transformation is taking place changing this former backward, agricultural country into a modern nation with a strong industrial foundation. China's participation in the Geneva Conference strengthened the already high enthusiasm of the people.

It is always a pleasure to hear from you and Shirley Graham. With warm personal greetings to you both.

Sincerely yours,

Talitha Gerlach

Talitha Gerlach

27-17A-23

October 15, 1954

Miss Talitha Gerlach
157 Changshu Lu
Shanghai, China

Dear Miss Gerlach:

We were delighted to have your letter of August 15, which was stamped at Hong Kong September 2nd, and reached us October 14th.

I am so glad that you are still in China and cooperating with that magnificent effort. I was thrilled to hear that there had been a Chinese translation of my book, "In Battle for Peace." Will you please by all means try to secure me a copy. I shall be glad to pay any expenses.

We have a friend, Cedric Dover, of London, who is visiting China. I hope you may have a chance to meet him, although I suppose it would be a small one. He is a Eurasian Indian and a charming and intelligent person.

Shirley and I are both well, although Shirley is continuing to have trouble about the publication of her book on Aaron Burr; and I have written a long novel covering the history of the American Negro from 1876 to 1954, which I am sure will never get a publisher in America and I may eventually have to appeal to China!

Our best love to you and we hope to hear from you often.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Telephone ORegon 4-4476

The German American, Inc.

Publishers of THE GERMAN AMERICAN, *A Semi-Monthly Publication*

130 EAST 16th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

MAILING ADDRESS, P. O. BOX 214, COOPER STATION, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

405 W 41
Hour — 8:30
Length
Reading stand
Loud speaker
Copy of Talk
#25

September 1, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On Friday, October 8th, The German American is holding a public meeting at the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic. This meeting will be held at the Yugoslav American Hall, 405 West 41st Street, New York City.

The purpose of this meeting is to present the viewpoint of prominent, peace-loving Americans on the problems of the future of Germany.

While we realize that you are extremely busy, we feel that it would be most valuable for the peace forces in our country, if you would find it possible to address this gathering. If it were possible for you to speak, we would arrange the sequence of the agenda to suit your convenience.

I will call your office early next week to find out if it will be possible for you to be with us on Sepober 8th.

Very sincerely yours,

Margrit Adler

The German American, Inc.

27-5-25

September 10, 1954

Miss Margrit Adler
The German American, Inc.
130 East 16 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Adler:

I should be glad on Friday, October 8th to speak about ten minutes on the German Democratic Republic at the Yugoslav American Hall, 405 West 41st Street. I should prefer to have my place on the program during the earlier part of the meeting, as I do not want to be up too late.

My fee will be $25.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-26

SIDNEY J. GLUCK
350 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

November 3, 1954

My Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

As old friends, collegues and admirers of Dr. Willard Uphaus, whose life has been devoted to causes close to your heart, I would like for you to join with me in sponsoring a dinner, honoring him for his many years of unstinting service to Peace and Democracy.

Willard, as you no doubt know, is now the Executive Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths and it is in connection with his present work that we shall honor him. This organization seeks through religious principles to bring about better understanding among all people regardless of race, color, creed or national origin.

The details of the dinner and its administration will be in the hands of the New York Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths and should take place sometime in January of 1955.

Enclosed is a self-addressed and stamped envelope and a card which I hope you will return without delay indicating your agreement to join the sponsoring group.

Sincerely yours,

Sidney J. Gluck

Sidney J. Gluck

Enclosures

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

12-61-24

November 15, 1954

Mrs. Grace Goens
503 East 10 St.
Wilmington, Delaware

My dear Grace,

Shirley and I both enjoyed very much indeed your brief visit to New York, and I hope you had a good time.

I really wanted to stop at Wilmington several times, but one has to be so careful these days, and I really was a little afraid of giving your enemies too much [redacted] appointment.

We want you to come up again as soon as you can, and of course one of these days we will get down to you.

My best regards to your husband. I was glad to see you looking so sleek and fat!

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-10-28

[Mike Gold]

December 2, 1954

Mr. M. Granich
1786 Topping Avenue
Bronx, N.Y.

Dear Friends,

Shirley and I want to thank you very much for the book about the Hutchinsons which you sent us. I have just been able to glance at it, but I shall certainly read it.

I remember as a child hearing some echoes of the Hutchinson family.

With love to you all,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-74-114

June 17, 1954

Mrs. Adele Young
Hugh Gordon Bookshop
4310 So. Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California

My dear Mrs. Young:

May I thank you for your hospitality while I was in Los Angeles.

I had a pleasant return, and Shirley joins me in best love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

c/o Dr. Pierre Martron
22 ave. du Midi, Limoges
(Haute Vienne) France

Anna Louise

January 1st 1954

My dear friends

You will be surprised at this address - when you turn to the end of my letter and see my name!

I have been getting nearer and nearer the end of my journey and the end was really in view all last year. I really wanted to get out of the United States for a while at any rate; and, though I do not think any Capitalist or imperialist country very much better than another, still I did feel that perhaps living for a while in France might enable me to get over to the United States some thing of the Russian Days Burns thought might have been a good thing for the "lady with a lamp on her neck". Perhaps I can help a little to persuade America to see herself as others see her when I am in a position to see how others do see her.

The chance to come here is due to Mme. Pierre Martron's being an

27-74-46

adopted niece, and one to whom I was dear enough to have her give my name to her first child. born in 1940. She had, for some time, been asking me to come over and live with her and know her children before they grew up (There are four now) and so the being offered a home. when I had not enough to pay my own living expenses for a full year more, the having a chance to come to Europe, and also the having finished the solution of the family problems I had had to face (my only remaining sister being in a sanitarium for Mental cases) - all seemed to indicate that this should be my next step.

I am 78 ½, but though practically sound in health, I am not equal to you, dear Mr. Du Bois, though five years younger. (I mean equal in youthful ness. Bien entendu. I am not equal in intellect and art) I don't seem to be able, as I used to be able, to organize my work so that I don't waste time. The time flies and I seem to have partly frittered it. and that exasperates me. There is so much to do and so little time in which to do

3/ if I have written a long letter to Emily Balch, of which I kept the first copy and am making carbon copies. It is on the duty of the citizen of one country where he, or she, is in another country. Emily thinks the American abroad should not speak of the sins of America and when others speak of these sins should, as far as possible, give excuses or at any rate explanation. I feel that for the sake of America itself. we should show that there are americans who do not justify such acts. (and actors) who condemn them, and thus in that way show that America is not made up entirely of those who do justify - that there is a germ of decency which may grow and that that germ is a part of America. Emily thinks that foreign criticism only makes a country more obstinate in doing what the citizens of a foreign country condemn, and that American living abroad is only adding to that obstinacy if he, or she favours the criticism. When I have finished making the carbon copies I will send you one. I also think that a citizen of one country living in another country can not show that he. or she. does not approve of the misdemeanors of his country which he. or she is inhabiting unless he. or she. has already given

27-4-47

4/ proof that there is no lack of disap-
proval when such, or like, things are
done in the home country. What do you
think of this last reason?

One of the things left undone when
I left America which I most regretted
was the not having worked long enough
to succeed in having had some title to
to Benjamin Banneker in the Maryland
Historical Library. I really think it is
possible and I am going to ask
other Marylanders in the Society to
work on it. Perhaps in fifty years or
more (when we have gone, alas!) one
may be given to Frederick Douglass's
memory also. But that will be harder,
because that will mean overcoming
the defence psychology which is trying
to stay away from deep shame. The
while Marylanders do not feel that
defence psychology to avoid shame
any where nearly so strongly when
thinking of Benjamin Banneker.

If you have friends in France
whom you think you might like me
to know and whom you think might
like to know me, do let me have your
presentation to them. Limoges is rather
far from Paris and I cannot afford

5/ to be there for more than a few days
twice a year. I hope to make my first
visit (except the passing through on my
way from Antwerp where I land)
at the end of February. In July and
August I hope to go to England to stay
with several relatives and friends
and on my return spend several more
days in Paris. Natasha (my adopted
niece) is Russian - not an exiled "White"
Russian. She came out in 1924. She was
threatened with tuberculosis and a
doctor friend of her father's was coming
out to Italy and Natasha's father asked
him to take her with his daughter, about
Natasha's age. She was in Italy only a
few months and though long enough
to cure her incipient tuberculosis not
long enough to think it best to settle her
alone. The doctor went to Belgrade and
Natasha came to Paris and studied medi-
cine. She did brilliantly but she married
unfortunately a young Pole. They fell in
love because meeting each other in Paris
when they had been to school together as
very little children in Moscow. Was
romantic and exciting. But Robert was
not dependable in any way and Natasha
continued her study of medicine. When
she had finished the studies and received
an internship. She decided that the time
had come to leave Robert. and, I am
glad to say did not need Pierre until
after she had left Robert. Pierre is also

27-Ja-48

a doctor. He also was an intern in the same hospital, a year ahead of Natasha and specializing in the same surgical maladies of children. I helped Natasha get her divorce - paying her share of the expenses - and represented her family (whom I had known very well in Moscow) at her wedding in Oct. 1938.

When Natasha came out she was rather pro and not anti the Soviet government. When I saw her in 1947 she said: "You can not imagine the awful things the Russians here say about our government" and told for her own sake, if she should return, and for the sake of her family in Moscow who might suffer if they were in connection with her and she was known to be in connection with "Whites" she saw as little as possible of some of her relatives here. But as time went on - and she suffered because so often correspondence was cut off she began to be less pro. But she is not very anti - and prefers to be a political and does not want to talk or to hear any one talk on any political subject. Her father is - or was - evidently well thought of by the Soviet government. He was the editor of a paper and two of his books were published - by the government. When he died (1951) there were complimentary notices in the Natasha heard only accidentally about his death a year after it occurred and does not know yet if her mother is living or not. No letters are answered.

Is there any one you know to whom I could write and ask for news without hurting either the person to whom I wrote or Natasha's family? I want so much

Russia - History

to see Natasha's mother: - to give Natasha news of her mother: very cordially and faithfully yours Irene M. Glaser

March 1, 1954

Miss Anna Graves
c/o Dr. Pierre Mastron
22 Ave. du Midi
Limoges (Haute Vienne)
France

Dear Miss Graves:

Shirley and I were delighted to hear from you and to read of what you are doing and thinking.

We have been very busy, and the general atmosphere in the United States is still very discouraging although there are signs of change.

We have your second letter also and perhaps later I can write you a little more in detail. Just now we are both rather tired. I have been lecturing for Negro History Week and Shirley has been trying to help a colored girl who wants to get to Mexico to study singing.

We are therefore going to the Virgin Islands for most of March unless the government interferes, which I do not anticipate. When we return we will write you again.

Best regards to yourself and hope that you will guard your health.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Exact copy of the letter to Mr. Stevenson except that the letter sent was double space typed

Aux bons soins de Mr. le Dr. Pierre Martrou, 22 Ave. du Midi, Limoges,
(Haute Vienne) France

March 1954

Dear Mr. Stevenson,

You were good enough to say that you remembered our trip together from Tiflis to Moscow in 1926 - when I wrote you from Wellesley, Massachusetts, in, I think, 1951. You see my address is not Wellesley, nor in the Green Sp Spring Valley, Maryland - just now. I have come to France to live indefinitely, though I don't say "permanently".

And it seems to me that it might be a good thing for the U.S.A. to read Burns's poem - the one he wrote on seeing a lady with a louse on her neck. She was, I believe, elegantly dressed and thought herself very "superior"but there was the louse - which she did not know was there; but which all those sitting behind her - saw. You remember Burns said: "Oh wad som power the giftie gie us to see oursels as ithers see us, it wad frae mony a blunder free us and foolish notion."

You remember also that even Hoover said there was no panicky fear of Russian aggression in Europe at all comparable to the fear (or is it whipped-up hysteria?) in the United States. I do not find any fear of Russian aggression here in France; and although there is, among some groups, a strong anti-Communist feeling, even that is not anywhere nearly so strong as in the United State in spite of the fact that there are almost no Communists in the United States and a good many in France. But there is some strong anti-American feeling here, and some very decided feeling of what one might call scorn of American behaviour. The anti-American feeling is probably strongest in the localities where, or near where, the Americans have built, or are building - bases and occupying these bases, thus making these localities possible battlefields and targets for an enemy, and their people expendable. And the attitude of the American soldiers is not such as makes them "sympathiques" to the French in these regions. Angoulême was occupied by the Germans all during the war. The Americans destroyed one third of the city, killing many of the inhabitants, when driving the Germans out. (The British drove the Germans out of Limoges, killing only one Limousin and destroying only one building - the station) The Americans are now building a base near Angoulême, and many houses are being taken in the town for the American soldiers. A woman friend of mine from Angoulême told me that the people of Angoulême preferred the Germans to the Americans! This very strong anti-American feeling is, however, probably very intense only in those l(alities where there are American bases; but there is another reason for the anti-U.S. feeling which is much more general. This is due to America's insistant forcing on Europe the European Army with German battalions whose officers are one-time Nazis. After all Western Europe has never suffered from Russian aggression, and France has been invaded three times in less than seventy five years by the Germans. Even if one should feel (as I myself feel) that the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, with its policy of "Vae Victis"was responsible for the rise of Naziism and that the German people were not responsible - that does not make less true the fact that France was invaded in 1870, in 1914 and in 1939 by the Germans, and that she has never suffered in all her history from a Russian invasion, and that she cannot feel that she is in danger of Russian aggression now, and that she does not believe that the U.S.S.R. has any intention of invading her. When the question of re-arming Germany was discussed a man whom I know covered his bowed head with his hands and said: "Anything but that. We cannot stand that again." He is anything but pro-Communist, is decidedly conservative, and very "patriote".

But that makes an American blush is the excuse America gives to those who despise her. I won't go into the Rosenberg case and the treatment of the Rosenberg children, though that is one of the causes of the despising; and even reactionary papers like the "Figaro" and devout Catholic writers like Mauriac, condemn that blot, these two blots on America's escutcheon; but I do want you to see that America's witch-hunting, its hysteria, culminating in its kow-towing to McCarthy, is really incomprehensible to any people who have self-respect. All of this making

of children dive under desks in drills of "Civil Defense" against possible bombs(?) all this whipped up hysteria, so ruinous to the psychology of the children, and such utter nonsense in so far as desks being any protection against bombs - is concerned all this burning of books, all this defiance of the "Bill of Rights", ~~all this defiance of the "Bill of Rights"~~ on the part of a people calling itself at the same time the leader of "The Free World" (!) - all this seems to the people of the rest of the world a proof of the lack of real sanity in America, and certainly a lack of perspicacity and of real maturity. They do not believe that an adult people could be taken in by the McCarthys, and they despise America for being taken in.

Of course I know that Burns may also have had a louse on his neck, and I know that the French are not always lacking in hysteria. However they did not kill Dreyfus, and America did kill Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs. The French did not go so far in their hysteria. But after all there is no question as to whether Burns also had a louse on his neck or not. The fact is that the "Superior lady" did have one and that she was not seeing herself as others saw her. And for us Americans there is no question as to whether or no the the French were hysterical in sending Dreyfus to the Devil's Island (They brought him back!) What matters - or what should matter - to us is the fact that our witch-hunting is making us condemn our citizens in Defiance of our Constitution, and is making us ridiculous in the eyes of others, and also our behaviour makes us appear to others not undeserving of scorn.

42-6-45

As I said above, many, many people in the world do not believe that an adult people could be taken in by the McCarthys and they despise America for being taken in. Then they begin to say: "Who is profiting by America's showing herself to be so silly, so lacking in the sense of what is dignified and self-respecting, in short who is profiting by America's behaving in such a way that others cannot help despising her. Are not McCarthy and his ilk responsible for this ridecule and this scorn? Well then, who is responsible for McCarthy?" And this next is what I want you to know. A Frenchman said to me: "I AM SURE THE RUSSIANS ARE PAYING MCCARTHY. HE MUST BE IN THE PAY OF THOSE WHO WOULD PROFIT BY AMERICA'S BEING CONSIDERED REDICULOUS, BY AMERICA'S BEING CONSIDERED DESERVING OF SCORN." After all the being able to threaten annihilating violence against those who are considered dangerous does not help a country as much as being rediculous in the eyes of others - harms her. America's acts bring ridecule and scorn as much as they create fear; and the fear is not fear of a people who are dangerous because righteously indignant, but a fear of the mad and the irresponsible.

Of course I myself do not believe that McCarthy is paid by the Russians, or that Brownell is, or that the Judge Kaufman who condemned the Rosenbergs is, or that the other witch-hunters are, but I do think they are helping the cause of those who cannot but profit by the growing lack of respect which the world has for America. I know that you have recently made the tour of the world, and perhaps you think you saw America as "others see her." But I doubt it. Didn't you see what you wanted to see? You certainly seem to have seen in Formosa what you wanted to see, and through strangely rose-coloured glasses. Is it not possible that you were these same rose-coloured glasses when you tried to persuade yourself that you were looking at America as Europeans and Asiatics saw her

Of course there are the bought who are obliged to say what the purchaser tells them to say; and you probably met in Europe chiefly those who, having been bought by America were not free to tell the truth regarding the opinion of the public concerning America. But France is much freer than the United States. There is no witch-hunting here, no McCarthy, at any rate at the moment. One can, if one wants to find out what the average unbought man thinks of America and the opinion of the average man concerning America is not complimentary, even if the average man has not gone so far as to write "U.S. Go Home!" on the walls.

Please forgive the length of this letter, but at any rate please read it, and try to help America get rid of the louse on her neck, try to help her to see herself as others see her

Very sincerely yours, [illegible] Grace

Miss Anna M. Graves, aux bons soins de Mr. le Dr. Pierre Martrou
22 Ave. du Midi, Limoges (Haute Vienne) France

June 8, 1954

Dear Mr. Stevenson,

Perhaps I am wasting time - mine and yours - in writing again; but you were courteous enough to answer my letter, and so I am anxious to be as courteous. I am approaching 80, and I sometimes make the the mistake of thinking that those who are now in the forties or early fifties are still young enough to be influenced! Fenner Brockway - an old friend - recently told me that there was no use in my trying to influence Upton Sinclair and Norman Thomas (whose change of view had shocked me, Norman himself being an old friend) that it was better to confine myself to the attempt to stimulate those who were still young, and try to persuade them to open their minds and think. He said that he was much encouraged by the spirit and large open-mindedness and ability to think and courage in thinking and depth of thought which he found in many of the younger members of the Labour Party. You are not as old as Norman Thomas or Upton Sinclair, though you are, perhaps, as unwilling to make use of your remarkable ability to think! But one should never give up hope. If the Tories of the U.S.A. could gain Upton Sinclair - perhaps the Pacifists may gain even you!!

42-16-48

Have you read Byron's "Don Juan" lately? The stories of the amours of Don Juan are so mild as compared with the sex novels of the 20th century that one might almost think Byron's poem fit for a Sunday School Library. But the stories of the amours are a very small part of the whole, and not the part which Byron thought most important. Read his dedication to Southey. He thought of Castlereagh as - well I - think of Dulles. Do read Byron's description of a battle - the sack of a city, in Canto Eight beginning with verse CXXII until the end of the Canto, and going on into Canto IX as far as through verse XXXV, and then you might turn back and read, in Canto Fourth, verses CIII, CIV and CV. But read all of the poem if you have time; and you might take the time!

Have you ever read a poem by Alfred Noyes called "The Wine Press" (written in 1912, so you cannot call it "Bolshevik") Do get it out of the Library and read it.

The part I wish to quote begins: "A murdered man, ten miles away
Will hardly shake your peace
Like one red stain upon your hand
And a tortured child in a distant land
Will never check one smile today
Or bid one fiddle cease."

And here are the verses about "Heads of State" : -

1)
Around a shining table sat
Five men in black tail-coats
And what their sin was, none could say,
For each was honest, after his way
(Tho' there are sheep, and armament firms
With all that this "connotes"

2)
One was the friend of a merchant prince
One was the foe of a priest
One had a brother whose heart was set
On a gold star and an epaulette,
And - where the rotten carcase lies
The vultures flock to feast

3)
But each was honest, after his way,
Lukewarm in faith and old,
And blood to them was only a word
And the point of a phrase their only sword
And the cost of war, they reckoned it
In little disks of gold

4)
They were cleanly groomed. They were not to be bought
And their cigars were good
But they had pulled so many strings
In the tinselled puppet-show of kings
That when they talked of war, they thought
of sawdust, not of blood

5)
Not of the crimson tempest
Where the shattered city falls
They thought, behind their varnished doors,
Of diplomats, ambassadors
Budgets and loans and boundary lines,
Coercions and recalls

6)
Forces and Balances of Power
Shadows and dreams and dust;
And how to set their bond aside
And prove they lied not when they lied
And which was weak and which was strong
But - never which was just.

7)
Yet they were honest, honest men
Justice could take no wrong,
The blind arbitrament of steel
The mailed hand, the armoured heel
Could only prove that Justice reigned
And that her hands were strong

8)
For they were strong, so might is right
And reason wins the day.
And if at the touch of a silver bell
They plunged three nations into hell
The blood of peasants is not red
A hundred miles away.

9)
But if one touch of a silver bell
Should loose beyond control
A blind immeasurable flood
Of lust and hate and tears and blood
Unknown immeasurable powers
That swept to an unseen goal

10)
Beyond their guidance for one hour
Beyond their utmost ken
No huddled madman, crowned with straw
Could so transgress his own last law.
So a secretary struck the bell
For these five honest men.

42-18-49

Byron's Don Juan and this above I think are better answers to your letter and two speeches than any words of mine could be.

I am also sending you a few reviews of some books of mine and some comments on my work, which, since they are not very long, I hope you will read.

I, too, have been "around the world", but it took me more than 18 years. I did not meet many "Heads of State" (Frankly I did not want to) though I did meet a few; but I knew well not a few among the Intelligentsia and a great many among all classes of the People; and it seems to me that those men "behind varnished doors" know less of their own people and care less about them, than do the men of any other groups, whether the "varnished doors" are those of bankers, of heads of industries, of owners of the press, or of "Heads of State". The "varnished doors" are heavier and more opaque than is the "Iron Curtain" and are as heavy and opaque as is the "Nylon Curtain"

Do you honestly <u>like</u> and countenance Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee? If you do, have I not the right to think you used "Rose-coloured glasses"?

Very sincerely yours, and because of your real (though suppressed) intelligence, almost hopefully yours

Anna Louise Strong

Mr. Stevenson, very courteously, answered the above letter; but, though he too, seemed to feel that McCarthy himself was a disadvantage to the U.S.A., it was more because of McCarthy's methods than because of McCarthy's objective: - the extermination of the Communists - since Mr. Stevenson seemed to wish to have it understood that he, too, was in favour of a no-quarter contest with the Communists, in favour of demanding their "unconditional surrender", that is if his unqualified condemnation had that signification, for he expressed extreme antipathy , especially to the U.S.S.R., with whose people he said he had had association during the war and since, and he claimed that it was because of this association that he had the antipathy. But I felt that his desire to make a declaration of his anti-Communism was not due to any deep conviction, but due rather to the idea that an avowal - private as well as public - of that special "Anti" would be an advantage to a candidate for a high post in the Government.

He said in his letter: "As to my being 'calmed' about the U.S.S.R. by somebody, I'm afraid that is quite impossible" and he goes on to say: that "after years of association with those people (people of the U.S.S.R.) during and since the war, after extensive observation of their methods here and everywhere, anyone who could be tolerant of their methods or ignorant of their objectives must like what I detest or detest what I like". But does he like the methods of Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee and Franco? Is he ignorant of their objectives? A man of Stevenson's intelligence could not really consider Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee and Franco high-minded, scrupulous, unstained, admirable, yet after his visit to Formosa he championed Chiang Kai-Shek, accepting his methods and objectives simply because Chiang Kai-Shek is anti-Communist.

In an article in Foreign Affairs Stevenson approved Truman's declaration of war against North Korea, in June 1950, before Congress had voted the war and he also justifed Truman's practical ordering of the U.N. to enter the war and justified the U.N. in its obedience to the order. I feel sure that that justification and approval was also not based on true conviction. How could anyone who would demand that a referee in a ball game gave no decision in a quarrel between teams until he had heard and investigated the claims of both sides, how could such a one honestly think - in a much more momentous question than that of a ball game - that the decision should be made without such impartial investigation of the claims of both sides? Mr. Stevanson knows that North Korea's side was never heard by the U.N. And how could he, or anyone, think that the Soviet Government was responsible for North Korea's so-called aggression? Would the U.S.S.R. have chosen the moment when the Soviet delegate was not on the Security Council, hence no Soviet vote would be possible as a means of preventing the war against North Korea, would the U.S.S.R. have chosen such a moment for manoeuvres enabling North Korea to start an aggressive movement? I cannot believe that Mr. Stevenson really believes that the charge against North Korea is based on proofs obtained by impartial investigation, or that he really believes that Russia instigated or sanctioned any aggressive movement by North Korea.

Mr. Stevsnson also said in his letter that he had seen and "talked with every, I repeat every, chief of state foreign minister etc. from Tokyo to London" and he continued "I suppose I have shared more intimately the confidence of more of them than anyone alive." (Did he talk with Malenkof and Mao Tse-tung?). Unfortunately "Heads of State" and would-be "Heads of State" rarely try to investigate impartially, are rarely influenced by impartial judgments , but usually base their decisions on what is expedient politically, in so far as their own present position, or hoped-for position, is concerned.

This seems aside the question I raised in my March letter, but that I should have written such a letter to Stevenson implied that I believed that he could think and might be able to help America get rid of the louse- i.e. might help her to be cleaner. I still believe that he has the ability to think. (But Bertrand Russell says that most men would rather die than

think") However I did not want to continue an argument basing my points on my own convictions, which Mr. Stevenson might think too "pink" , so I chose Byron and Alfred Noyes as my spokesman - Byron writing nearly a hundred years before the Bolshevik Revolution and Alfred Noyes five years before. Byron shows I think what war is in a way that the most flippant and callous cannot but acknowledge gives a true picture of that utmost horror, and he also shows how worthy of scorn are those who manipulate it, those who accept its rewards and also those who take it lightly; and he shows how most worthy of scorn are those who begin by being champions of the People and become renegades - "Tories at last". Noyes shows the lack of realization of what they are doing, the willingness to be ignorant, the callousness, the lack of <u>real</u> integrity and the cowardice of "Heads of State"

Here follows my second letter to Stevenson

47-91-24

[GREAT BRITAIN]

December 9, 1954

Information Service
British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

For my information in some writing which I am doing, will you kindly inform me:

1. Has any Indian ruler ever been made a Knight of the Garter?

2. Has any ruler of any other Asiatic country ever been made a Knight of the Garter?

3. Has any ruler from any of the British Dominions like Australia, New Zealand or Canada ever been made a Knight of the Garter?

I shall be under great obligations if you will answer these questions.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Order of the Garter

Telephone:
CIRCLE 6-5100

Cable:
DIGESTION, NEW YORK

Reference for reply
H75/Enq

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA

NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

December 20, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Your letter of December 9 to the British Embassy has been passed to this office for reply.

As far as our records show, none of the Rulers of the Princely States of India during the period of British Administration has ever been invested with the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

We have enclosed an information paper on the Order which will give you some idea as to how the Order is conferred.

The following Orders are those which were bestowed on the Rulers of the Indian States:

The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India
The Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire
The Royal Victorian Order
The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

Many of the Rulers were members of more than one of these.

Regarding your second question, "Has any ruler of any other Asiatic country been made a Knight of the Garter?"

Dr. W.E.B Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Yes, The Sultan of Turkey -
Abdul Medjid Khan, Nov. 1, 1856

The Shah of Persia -
Muzaffer de-dine, Feb. 2, 1903

The Emperor of Japan -
Mutsuhito, Feb. 20, 1906

Our source is THE COMPLETE PEERAGE by G.E.C. edited by The Hon. Vicary Gibbs, and published in London by the St. Catherine Press in 1912. It may be consulted in our library.

When you refer to "any ruler from any of the British Dominions like Australia, New Zealand or Canada", we presume you refer to the Governor-General. Canada has had two Governors-General who were Knights of the Garter:

The Earl of Athlone, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.

and

Viscount Alexander of Tunis, K.G., G.C.M.G., C.S.I., D.S.O., M.C.

Australia had one Governor-General who was a member of the Order:

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, K.G., K.T., K.P., G.M.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

We hope that this will answer your questions.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. Webb
Reference Section

BW:em

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
AN AGENCY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

REFERENCE DIVISION

May 1954 ID 1195

THE ORDER OF THE GARTER

The Most Noble Order of the Garter is the most distinguished and exclusive of the nine British orders of Knighthood. Although the Garter is not the oldest order of chivalry in existence, it has been maintained for 600 years without a break; even during the seventeenth century interregnum, the exiled King Charles II continued to nominate knights and on the day after he landed at Dover in 1660 he celebrated the restoration of the Monarchy by bestowing the George on General Monck. It was first planned by Edward III about 1344 as a revival of King Arthur's mythical Order of Knights of the Round Table and was to consist of at least 300 knights. However, it emerged in 1348 as a brotherhood of 25 knights under the leadership of the King, with St. George as patron saint. As the first Arthurian plan suggests, the founders were influenced by the courteous and romantic ideals of Christian chivalry.

The reason for the adoption of the Garter as the emblem of the Order and of "Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense" (Shame to him who thinks evil of it, or more popularly: Evil be to him who evil thinks) as the motto is unknown, for all the earliest records of the Order have been lost. The romantic story associating them with the Countess of Salisbury is based on a legend of no earlier date than 1570, and may have been invented to meet the case. According to tradition, the Countess dropped her blue garter at a court ball, when dancing with Edward III. The King picked it up, and seeing her embarrassment, placed it on his own leg at the same time reproving the levity of his courtiers by the chivalrous exclamation "Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense." It is most likely that the emblem and motto were adopted to signify the homage paid by knights to ladies, and of the chivalry of knighthood.

By the middle of the 14th century, the Order had become a fraternal organization with limited membership, and the pattern for all the British Orders of Knighthood. Each member was a knight regardless of his other rank or station, and all were required to wear a distinguishing badge. Until 1815 no British subject could belong to more than one British Order, and when, for example, the Duke of Wellington was given the Garter in 1813, he was required to resign from the Order of the Bath.

This material is filed with the Department of Justice, where the required registration statement of B.I.S. under 56 Stat. 248-258 as an agency of the British Government is available for inspection. Registration does not imply approval or disapproval of this material by the United States Government

The Order, as originally designed, consisted of the sovereign, Edward III, and twenty-five knights companions, of whom the Prince of Wales, the Black Prince, was named first. Though in theory this limitation still continues, foreign princes and members of Britain's Royal Family, who were originally counted among the constituent twenty-five, are now additional to that number. Extra knights may be admitted by statute. At first knights were elected by the votes of existing members and were installed with solemn ceremony in the Garter Chapel of St. George's, Windsor Castle, the chapel of the Order, but elections and even installations have ceased. Appointment to the order, which during the eighteenth century had become a political honor bestowed on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of the day, reverted in 1946 to the sole prerogative of the Sovereign, and knights are now appointed by royal warrants dispensing with the ancient ceremonies. No formal installation was held after St. George's Day 1805, until the complete ceremony was revived on the 600th anniversary of the Order, St. George's Day 1948, when Queen Elizabeth II, then Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Edinburgh among others were installed.* Abbreviated ceremonies were held for the King of Norway in 1906, for the King of Portugal in 1909 and for the Prince of Wales (now the Duke of Windsor) in 1911. The investiture of the Prince was followed by a service in St. George's Chapel but he was not formally placed in his stall.

Each knight on his installation is assigned to the stall of his predecessor in the Chapel at Windsor. A plate bearing his name, style and arms is placed there, a banner carrying his arms hangs overhead together with a helmet showing a carved representation of his crest. The plate remains in perpetuity but the banner and helmet are removed at the knight's death. These stall plates embody the honor roll of historic names of England, among them John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster (c. 1361), William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1572), the Duke of Marlborough (1701), Sir Robert Walpole, later Earl of Orford (1726), Lord North, later Earl of Guilford (1772), John Pitt, Earl of Chatham (1790), the Duke of Wellington (1813), Viscount Palmerston (1856), Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (1878), Sir Edward Grey, later Viscount Grey of Fallodon (1912), Sir Arthur Balfour, later Earl Balfour (1922), Sir Austen Chamberlain (1925), the Earl of Halifax (1931), Stanley Baldwin, later Earl Baldwin of Bewdley (1937), Earl Alexander of Tunis (1946), Viscount Montgomery of Alamein (1946), and Earl Mountbatten of Burma (1946). Except for Admiral Lord Nelson, there is scarcely a name of supreme rank among Britain's statesmen and warriors that does not appear here. Among these 900 names are more than 100 foreign sovereigns and potentates.

Many commoners became Knights of the Garter during the first three centuries of the Order's existence, and sixteen of the founder knights were commoners but few have been so honored in the last three hundred years. Charles I was the first king not to appoint commoners among his knights and since the reign of Charles II only eight, of whom six subsequently accepted or inherited peerages, have been admitted to the Order. These were Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, Viscount Castlereagh (later Marquess of

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* King Frederick IX of Denmark and three other knights were formally installed in 1951. Unofficial reports state that Sir Winston Churchill will be installed on June 14, 1954.

Londonderry),Sir Edward Grey, Sir Arthur Balfour, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Stanley Baldwin and Winston Churchill.

During the first years of the Garter's existence, ladies were frequently admitted to the Order, among them several Queens of England. The Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, admitted in 1488, was the last lady of the Garter until 1901 when Edward VII restored the practice by bestowing the Order on his consort Queen Alexandra, a custom followed by George V and George VI. Queen Elizabeth II, as Princess Elizabeth, was admitted as a member of the Order in 1947 and became Sovereign of the Order on her father's death in 1952. She is the only queen regnant to have been a member as well as Sovereign. The present ladies of the Garter are Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, and Princess Wilhelmina of the Netherlands.

The insignia and robes of the Order are the Garter, the Mantle, the Surcoat and Hood, the Hat, the Collar with the George, the Ribbon with the Lesser George and the Star. Taking these in order, the Garter, which was the first example of the insignia of any British Order, is of dark blue velvet edged with gold and bearing the motto "Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense" in gold letters; it is worn on the left leg below the knee by knights, and on the left arm by ladies. The Mantle is of dark blue velvet lined with white taffeta and with the badge of the Order, the arms of St. George encircled by the Garter, embroidered on the left shoulder. The Hood and Surcoat are of crimson velvet. The Hat is of black velvet bearing a plume of ostrich feathers tufted with black heron's feathers fastened to the hat by a band of diamonds. The Collar, which was added to the insignia by Henry VII about 1500, is of gold consisting of twenty-four heraldic Tudor roses enamelled red and white, each surrounded by a buckled Garter and linked together with twenty-four "lover's knots" of gold. The George, an enamelled figure of St. George fully armed on horseback,driving a spear into the mouth of the dragon, is worn suspended from the Collar. The Lesser George, instituted by Henry VIII, is a figure of St.George in gold worn attached to a four inch blue ribbon, which passes over the left shoulder to the right hip. The Star, introduced by Charles I in 1629, is of eight points of silver with the Cross of St. George encircled by the Garter in the center. It is worn with the blue ribbon and Lesser George with full or evening dress.

The most famous and valuable of all the historic badges of the Order is the "Greater George," which was worn by Sir Winston Churchill at the Coronation Service of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. It is three and a half inches high, nearly double the size of the standard badge, with the figure of St. George and the dragon worked in gold and colored enamel. About one hundred and fifty diamonds are set into the front of the badge. It was originally given by Queen Anne to the first Duke of Marlborough and was returned to the Crown on his death. It was later given by George IV to the Duke of Wellington and is now in the Wellington Museum at Apsley House.

The following black and white (8" x 10") glossy photographs are available from our Photographs Section, price $1.00 each:

BIZZ 6793/LA Procession to St. George's Chapel 1948. General view.

BIZZ 6227/LA Procession to St. George's Chapel 1948. Semi-close-up showing members of the Royal Family.

BIZZ 7004/LA Ceremony in St. George's Chapel 1948.

BIZZ 7003/LA Regalia of the Most Noble Order in the Garter.

MB:mg

December 2, 1954

Editors of "The Great Soviet Encyclopedia"
Moscow
U.S.S.R.

Gentlemen:

I have the article which you kindly wrote concerning me in Volume 15 of your 1952 edition. I thank you for it, but I write to correct some mistakes which you inadvertently made.

42-18-12

This is a list of the books which I have published to date:-

"The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America" (Harvard Historical Studies, No. 1, 1896). Republished by Social Science Press, 1954.
"Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem" (eighteen numbers, 1896-1914).
"The Philadelphia Negro", (publication of the University of Pennsylvania series on Political Economy and Public Law, No. 14, 1899)
"Souls of Black Folk" Essays and Sketches, 1903; Jubilee Edition, Blue Heron; 1953
"John Brown", (American Crisis Biographies, 1909)
"Quest of the Silver Fleece" a novel, 1911
"The Negro," 1915
"Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil" 1920
"The Gift of Black Folk: The Negro in the Making of America" 1924
"Dark Princess" a novel, 1928
"Black Reconstruction in America, 1860--1880" 1935
"Black Folk: Then and Now" 1939
"Dusk of Dawn: An Autobiography of a Race Concept" 1940
"Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace" 1945
"In Battle for Peace" the story of my 83rd Birthday; with comments by Shirley Graham; Masses and Mainstream, 1952.

Please note that my name is not simply William Du Bois, but is William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

I am not the author of the historical drama, "Haiti" 1935. This was written by William Du Bois, a white American.

I founded and edited for 24 years, the monthly "The Crisis", official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which I was one of the organizers and incorporators.

Also, I founded "Phylon", a quarterly review of race relations, and edited it for 4 years.

I have contributed numbers of articles to periodicals in the United States, England and elsewhere.

I was one of the recipients of the International Peace Prize, 1952.

I will thank you very much to make these corrections in any future edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

42-19-13

[Great Soviet Encyclopedia]

DUBOIS, William (1868-) Negro historian and writer, one of the founders of Negro litterature in the U.S.A. IN his journalistic works ("Души Чёрного Народа" "The Soul of the Black People" 1903, "Тёмная вода" "Dark Water", 1920, "Прошлое и настоящее чёрного народа", 1939 "The past and the present of the black people") Dubois writes on behalf of equality of nations showing the falsehood of the bourgeois theory which asserts that the white race is the superior one, and showing the great contributions of the Negro people to American culture. The most important of his works are the novel "За серебряным руном" (1911) "Beyond the Silver Fleece" about the life of the Negroes in the U.S.A. and the historical drama "Заири" (1935) Haiti dedicated to the revolutionary mouvement in Haiti in the begginning of the 19th century. After the second World war Dubois began writing for the newspaper " " Despite the persecution of the gouvernement he wrote against the agressive politics of American Imperialism, soding with the peace mouvement in the U.S.A. I nthe 2d Peace Congress Dubois was chosen member of the World Wide Peace Council.

PICTURE

41-24

WORKS: "Black Folk, then and now", "An essay in the history and sociology of the Negro race", "Dusk of Dawn", "An essay toward an autobiography of a race concept", "За серебряным руном" "Beyond the Silver Fleece" (translated into Russian). "Quest of the Silver Fleece"

[taken from "the Great Soviet Encyclopedia" Volume 15, 1952]

GREATER NEW YORK NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

53 WEST 125th STREET • NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

Telephone: SAcramento 2-0880

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TOM SULLIVAN, Recording Secretary
VICKI GARVIN, Executive Secretary

February 11, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are so very pleased that you agreed to speak at our Negro History Week celebration at the Elk's Imperial Lodge this week. Mr. Paul Robeson and Mr. Charles Riley will also be present to add to our cultural program.

As pre-arranged, Mr. Joseph White will arrive at your home at 7:30 PM Friday evening to escort you to and from Harlem.

I am enclosing our check for your lecture fee.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Vicki Garvin

Executive Secretary

encl.
dpowa#65

27-5-40

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. Nicolas Guillen
Gaceta del Caribe, O'Reilly #407
Depto.604
La Habana, Cuba

Dear Mr. Guillen:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the S mith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President E isenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President E isenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Cuba to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Guillen

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

January 20, 1954.

Mrs. Vivian Hallinan
Ross, California

My dear Vivian:

Shirley wrote you Christmas and I hope you got the letter in spite of the vagaries of our postal department.

We want to write again and send you our deep condolence. I hope you are bearing it with your usual courage.

Give our best regards to the boys and especially the little one who had such a hard time keeping in focus while we were there. Greet your husband cordially, and tell him that it is a great privilege to be right on the firing line. This waiting around on the periphery as so many of us have to do is not at all satisfactory.

We had a very pleasant Christmas. Probably Shirley told you that we entertained the Rosenberg orphans at a lovely Christmas party.

We have been to the theater to see Dorothy Parker's "Women in the Corridor" which was so good that they closed it after a week. We have also seen Judith Anderson doing her best in a very, very bad play. And we went to "The Emperor's Clothes."

We have had some good winter weather with several inches of snow, and now with plenty of slush. I wish we could test the California weather this winter or spring, but it does not seem possible. There is, however, a possibility that we can go down to the Virgin Islands for one or two weeks. That, however, is still in the lap of the gods.

Shirley has finished her novel about Aaron Burr and turned it in. I think it is a very good book.

I, too, like everybody else am working on a novel, which I have been writing for ten years or more. It is an attempt to put in fiction the history of the Negro problem since 1876. It looks now as though it might be finished one of these days, but I am afraid the chances for publication will be small.

If by any chance you are coming east this winter, be sure to let us know and stop with us if you can.

With best love from both of us,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

December 15, 1954

Mrs. Vivien Hallinan
Box 511
Ross California

My dear Vivien:

I have been inquiring about you from Beanie Baldwin, and understand that you are now over the worst, so that I can give myself the pleasure of greeting you and wishing you all luck.

Shirley and I have been suffering with you, and both of us know something of pain.

This year has been to us all a year of combined hope and despair, but perhaps the light is growing.

When you have time send us just a little word about yourself, your husband and family. We shall await this eagerly.

With great love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

1-9-55

April 2, 1954

Mrs. Ella Hanford
Hershey, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Hanford:

I have your letter of August 12, 1953 and certainly agree that there has been every effort to substitute drugs for common sense.

I [redacted] hope to know more about progress in combatting cancer.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-7

December 14, 1954

Dr. Louis Harap
Jewish Life
Room 601
22 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Harap:

I wonder if you will help me with a quotation.

In my novel there is a rabbi who has survived the Hitler massacre in Germany and is visiting his son in the United States.

He meets by accident a colored college president whom he had met in Germany in 1936. As he is leaving he pronounces a blessing on the Negro in Hebrew.

What would he say? Please give me a quotation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

1-6-2

EDITORIAL BOARD:
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Business Manager

Jewish Life
A Progressive Monthly

22 East 17TH STREET
ROOM 601
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone:
WATKINS 4-5740-1

December 24, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please excuse the delay in responding to your request for the appropriate blessing in the situation you describe.

Following is the prayer, in Hebrew and English, exactly as Dr. Joshua Bloch, of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, gave it to me:

May the Lord bless you and guard you;
May the Lord let his presence shine upon you and be gracious unto you;
May the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed Fact-Sheet on West German Rearmament that we have just published.

With cordial wishes for a Happy New Year to you and Shirley,

Very Sincerely,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

September 24, 1954

Mr. Hugh Hardyman
Box 193, Route 1
Topanga, California

My dear Mr. Hardyman:

May I thank you very much for the copy of your "Resistance Pamphlet" which you sent me.

I appreciate the poem written for me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

21-2-3

In California

Home from the streets of fear and care,
Of backward glance and lowered voice,
I settle in a high-backed chair
In the surroundings of my choice.
Adobe walls and tile combine
With books and beams the eye to please;
Perfect proportion, restful line,
Induce a sense of timeless ease.
Here art and letters give the lie
To all McCarthy's brutal rage.
With handsome wife and children I
Have a most goodly heritage.
Through the great window deodars
Serrate the sky on ridge and crest,
While fragrance from the jasmine stars
Completes the luxury of rest.
But all my heart a longing fills
For greater beauty far away,
Where free men plough the yellow hills
And children shout: "Ho ping wan sui!"
Where dignity and work are one,
With greed dethroned and life enshrined,
The future, radiant as the sun,
Gives confidence to every mind.
Three stone pagodas in the lake
Stand still beneath a primrose moon
And fifty thousand people make
A garden from the arid dune.
There goldfish light the quietness,
The porcelain is Chi'en Lung,
And railwaymen are playing chess
Beside the bust of Mao Tse-tung.

To The Neo-Malthusians

Their propaganda failing,
Their power ebbing fast,
As people after people
Cast off their chains at last.
The evil men of money
Are crying in despair:
"Your multiplying children
Will eat the planet bare."
O evil men of money,
If what you say is true,
Cheer up! Our children's children
Will die long after you.

Liberation

This is the way that things will be
When the Americans are free.

The race track has become a park
Where children play from dawn to dark
And in the evening workers dance
While colored lanterns shed romance.

The young have learned that happiness
Means giving more and taking less;
In music, painting, dancing, plays,
They vie to win the general praise.

Some in the laboratories find
The great adventures of the mind,
While others of a pastoral bent
In field and forest choose content.

They speak with wonder of the crime
Committed in the former time,
When man ignored his brother's need
And laws upheld the rule of greed.

How strange that men who found the ways
To free the atom's splendid rays,
Once made their biggest industry
Destruction of humanity!

Atomic power serves us now
To drive the train, the plane, the plough,
To furnish water from the seas
To cover desert plains with trees.

The people, black and white and brown,
Together build our garden town,
Large houses for large families,
For childless couples, cottages.

No smoke defiles the changing skies
Where our triumphant towers rise.
Some empty hospitals remain,
Grim relics of the age of pain.

All households share in keeping clean
Our sidewalks, roads and parkways green.
Picnicking parties guard with pride
The beauty of their countryside.

All work together to produce
The things we need for daily use,
Each offering his chosen skill
To make the good life better still.

This is the way that things will be
When the Americans are free.

TOWARD LIBERATION

by

HUGH HARDYMAN

The tide is out, the rocks are bare and dead,
A gray and sullen sky hangs overhead.
In Washington the rich are planning war
And how to screw more taxes from the poor.
As surely as the sunlit waves will churn
The beach again and the high tide return,
Truth will revive the people drugged with lies.
They will stand up with anger in their eyes.

RESISTANCE PAMPHLET NUMBER FOUR

Additional Copies from:

Hugh Hardyman
Box 193, Rte. 1,
Topanga, Calif.
50 for $1.00

To The Guild Attorneys

Good, gallant friends, who stand upright in court
Fighting to salvage from the Fascist gang
The sulled remnants of the flag men sang
Long years ago before the southern fort,
Remember that though hard the battle seems
And vile the perjured catchfarts of the foe,
Your clients are not just the folk you know
But twenty generations of men's dreams.
Justice, compassion, decency, good faith,
Liberty, honor and democracy,
The dreams for which America once stood
As symbol, now an outlawed brotherhood,
Stand in the dock beside the men you see,
Dependent on your words for life or death.

To Reuben W. Borough at 70

He knew the score. He knew the sorry tale
Of human cruelty and lust and greed
But kept his faith in man. He paid no heed
To us who warned him he was bound to fail
In the crusades he waged by day and night,
Speaking at meetings in a thousand rooms,
Chasing the liberals' fears and cynics' glooms
With love and laughter. In his selfless sight
A sewage plant to keep the beaches clean
Was an ideal which kept him young. He worked
Twelve hours a day while we grew old and
shirked
Our eight-hour stint. How often have we seen
The office lose its Monday-morning air
When Reuben's laughter echoed up the stair.

To Emanuel Bloch

Our hats are off to you, Emanuel Bloch!
Your case was lost before your fight began
But your imperishable faith in man
Drove you to smash your fists against the rock
Of Fascist hatred through the bleeding years,
Pounding with battered flesh and tortured frame
At the cold flint, while from behind there came
To snap and tear your ankles sundry curs
Who would exalt themselves by hurting you.
O man of love and courage, in your fight
Our little hearts respond to your great heart.
We pledge that we will do our modest part
To help you change our darkness into light
And make the dreams of our dead friends come
true.

The Foul War

What have the Viet-Minh people done to us
That we should burn their hamlets with napalm?
We have destroyed the Land of Morning Calm.
Surely our guilt for that is onerous
Enough without more blood upon our hands?
Dresden and Hiroshima cry to God
For vengeance, yet our leaders think it odd
That we are not beloved in all the lands
Which we have ruined in the holy name
Of Freedom—Freedom to Exploit for Gain
Their people and resources. For how long
Will we take part in this appalling wrong
Concocted by a wealthy clique insane
With greed? Have we, too, lost all sense of
shame?

Saviors Ahoy!

Our factories are laying off the men,
Employment is becoming hard to find,
Thoughts of depression rise in every mind,
The old, unhappy days are here again.
For we ran out of targets in Korea
And our allies refused to go along
To bankruptcy to keep our system strong
With profits rolling in. But banish fear!
The sanctimonious John and brother Allen
Are set to put us all to work once more
Killing Chinese who will provoke the war
By building dams. On them our planes can pour
Steel, germs, napalm, atomic bombs galore
And botulinus toxin by the gallon.

Absolutely Free

What will you have? What do you want today?
Bayonets, shrapnel, poison gas or germs?
Your Uncle Samuel, caterer to worms,
Will furnish any means of death you say.
Atomic bombs, perhaps, or TNT?
Our botulinus toxin is the best
For city reservoirs by any test
And carries our unrivaled guarantee:
One ounce will kill eight million. We have three
Gallons on hand. Here is the form to sign
Requesting us to serve your need for oil,
To help you sell the products of your soil—
And you can take your choice of all our line
Of tools for murder, absolutely free.

To W. E. B. DuBois

When the despoilers and oppressors, now
So panic-stricken that they seem insane
As they rush down the hill to blazing death,
The Duponts, Rockefellers, Krupps and Thyssens,
Are buried in the pyre of their own building,
And the last writers hired to praise their greed
As virtue, change scarcely perceptibly
To maggots, in that day so near at hand
That the red banners of the dawn are bright
In all the eastern sky, that glorious day
In which men everywhere will stand upright,
Hands clasped in brotherhood around the world,
Two names will be enshrined in every heart
In Africa, the names DuBois, Morel.
These are the men, the incorruptible,
The fearless, clear of eye and clear of thought,
Who sought no wealth, no honor save to serve
The poor and the oppressed, shining like stars
Through our dark night in token of the day
Now dawning, who gave courage to endure
The last long hours of torment while they worked
With tongue and pen, tools of the obstetricians
Aiding the birth of freedom for mankind.

Peace Conference in Peking

The petals of the chrysanthemums leap outward
Like the stars from rockets—
In Pusan an old woman and her daughter
Are raped by five soldiers.
The massed flags of forty nations glow in the
floodlights,
A bed of zinnias in full bloom—
Deep below ground in Pyongyang the mothers of
dead children
Work together with dry eyes.
Enormous over the little people
Flies the dove of peace—
Shells scream over Wonsan in the daily
performance
Of the American Symphony.

H A R L E M
S P E A K S

225 East 125th Street
New York 35, New York
August 11th, 1954

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Some months ago you said that we might make a tape recording of your voice for our collection of famous Negro Americans.

We would like to get an appointment with you. Summer vacations are such fleeting things at best...we hesitate to impose upon you. However, we thought perhaps some comment on the recent Supreme Court decision from one of our leading educators would be a very important addition to our library.

How do you feel about this, sir?

This topic, of course,is fresh in the memories and consciences of America. However, if it wouldn't be asking too much, we would like to have you read some excerpts from your works also.

We are very anxious to make these recordings. Would it be possible to cut the tapes in the next week or so? Whenever you say we will come a-running!

Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Yours truly,
Melvin Tapley
MELVIN TAPLEY
Recording chairman

[Harlem Speaks]

August 30, 1954

Mr. Melvin Tapley
225 East 125 Street
New York 35, New York

Dear Mr. Tapley:

I am in my office nearly every weekday between noon and four o'clock.

You can phone for an appointment. The best time to reach me by phone is before noon at:

MAINE 4--2929

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 13, 1954

President and Fellows of
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Gentlemen:

In 1896 my Doctor's thesis on "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America" was published by Harvard University as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Series.

I have recently had some inquiries from publishers concerning the possible re-publication of this work. The copyright was originally vested in you.

I write to ask if it has reverted to me. If not, who is the owner?

I should be obliged for an answer at your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS ◆ CAMBRIDGE 38 ◆ MASSACHUSETTS

Wm. Warren Smith, jr.
Associate Director and
Business Manager

Jewett House
44 Francis Avenue

April 20, 1954

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
22 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

Your letter of April 13th has been forwarded to us from the President's office.

We are taking up your request with the proper authorities and will write to you again in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Grace A. Briggs

Grace A. Briggs

GAB

27-5-74

May 14, 1954

President and Fellows of
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

On April 13th I wrote you a letter, a copy of which is enclosed. On April 20th Grace A. Briggs, Harvard University Press, answered me, saying, "We are taking up your request with the proper authorities and will write to you again in the near future."

I do not know what the "near future" is in the opinion of the Harvard University Press, but I am addressing myself to you. It seems to me that as a graduate of 64 years' standing I merit the courtesy of an answer.

May I hear from you in the "near future?"

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Copy sent to Social Science Press

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS ◆ CAMBRIDGE 38 ◆ MASSACHUSETTS

Wm. Warren Smith, jr.
Associate Director and
Business Manager

Jewett House
44 Francis Avenue

May 19, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I must apologize for the delay in sending you a definite answer to your letter of April 13 in regard to the copyright of your book, THE SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. The absence from Cambridge of one of the members of the Harvard History Department most active in the handling of the Harvard Historical Studies forced us to delay answering questions which you might well assume that we should answer without outside consultation.

In brief, the facts are as follows: the copyright and the renewal of copyright of your book have run out so that it is in the public domain and, as far as the law is concerned, anyone may reprint it who sees fit to do so without securing anyone's permission. If a reputable publisher were to apply to us for permission to reprint, we would be inclined to grant his request, provided (1) you were consulted and you agreed to the reprinting, (2) that the reprinting be faithful to the text of the original edition, and (3) that the paraphernalia pertaining to Harvard Historical Studies be removed from the book. The University does not permit commercial publishers to use the Harvard name in serial publications. In an instance like this one, when a book is reprinted, the publisher puts in the front matter a statement that the volume is a reprint of a work first published as, say, Harvard Historical Studies Volume I; but he does not use the Harvard series name in his front matter, in the stamping of the cover, or on the jacket. We have never encountered any difficulties on this score, as the reprint houses generally consider that a wider public may be reached if the identification with a learned series is omitted.

Please note that, although any publisher may reset the type and reissue the book even without your permission or ours, no one may reproduce our edition by photo-offset without explicit permission from us. If such a request is addressed to us, we will make certain that you are consulted before any definite agreement is entered into. All requests to republish are normally referred to us as the publishers of the book.

Very truly yours,

WWS/bde

97-5-74

January 5, 1954

Mr. Lawrence A. Hautz
5400 North Lake Drive
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Larry and Carol:

Shirley and I are delighted with the beautiful vase which you sent us for Christmas. It will occupy the place of honor on our piano.

We have had, as I think Shirley has told you, a rather hectic Christmas: a party for twenty children, and then we entertained the Soviet Delegate to the UN, Andrei Vyshinsky. Paul Robeson sang.

Finally, my daughter came up from Baltimore and spent a weekend with us, and we went to the theater.

At last we have dismantled the Christmas tree, and Shirley has begun serious last revisions on her book, while I am plodding along with mine. Shirley is a bit tired and she shows it, but I haven't overworked.

I know what a tremendous uplift and adventure your trip has been for both of you, although I am still suffering with Carol on that nineteen day voyage.

We shall certainly try to see you this summer. Thanking you again and wishing you all good luck for the new year,

With all our love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

97-7-1

September 29, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Hauts
1017 First National Bank Bldg.
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin

My dear Larry and Carol:

Shirley and I are still quite overwhelmed at your departure and can hardly yet realize it.

There are some things which I would like you to know while you are away. First of all, if I were going to join a religious organization I should certainly be strongly tempted to join the Bahai movement because of its broad principles, its international and inter-racial program. Even its aberrations in the past have been human and understandable and nothing that I now hold against it.

However, I ought to say frankly that after having had a conventional religious education among people who were not fanatical but sincere, and having come up in the Congregational and Episcopalian churches, with regular attendance at Sunday School and church services, and having been a member of the Congregational Church for fifteen years and of the Episcopalian Church for ten years, I decided in 1896 never again to join any organization in which I had to say that I believe what I do not believe. I think that sort of assertion that one subscribes to a dogma that he knows and other people know he does not fully believe, is one of the greatest evils of our time and is responsible for a tremendous amount of lying and deception.

There are a half dozen religions, to most of whose beliefs I could say frankly I subscribe to, but there is no religion of which I know whose dogma and creed is one in which I wholly believe. I do not believe in the existence and rulership of the one God of the Jews; I do not believe in the miraculous birth and the miracles of the Christ of the Christians; I do not believe in many of the tenets of Mohammedanism and Buddhism; and frankly, I do not believe that the Guardian of the Bahai faith has any supernatural knowledge of what may happen, or is anything more than a fine, conscientious and hard-working leader of men.

Since having come to that conclusion I have consistently kept to it and I will not change until I see unanswerable reason for so doing.

You can see, then, why I have not joined the Bahai movement,

in spite of the fact that it has pained me not to be able to cooperate with both of you as I should have liked to cooperate.

This is, of course, for your understanding and perusal. If you wish to show it to anyone else you may, but I should not like to have it generally published without my consent.

Shirley and I hope for a splendid development of your great and courageous adventure, and we join in love and hope.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-7-3

September 29, 1954

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF MR. HAUTZ' OFFICE:

At the request of Mr. Hautz, will you kindly see that the enclosed letter is placed with his effects to be forwarded to him.

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Enc.]

Dear

As one of their sponsors, I have been asked by the New York Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born to invite you to a meeting at the home of ..... at ..... p.m. on March .... The meeting is called to discuss what action should be taken to defend the civil rights of fourteen aliens ordered deported. Eleven of the fourteen have not been deported because they are stateless persons or because the countries whence they came refuse to receive them. These are out on bail. These persons are now held under "supervised parole" which requires that

> "These persons are required to report at stated intervals, submit to medical and psychiatric examination if necessary, give information about their circumstances, habits, associations and activities and conform to reasonable written restrictions on their conduct and activities."

97-74-21

On January 31, the Supreme Court of the United States notified these fourteen victims that the Court would hear their appeal from the right of the Immigration authorities to hold them under "supervised parole."

Those are POLICE STATE regulations which have no place on the statute books of a land which considers itself a democracy. The 14 are challenging these provisions in their own behalf and in behalf of the thousands of other non-citizens who might later be placed on Supervisory Paroles.

I write then to invite you to this meeting so that as citizens of the United States we may consult concerning the preservation of our liberties.

Very sincerely

W.E.B. Du Bois

P.S. Correspondence on this matter should be addressed to the secretary, New York Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, 23 W. 26 St. N.Y.

C.F.HAYFRON-BENJAMIN
Barrister- at- Law

P.O.Box 282
Kumasi, 3rd August, 1954.

Dear Dr.Du Bois,

It is a far cry since I communicated with you but I must respectfully assure you that there is a big place in the hearts of young Africans for you, and a deep sense of appreciation for the abiding services you have rendered to the Negro Race.

I graduated Honours in Philosophy at the University of London in the year 1924. Since then I have actively practised in the Supreme Courts of the Gold Coast with a tolerable acceptance. I now wish with the spare time available to me to write a thesis or book on a sociological subject affecting an aspect of African customs in the Gold Coast.

As an expert I would respectfully ask you to suggest a subject which would be of interest and further, if you can, arrange a scholarship award in one of the Negro or other Universities in America where I could be guided on the foundations for the projected work.

I do trust that, now as before, you will endeavour to help.

With renewed thanks and all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

C.F.H.Benjamin

Dr.W.E.B.Du Bois,
Professor of Sociology,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta.
U.S.A.

August 25, 1954

Mr. C.F. Hayfron-Benjamin
P.O. Box 282
Kumasi, Gold Coast
British West Africa

My dear Mr. Benjamin:

Your letter of August 3rd has reached me. I regret to say that I can be of no service to you. I have been retired from active teaching and am not now in touch with any schools or foundations giving scholarships.

I would recommend that you write to the President of Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and see if he can help you.

Your letter on which you prepaid one shilling three pence came to me by ordinary mail and not by airmail; and then the postoffice here charged me 32¢ postage due. I have complained here about this outrageous procedure, and I would be glad if you would complain to your own postoffice.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

2-1-64

March 1, 1954

Miss Anna M. Henderson
43 Britain Street
Saint John, N.B.
Canada

Dear Miss Henderson,

I regret that I was unable to procure for you a copy of my "World and Africa". It is out of print.

I hope you were able to get information elsewhere and I am sorry I could not serve you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-2

Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ W. 23rd St.
Los Angeles 18, Calif.
April 26, 1954

Dear Sir.

This copy of a simple and fragile effort that might pass for poetry is a gift for which no payment will be accepted.

Whatever comments, remarks, evaluations, or devaluations of the work, any of its parts, or of the precocious attitude of its author, which must be astounding, will be gladly received by me, that you may care to make.

The only thing I regret about having heard you when you spoke in Los Angeles the last two times was not ~~have~~ having met you personally. But I have faith that I yet will.

Excuse, or rather, understand me if my admiration for you seems to border upon worship. Then refer to the first two lines of my poem "Charge To Destiny."

Sincerely
Oliver F. Higgs

27-14-69

May 4, 1954

Mr. Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ West 23 St.
Los Angeles 18, Calif.

My dear Mr. Higgs:

I thank you very much for letting me see your book of poems, and I appreciate your kind words.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-79-65

Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ W. 23rd St.
Los Angeles 18, Calif.
September 4, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street,
New York, 10, N. Y.

My Dear Sir:

Having found after my inquiry into the Los Angeles Public Library and its branches and of other persons of literary distinction and possession with whom I have corresponded, that a certain booklet of poetry could not be obtained through lack of possession I hereby inquire such of yourself. The booklet is THE BAND OF GIDEON by Joseph Seamon Cotter Jr. As you have probably noticed in my brochure INTO THE REALM from the sonnet entitled "I Sing For Cotter" I am devoted to his work and personality with deep admiration and appreciation.

Some time ago I outlined and began a ten-sonnet sequence about this short-lived and extraordinarily gifted singer, but have left it half-finished, pending fuller knowledge of his work. His work in the anthologies, two of which are in my library, comprise in all less than a dozen different poems.

If your library contains his booklet and you could loan it to me for reading I would remain extremely grateful and appreciative. Obligations and responsibilities of handling and postage would be fully assumed by myself.

Please inform me of your disposition.

Sincerely Yours,

Oliver F. Higgs

Oliver F. Higgs

27-6-3

September 10, 1954

Mr. Oliver F. Higgs
1968½ West 23 St.
Los Angeles, 18, Calif.

Dear Mr. Higgs:

Answering your letter of September 4, I regret to say that I do not have a copy of Joseph Cotter's THE BAND OF GIDEON.

It is possible that they would have a copy at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, 104 West 136 Street, N.Y.C.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

December 6, 1954

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
46 Lincoln Avenue
Yeadon, Pennsylvania

My dear Hill:

I spent the weekend at Cheney. I was with some friends in a small new cottage, and did not invade the campus. But of course I heard the usual stack of rumors. One was that your wife, Jane, had bee very ill but was now recovered.

I do hope that the illness was not too severe and that the recovery is still real and permanent. Please give her my love.

Also, I understand that you are thin and working like the devil. This is a great mistake. As a matter of fact, you are a poet and not an executive but you were kicked into executive work and did a fine job at Cheney. But after you were released from that imprisonment I had hoped you would go to writing, and I would have told you so had I not been so busy at the time keeping out of jail.

I myself have for the last two years given my time entirely to literature. I am writing a chef-d'oeuvre masterpiece, which is a novel of the development of the Negro from 1876 where my book "Reconstruction" broke off, to the present. I have had a gorgeous time working on it, putting in four or five hours a day. It is nearly finished.

I wish you would think this over and see if you can't plan to give up your executive work and go to writing entirely. Of course, I know you won't but I am getting this off my chest.

Shirley and I have a very fine house in Brooklyn Heights, quiet and comfortable. It cost about twice as much as we could afford to pay but our choice was between something like that or life in the country, which after repeated investigation I have learned is impossible.

Fortunately I am still in good health and spirits despite what the world seems to be doing to itself.

Our best regards to you and again to your wife. I shall be glad to hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

87-114-10

December 17, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Doctor:

Your letter has been a refreshing experience. It warrants my taking issue with many of our mutual friends who think more of your remarkable head than of your great heart. I want you to know, in this hour of great anxiety about Mrs. Hill's serious condition, that I value deeply your generous concern about me. You express what a number of my influential friends have urged—that I get off somewhere somehow and write.

That wonderful experience to which I have looked forward now frankly for a number of years has not yet come to pass. I have long since planned to complete a trilogy of dramas beginning with Toussaint L'Ouverture, which has gone out to evoke some remarkably-encouraging criticism, with Christoph and Desselines following. I have a store of reading back in my head somewhere and still intend to accomplish this threefold task.

The work of our enormous undertaking here at the hospital is demanding and engrossing, and leaves little or no time for anything else. Of course I have no thought of continuing here indefinitely, but want to see the establishment carried over to the new basis with my part done. I intend then to buckle down to some hard study and to the writing to which I have been called in important directions. It would be a delightful privilege to develop an imaginary conversation between you and Sir Winston, if he can be induced ever to retire. I imagine a world of fun in that composition. And so on with much else.

I rejoice that you have been working on your chef-d'oeuvre, and promise you to be one of the first subscribers when it appears. The fact that you have had a "gorgeous time working on it" means that we shall have the joy of your heart in evidence as you terminate this major undertaking. I rejoice also that you are in good health and

27-178-41

spirit for your work, in spite of the world and all its besetments.

I keep well, but I am tired and need a rest, which may be forthcoming before too long.

Mrs. Hill, who is still in a critical condition after six weeks of hospitalization, for the most part in an oxygen tent, but now at home with nursing care day and night, enjoyed your letter with me and send along with mine to you and your spouse every good wish and prayer not only for Christmas, but for years more of productive work.

Your letter makes me think of the inward turmoil of Matthew Arnold, who had to spend days and years in the writing of dry educational reports when he ought to have been up on his wings with an essay or poem.

Again with every good wish to you and Shirley Graham Du Bois, I am

Cordially yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
Administrator

LPH:ltp

47-178-42

1724 University Street
Jacksonville 4, Florida
November 6, 1954

31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois

I am a Student of the James Weldon Johnson Junior High School, and am in the Ninth Grade.

As a Civics Assignment I am to Write a paper of your life including you influence Upon the Negroes. Will you be kind enough to Send to me Some information Concerning the Same at you earliest time Possible? For this I shall be ever greatful

Respectfully
Annie Mae Holland.

27-70-63

1724 University Street
Jacksonville 4, Florida
November 6, 1954

Mr W. E. B DuBois
23 W 26" Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois

I am a Student of the James Weldon Johnson Junior High School, and am in the Ninth Grade.

As a Civics Assignment I am to Write a paper of your life including you influence upon the Negroes. Will you be kind enough to send to me some information Concerning the same at you earliest time Possible? For this I shall be ever grateful

Respectfully,
Annie Mae Holland

27-7a-62

November 10, 1954

Miss Annie Mae Holcomb
1724 University Street
Jacksonville, 4, Florida

Dear Miss Holcomb:

In answer to your letter of November 6th to Dr. Du Bois, enclosed is an excerpt from "Who's Who in America" giving a brief outline of his contributions.

Autobiographical material can be found in his books, "Dusk of Dawn," "The Souls of Black Folk" and "In Battle for Peace." No doubt you can find these in your public library.

"Dusk of Dawn," is out of print; but "The Souls of Black Folk" has recently been republished (Blue Heron Press, 47 West 63 St, New York City); and "In Battle for Peace," the latest book, is still available (New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York City).

Numerous books by other authors have mentioned his contributions.

Wishing you success,

Sincerely,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

enc.

HERBERT C. HOLDRIDGE
BRIGADIER GENERAL, U.S. ARMY RETIRED

P. O. Box 1086
SHERMAN OAKS, CALIF.

May 20, 1954.

Mr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
C/o The National Guardian,
17 Murray Street, New York.
Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Although I have resolved to stand aside in national politics for the present, finding no honest program on which to stand, I cannot permit your article in the May 17th edition of the Guardian to go unchallenged. I agree with your premises. I disagree with your final conclusion: "Can we not compel Ohio and Illinois to list Progressive Party Candidates on the ballot?". The two are completely unrelated. I see little useful purpose in having the Progressive Party on the ballot.

As one interested individual I saw, in 1948, the birth of the Progressive Party by remote control, for I had already been briefed by one of its most active members that the convention was already cut and dried. I noted the steam-roller tactics at Philadelphia, on a par with the "Dixiecrat" convention which I had just attended, and the intellectually-dishonest platform based on the asinine concept of "progressive capitalism". Thereafter I tried in all honesty to find some basis for affiliation with the party, for being a natural crusader, I was in search of some organization within which I might express myself. But no such basis ever materialized. I observed the growing control over the organization by an inner bureaucracy, which openly displayed its power in the "smoke filled room" in Chicago in 1952. I noted the cynicism of the leadership in compromising on the aenemic, foolish economic concepts of A.D.A.ism, still wrestling with the idea of making capitalism work. This could not have resulted from ignorance of the obvious truth that capitalism, as a technique for distribution, was rotten to the root, and was the fundamental cause of our equally rotten domestic and foreign policies, and must therefore have resulted from a planned program of deceit perpetrated upon the American people. I discussed this issue with Mr. Vincent Hallinan here in California in 1952, and he agreed with me but insisted that he was bound by the decisions of the bureaucracy. I have read the Guardian, and have followed the "party line", and find nothing but crepe-enshrouded negativity - no living program of positive action within our own democratic institutions, for which a patriotic citizen could campaign wholeheartedly. I continue to receive literature from the local offices, and although I have respect for the rank and file, mistrust the bureaucracy and avoid becoming involved.

27-41-1

As you may know, back in 1944 I campaigned for Norman Thomas, but after careful observation concluded that he was a colossal failure who had betrayed his own followers. I take the same stand toward the Progressive Party for its lack of moral courage and its political dishonesty in concealing economic facts from the people and failing to present a constructive, dynamic program. It had a marvellous opportunity to sieze the initiative and lead in a new grass roots liberalism founded on economic fact, but through its willingness to compromise, it has lost its opportunity, and, like Norman Thomas, becomes a dismal failure at the hour of greatest need.

So I say of the Progressive Party, " Would that thou were hot or cold, but being neither hot nor cold, I spew thee out!". Your appeal would have validity if ever there were a regeneration within the party, with the intelligence, the moral courage, and the dynamics to do the tremendous job which must be done. That regeneration would truly be a miracle.

Very sincerely,

Herbert C. Holdridge

Herbert C. Holdridge

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mlle. L. Homburger
98 rue de la Cour
Paris 16, Paris

Dear Mlle. Homburger:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mlle. Homburger

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

HOMO

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE VERGLEICHENDE BIOLOGIE DER MENSCHEN

Internationales Organ für das Gesamtgebiet der Anthropologie. – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie

„MUSTERSCHMIDT", WISSENSCHAFTLICHER VERLAG, GÖTTINGEN

Herausgeber:
Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. E. Frh. v. Eickstedt

(22b) Mainz, den 4. 1. 1954
Universität

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege!

Erlauben Sie mir, Ihnen als Mitherausgeber von HOMO meine besten Glückwünsche zum Neuen Jahr zu übersenden. Dankenswerterweise hatten Sie sich seinerzeit bereit erklärt, von Zeit zu Zeit Nachrichten und gelegentlich einmal einen Aufsatz zu senden, die in das Bereich einer psycho-physio-morphologisch Vergleichenden Humanbiologie fallen, und Homo hat die Ehre, auf seinem Titelblatt darauf hinweisen zu dürfen. Da ich aber seit einiger Zeit nichts von Ihnen erhielt, nehme ich die Fest- und Ruhezeit zum Anlaß, um Ihnen zu versichern, wie sehr ich mich darüber freuen würde, wieder von Ihnen zu hören.

27-1-48

Inzwischen bin ich mit den besten Grüßen

Ihr stets ergebener

E. Eickstedt

[Homo]

February 14, 1954

Professor Dr. Freiherr von Eickstedt
Homo
(22b) Mainz,
Mainz, West Germany

My dear Dr. von Eickstedt:

I was very glad to have your letter of January 1st, and hasten to wish you a Happy New Year.

I have not seen a copy of your journal for a long time. Please send me one. I will then see if I have any contribution which will be suitable for your columns.

I trust that you and Mrs. von Eickstedt are in good health, and in case you do come to the United States Mrs. Du Bois and I will be very glad to have you as our guest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-49

HOTEL-ON-THE-CAY

CHRISTIANSTED
ST. CROIX
U. S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

PAUL J. GILLES
Owner - Manager

Cable Address
GILLESISLE STCROIX

February 19, 1954.

Mr. Harry Dreis
40 North Street
Charlotte Amalie
St. Thomas, V. I.

Dear Mr. Dreis:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 15, and for the deposit check of $50.00.

We are holding an attractive twin bedded room with private bath for Mr. & Mrs. W. E. DuBois, from March 12, for seven nights.

The daily rate of $28.00 for two includes our good meals and afternoon tea.

We shall take best care of Mr. & Mrs. DuBois and wish to thank you very much for this reservation.

Cordially yours,

Paul J. Gilles

Bluebeard Reservation OK
Regards - Harry

ALGONQUIN 4-0397

HUNGARIAN WORD, Inc.

130 EAST 16th STREET

NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Sept. 28. 1954.

Dr W.E.B. Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

It is a special joyous occasion when one can celebrate a great artist, whose art for forty years has been in the service of progressive humanity.

For decades HUGO GELLERT has served humanity with his fine art. His wonderful contribution for friendship among all people, his work in behalf of a better and peaceful world has been widely acclaimed. It is for the recognition of the selfless work of this great artist, we are contemplating of paying him a fitting tribute in the very near future. We would like to arrange a large affair to honor HUGO GELLERT.

May we ask for your sponsorship for this prohected event? We would indeed greatly appreciate it, if you would allow us to use your name in this connection.

We hope that you favor us with an early answer. Thanking you in advance, we remain

Respectfully yours

For the provisional arrangements Committee

Zoltan Deak Michael Gold

27-74-57

September 29, 1954

Mr. Michael Gold
Hungarian Word, Inc.
130 East 16 St.
New York 3, NY

My dear Mr. Gold:

I shall be very glad to have my name used as sponsor for the GELLERT celebration.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-7a-59 [Hungary]

In Celebration of the Ninth Anniversary
of the Liberation of Hungary

The Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic
and Madame Szarka
request the honor of the company of

Dr & Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois

at a reception
on Sunday, the fourth of April
from seven to nine o'clock

R. S. V. P.

2437 Fifteenth Street

[Hungary, Embassy of]

March 31, 1954

His Excellency, Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic,
and Madam Szarka
2437 Fifteenth Street
Washington, D.C.

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois regret their inability to attend the reception at the Embassy on Sunday, April 4th.

They send all good wishes to the Minister and Madam Szarka.

27-74-20

[Ikoro]

Feb. 28, 54
Amaefule Ikoro
care Mr. Ogim.
14 Elesin street
Obalende
Lagos. Nigeria

Comrade & leader for African Socialism,

Remember me. remember me your young marxist cronie, Ikoro, whom you met at Prague during the conference of students in 1950. Well since then & you have passed through the mccarthy & macca ran ideological jack pot, chained & hand cuffed for mentioning the word peace in the united States. political

Yes, in the fire hearth & fire ovens of the united States dollar devils & atom - hydrogen - napalm tycoons peace is taboo.

not so in the land of socialism. But also so in colonial africa where the ill bred jackals of the west employ today as their economic game - field & theft & profit hunting. yes, but there too lies the great

27-6-54

prospect of a peoples socialism, to be
a dialectical genuine anti-imperialist
and feudal revolutionary struggle, led
of course by the working class.
If there is a great hope for frustrated
millions of peasant & industrial
proletariat in the tactics &
methods of revolutionary class
struggle. We must & unite the
various class forces, taking note of
the peculiarity of each contradiction
& its consequences & strength to
combat the menace of the western
banging imperialist shrines to steal
our food, land & power.

This is no time for argument,
or the leisurely splitting of hairs
in classical oxford English. We are
facing life or death for the
future & sanity of this country.
If it is true as we of the
younger generation should like to
believe that we can rescue africa
& smash the power of anglo-
american ~~general~~ rascals, then
we must do it and not argue
or talk about it.

27-6-57

Comrade here lies our guilt & our duty.
Under the leadership of fearless & sincere
people working we will succeed to Socialism.
We are few now but our might is
developing as working class then
is rising. We employ dialectics not
for ourselves like the selfish upper
class gangsters for their class purpo
ses. We must to fight with
every ounce of energy, nerve &
courage. We are for peace, for youths
for food, free school desk & factory
system, common mechanized farming
and world working class union. Long live
Du Bois & africa & the world
Long live Paul Robeson & africa
& comrade Affairs. Long live Moa
& Malcolm.

Send me literature, books the papers of
bulletins, put world people.
me in your mailing list. Reply me & i will
write you regularly on our struggles
2 Send me for our party a typewriter,
cyclostyle machine, a press (small
Warfdayk), a towing car for organs etc
yours for africa & world fight
& a fruitful Xmas

27-12-65

From
Chairman
Regence CPP

Dubois

Trachtenberg Committee [Inter. Pubs.]

THREE EIGHTY-ONE FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Room 1301

Murray Hill 5 - 2864

November 30, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very happy to learn that you have agreed to speak at the banquet in honor of the 30th Anniversary of International Publishers and Trachtenberg's 70th Birthday, to be held Friday, December 17, 1954, 6:30 PM at the Yugoslav-American Hall, 405 West 41st street, New York City.

In addition to the speakers listed on the enclosed invitation, there will be at least two others. As you see, we will have to limit time strictly to keep the speaking program within reasonable bounds; it is proposed that you take no more than seven (7) minutes, and that you speak on the influence of Socialist literature in this country during your lifetime and also of the special contribution made by International Publishers in issuing the writings and speeches of Frederick Douglass, the 4th and last volume of which will be ready in January.

I hope these proposals meet with your approval, and I make them only in an effort to avoid repetition by the speakers.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of LOOKING FORWARD, our anniversary volume.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to attend and participate in this special affair.

Sincerely yours,

James S. Allen

James S. Allen
for the ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

JSA:el
Enclosures

[International Publishers]

December 2, 1954

Mr. James S. Allen
381 Fourth Avenue
Room 1301
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

I have your letter and ticket.

You will remember that I told you distinctly that I could not promise to be present at Mr. Trachtenberg's dinner, much as I would like to be.

At present I am under obligation to be out of town sometime during the latter part of December. I may not, therefore, be able to come. At any rate, I do not want you to publish my name as speaker, as I am not sure of being able to be there.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Trachtenberg Comm [Internat. Publishers]

THREE EIGHTY-ONE FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
Room 1301

Dec. 7, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am sorry if I misunderstood you, and, as a result, had your name printed on the invitation together with the other speakers. I was under the impression as a result of our brief talk that you had agreed to speak, but that you would let me know should you not be able to come.

In any case, I will ask the committee not to include your name in new publicity and advertising, as you request. However, I do most sincerely hope that you will be able to spend the evening with us, or at least come for a part of it and say a few words.

Very sincerely yours,

J. S. Allen

James S. Allen

[International Publishers]

December 14, 1954

Mr. James S. Allen
Room 1301
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Allen:

I am afraid that my health and strength will not permit me to attend the dinner Friday night. I am sorry.

I am enclosing a letter to Mr. Trachtenberg.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

BB:lh
enc.

December 14, 1954

Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg
International Publishers
381 Fourth Avenue
New York, 16, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Trachtenberg:

To my great regret I am not able to greet you personally Friday night, but I want to express to you my deep appreciation of the work and publication which you have carried on so long and successfully over many years.

I know how very difficult the publication and distribution of literature is in our day. For that very reason it is one of the greatest and most needed duties.

I trust you will be spared many years in freedom and comfort to carry out your life work.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[International Union of Students]

WORLD FEDERATION OF
DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF STUDENTS

No. 1836/a
Ref.: JD/sg

October 12th, 1954

Dear Friend,

As you probably know, the WFDY and IUS Councils, which were both held in August, decided to convoke the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship in July - August, 1955.

In accordance with the friendly invitation of the Polish youth, the Vth Festival will be held in Warsaw.

Continuing a tradition which has already been illustrated by the brilliant successes of the preceding Festivals, this gathering, which is open to tens of thousands of youth all over the world, will, during its preparation and the festival itself, afford the opportunity to know and understand one another better, thus contributing to mutual friendship and understanding among peoples. In this way, too, they have the possibility of trying their strength in note-worthy cultural and sports competitions.

The whole programme of the Vth Festival will be dedicated to the most noble aspirations of all sections of the youth: for peace and a better life.

The WFDY and the IUS, in order to promote the most efficient co-operation between all those who are interested in the success of this great activity, has decided to create the International Preparatory Committee of the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship.

The Committee will hold its constitutive meeting in Vienna /Austria/ on the 17th of December 1954 with the following agenda:

"Preparation of the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship".

We are convinced that your participation will be of infinite value for the successful work of this Preparatory Committee. Knowing your interest in all that concerns the

22-6-59

youth, we sincerely believe that you will be kind enough to accept our invitation.

We hope you will answer favourably. In case you are not able to be present at this meeting, we would greatly appreciate your message and your suggestions for the Festival and its preparations.

Hoping to hear from you and to meet you soon, we send our warm greetings

For the WFDY : Bruno Bernini

Bruno BERNINI,
Benczur utca 34
Budapest, Hongrie

For the IUS:

p. Jiri PELIKAN
Vocelová 3
PRAGUE XII
CSR

27-6-60

October 29, 1954

Mr. Jiri Pelikan
International Union of Students
Vocelova 3
Prague XII
Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Pelikan:

I have your kind invitation of October 12 to attend the meeting of the Preparatory Committee in Vienna December 17, 1954 in order to prepare for the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship in July, 1955.

The United States will not grant me a passport for the December meeting. What will happen before August, 1955, I do not know, but probably the situation will be the same.

However, I should like to extend to your Committee and particularly to the participants in the 5th World Festival, my assurance of sympathy and cooperation in every way with the work which they are carrying on.

There is one hope in this distraught world, and that is the determination on the part of youth to fight against war and for international friendship, and to be willing to make any sacrifice for this great end.

I hope, then, that they will not falter in their object and in making the attendance upon this next meeting as great and inclusive as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois
Doctor of Philosophy, Harvard University;
Member of the National Institute of
Arts and Letters;
International Peace Prizeman, 1952

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

Du Bois To International Union of Students, Oct. 29, 1954

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

Du Bois To World Federation of Democratic Youth, Oct. 29, 1954

January 4, 1954

Editor of Isvestia
Moscow, Soviet Union

My dear Sir:

I want to thank you for your kind notice in Isvestia concerning the play "Haiti".

I regret to say, however, that I am not the author of this play. The author is William Du Bois, who is a white man who writes usually for the New York Times.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-8

May 21, 1954

Mrs. Lotte Jacobi
46 West 52 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Jacobi:

Supplementing what I said this morning, May I add that Dr. Gene Weltfish is one of the best modern anthropologists, whom the witch-hunt has driven out of Columbia University. Nevertheless, her ability and accomplishments are widely known and recognized in scientific circles.

What she needs is some way to keep from starvation until she can get a chance to return to her life's work. If, now, your friend needs advice and help in the matter of Schlesinger, I am sure Dr. Weltfish could give it.

But of course, she would have to have some compensation, and might be too modest to ask it. Such compensation, even if very small, would be a splendid investment in the future of Science. I venture to drop this hint.

With best wishes to you and your son,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23 Harrison St.
Battle Creek, Mich.

James

copy sent to Hanty

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

This is a note of Thanks, — Thanks that I don't wish to leave to the vast reaches of eternity to deliver.

I was thinking about it just now as I was reaching my baby to sleep, and when I came downstairs I called the library, They looked in "Who's Who" for me and now I have your address and a 3d stamp will deliver my Thought to you.

Half my lifetime ago I attended a session at Olivet College here in Michigan (Congregational Young Peoples. I believe it was) While I was there someone came & read some of James Weldon Johnson's poems for us. I loved poetry, and here was opened up for me a vast new realm — which for some odd reason had not appeared in my high school texts — (add that poetry should be segregated) and I had not missed it, as children, and many adults too, overlook

27-10-54

things which are not clearly pointed out.
That fall, when I attended Western
Michigan College in Kalamazoo, I
delved deeply, curate a term paper
on this new theme — Negro poetry in
America, and there I found your
books. And I was just thinking
to day. I do believe it was they
which set me on the path of search.
No other place did I find the thought —
of a new Messiah, a new Christ,
who would champion all the
peoples of the world. Some years later,
after much doubt, hopeless nesh and
disgust with the way the world ran
in general, I found Him in the
person of Baha'u'llah, founder
of the Bahai Faith.
In finding this Faith has made

a vast difference in my life.
A pattern began to come clear — and
I received courage to go ahead and
live my life with hope, realizing
that if God has said "The
earth is one country and
all mankind its citizens," nothing
can prevent its eventually being
so in this physical world, in
spite of the stubbornness, selfishness
and stupidity of his human creation.
And He fits the yardsticks given
in your books when He says,
"You are all the leaves of one tree,
the fruits of one branch."
But then I know you know
about the Bahai Faith because
Louis Gregory quotes you in his book
"Race and Man."

27-79-55

So Thanks again for helping to direct the course of my life — as well as letting me ~~finding~~ much beauty in your lovely prose and poetry.

Forgive me for a hurried note. A mother is always busy. The largest child is coming down from his nap and I must go.

Most Sincerely

Mrs. Margaret James

September 16, 1954

Mrs. Margaret Jamir
23 Harrison St.
Battle Creek, Mich.

Dear Mrs. Jamir:

Thank you for your letter.

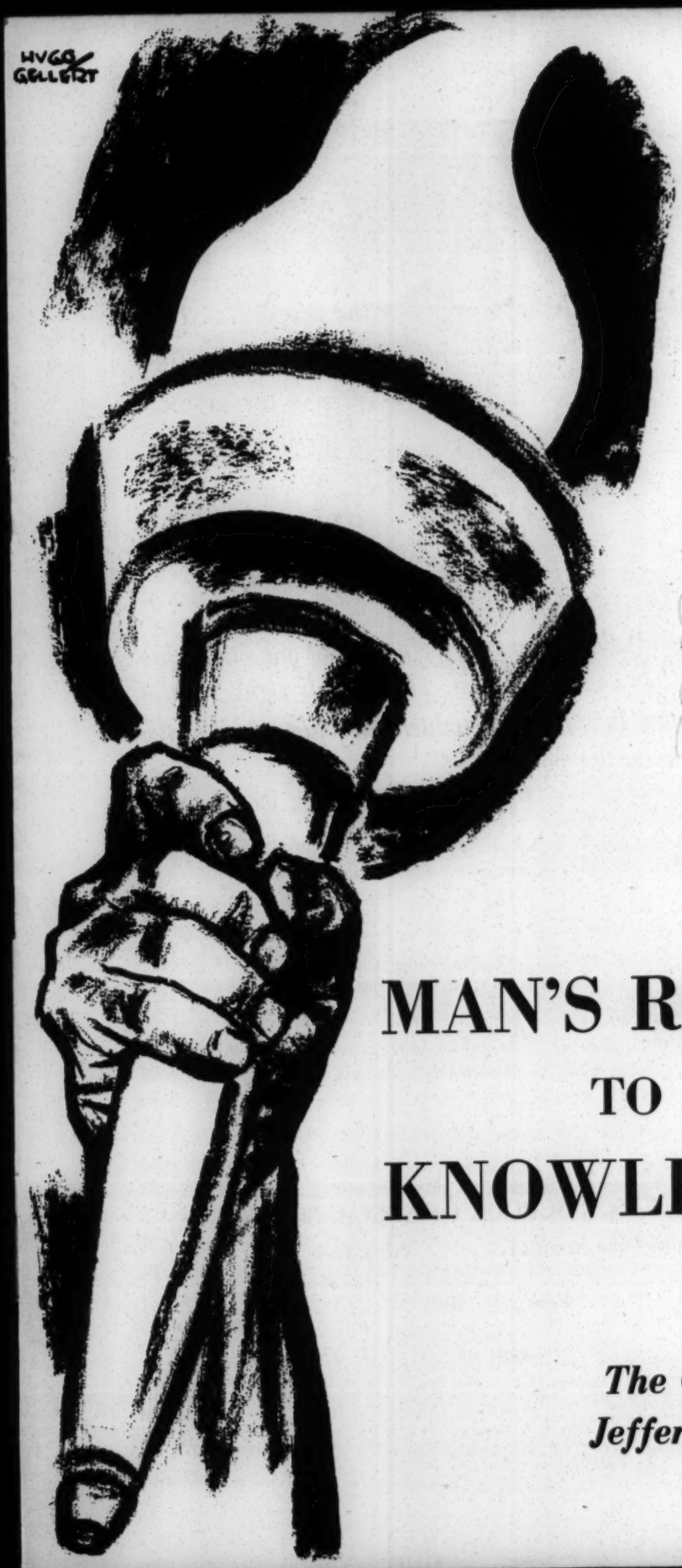
I am so glad that anything that I have written has been of help to you.

My wife, Shirley Graham, joines in good wishes. We know some very excellent Bahai people and once I met and talked to Abdul Baha.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh



[1954]

32.29.65

MAN'S RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE

The Case of the Jefferson School

"Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. . . . They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

"Liberty is meaningless where the right to utter one's thoughts and opinions has ceased to exist. That, of all rights, is the dread of tyrants. It is the right which they first of all strike down. They know its power."

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Issued by

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
575 Avenue of the Americas New York 11, N. Y.

February, 1954

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At the beginning

of this year, the U.S. government issued 110 million three-cent postage stamps bearing Columbia University's 200th anniversary slogan, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

While these stamps were rolling off the presses, this same government was cynically engaged in a proceeding designed to destroy "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

The proceeding referred to is a trial, an extraordinarily strange trial —one in which the defendant in the dock is not a person, but a principle. The principle involved is one of the most fundamental doctrines of our democracy—the right to teach and learn.

Not much publicity has attended this trial. One reads occasionally that stool-pigeon Budenz "Names 200 Teachers As Communists," or that stool-pigeon Lautner "Tells How FDR Directed Communist Party Through Mysterious Mr. X," or that "Actor's Daughter Claims She Was Red For FBI." But these are only the lurid incidentals. The real issues being fought out have been carefully muffled by the sound-proof walls of a luxuriously appointed hearing room in the heart of our nation's capital.

What are those issues? How is it that so basic a question as the right to think *is on trial? How did it all come about? What will the result be?*

These are matters of deepest concern to every democratic-minded American.

HERBERT BROWNELL

VS.

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL

FIRST, let us present the *dramatis personae*.

THE "DEFENDANT" is the Jefferson School of Social Science, represented by its director, Dr. Howard Selsam, and its attorney, Harry Sacher.

THE "PROSECUTOR" is the Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, Jr., represented by Assistant District Attorneys Adrian Fink, Jr. and Ralph Edsell, Jr.

THE "JUDGE" is the Subversive Activities Control Board, represented by its Chairman, Thomas J. Herbert.

These people, plus the government witnesses (all either renegade Communists turned informer or FBI spies), have for a number of weeks been enacting an intense drama fraught with deep significance for our country's Constitutional liberties.

The background of the drama is as follows:

On April 20, 1953, Attorney General Brownell petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to have the Jefferson School register as a "Communist front organization" under the provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.

The officers of the School promptly and vigorously demanded that the petition of the Attorney General be rejected by the Board.

On November 25, hearings were opened to determine whether the School should be ordered to register. When the hearings conclude, the trial examiner will submit his recommendation to the full Subversive Activities Control Board, which then may render the verdict that is "built into" the law and issue the registration order. Such an order would be challenged in the courts.

"Registration" under the infamous McCarran Law means that the victim, like the Jew of the Middle Ages or Nazi Germany, must label himself. The registering organization must affirm that it is a "front" of the Communist Party and that it is in the service of "a Communist foreign government." Every publication, every piece of mail must bear the stamp, "Communist Organization." The name of every "member," of every person responsibly associated with the organization, and of every financial contributor must likewise be "registered." These individuals will then be penalized by the loss of their right to a passport and of other civil rights.

The penalty for not registering when ordered to do so is, for responsible officers, $10,000 fine and 5 years in prison *for each day* the failure to register continues.

This is the form of the drama technically known as "Herbert Brownell *vs.* Jefferson School."

But its substance is a totally different thing.

First, the adversaries in the battle are not just Herbert Brownell and the Jefferson School. They are, on the one hand, the rising pattern of fascism in the U.S., symbolized by Joseph McCarthy and embodied in a spreading network of inquisitions, character assassinations, job dismissals, deportations, Smith Act imprisonments, perjury and contempt prosecutions—in a word, the growing reign of terror in our land.

On the other hand, the defendant is not the Jefferson School alone. It is the whole fabric of our Constitutional liberties, our right of free speech, our right to learn, to teach, to think, without molestation or fear—in a word, the embattled democratic heritage we have cherished since the days of Jefferson.

Further, the issue is not "registration," it is thought-control. The question to be decided is not whether one particular school must wear a label, but whether the American people have the right to teach and learn any body of ideas that does not have the stamp of approval of McCarthy and Brownell. What is at stake is not the closing of a school but the closing of the mind of America.

Finally, *THE REAL JUDGE* in this struggle is not the SACB, creature of the monstrous McCarran Law and composed of appointees of Brownell's chief, President Eisenhower. Rather, the tribunal that will settle this case is the American people, who alone have the right to say what will or will not be thought.

Let us examine the matter of "Herbert Brownell *vs.* Jefferson School" a little more fully.

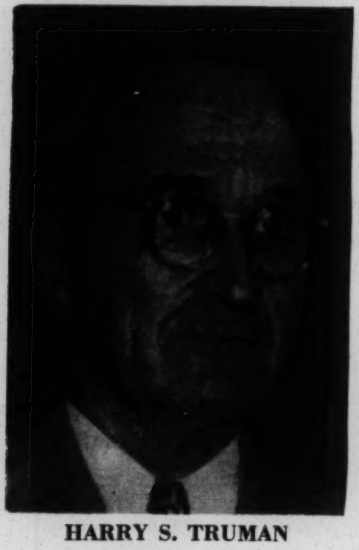
32,29 67

NOT "REGISTRATION"—

BUT SUPPRESSION!

PAT McCARRAN

The instrumentality for carrying through the destruction of the Jefferson School, and incidentally of all academic freedom, is the Internal Security Act of 1950, known as the McCarran Law. Modeled on a number of statutes of Nazi Germany, this law was passed over the veto of President Truman in the heat of the Korean War hysteria. In his veto message, Truman noted that this law "would put the government of the United States in the thought-control business." He added:



HARRY S. TRUMAN

"Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures, until it becomes a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear."

The McCarran Act writes into the law of the land the Big Lie of an alleged "world Communist conspiracy," with its corollary lies of "foreign domination" and internal "subversion." These lies, the basic stock in trade of every fascist from the days of Mussolini to the present, interpret social revolution as the handiwork of tiny conspiratorial groups and not the result of the movement of great social forces. It does not matter that the facts about Russia in 1917, or China in 1949, or the United States in 1776 for that matter, prove the opposite. The Big Lie depends only on how loud and how often you repeat it. According to it, every program for social betterment, including the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, is transformed into "subversion" and every supporter of a progressive cause into a "foreign agent."

In this Big Lie style, the McCarran Law formulates a fascist definition of "Communist organization," and then proscribes as "Communist fronts" all groups whose aims "do not deviate from" those of the Communist organization, or which are found to be "substantially dominated" by it.

Armed with this law, the Attorney General has indeed gone "into the thought-control business." He has moved against twelve people's organizations, the first

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.

being the Jefferson School of Social Science. If he should succeed, there is no question that we would be "far down the path of increasingly repressive measures, . . . a country where everyone lives in fear."

The McCarran Act is a perfect McCarthyite instrument. Under this law, it is not necessary to state: "I don't like what you think; therefore I will close you down." All that needs to be done is to label the offending organization as a "Communist front," and then demand that it "register." Using this law, the McCarthyites can innocently pretend that they are not attacking Constitutional liberties—they are only moving against "Communist fronts"; they are not destroying organizations—they are only making them "register."

The hollowness of this pretense, however, is easy to see. To submit to the onerous provisions of the McCarran Law means, on the one hand, to become a party to the Big Lie; and on the other, it invites prosecution under the Smith Act. Certainly no self-respecting organization would do the first, and no reasonable one would do the second. Thus the McCarran Act reveals itself to be not a "registration" act, but a *suppression* act.

Professor Zachariah Chafee, of the Harvard University Law School, put it succinctly. He said: "[The McCarran Act] proposes to twist out of all recognizable shape one of the leading traditions of American life; the possibility of freely forming associations for all sorts of purposes—religious, political, social and economic."

A Bill of Rights

As Provided in the Ten Original Amendments to

The Constitution of the United States

in force December 15, 1791

I.

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . .

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A PEOPLE'S SCHOOL

Let's take a look at the "trial"of the Jefferson School under this law.

The witness is Marlane MacLane Kowall, daughter of movie actor tough-guy Barton MacLane. She testifies that she was a dancer, a model, a messenger girl, an "editorial assistant" for the fascist magazine *Counter-Attack,* and a paid informer for the FBI.

Under instructions from FBI agents she attended the Jefferson School. She took a number of courses over a period of two years, submitting regular reports to the FBI.

The picture of the School this FBI informer paints is one of a dark, conspiratorial institution, carrying out the dictates of the Communist Party and devoting itself to the single-minded task of training revolutionaries for that Party. According to her testimony, Marxism equals "violent revolution," and socialism is a system in which Communists "take money away from the capitalists." Political economy teaches that "if the bosses don't do what you want, punch them in the nose." Dialectical materialism is nothing more nor less than "atheism."

Reading from a test in philosophy which she herself introduced into evidence, the School's attorney asks: "What did they teach you about Epicurus?"

Answer: "It was a matter of indifference to me."

Question: "What did they teach you about Plato?"

Answer: "Also a matter of indifference."

Question: "Isn't it a fact that you didn't go there to learn anything about philosophy?"

Answer: "Yes. I went only to get what vital information I could to submit to the government."

Question: "Information as to what?"

Answer: "Who was at the School. What C.P. members were there. Any connection I could find be-

tween the Communist Party and the Jefferson School."

Question: "You weren't concerned what the teaching in the Jefferson School was?"

Answer: "Only to be able, as my notes say, to use the right language."

What is this school that the FBI sent its agent Kowall into? How does it really look? Who comes there? Why do they come? What does it really teach?

This "conspiratorial" Jefferson School occupies a nine-story building on the Avenue of the Americas at 16th Street in downtown Manhattan. It is an adult evening school. Its courses are short and its fees are low. Anyone who wishes can walk off the street and register for one of its more than 75 courses or attend one of its frequent forums. An average of 10,000 students enroll each year.

By 6:30 o'clock every week-day evening the lobby of the Jefferson School fills with students. The Bookshop is crowded. So also is the basement cafeteria where scores of students eat a hasty dinner in their brief interval between work

37 89 69

A Staff Meeting

A Typical Class

Club Jefferson—Lounge and Social Center

Student Council in Action

Art Student

and class. The library, occupying a full floor of the building and comprising some 40,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, is intensely quiet as lessons are being prepared. On the top floor, painting and sculpture studios light up as a group of students, of many ages and walks of life, seek creative artistic expression. The rest of the building, containing classrooms, an auditorium and administrative offices, presents a picture no different from that of a hundred other adult evening schools and colleges in the city.

The students are, in the main, shop and office workers—warehousemen, cab-drivers, electrical workers, house painters, dress cutters, students, housewives, professionals, small business people. They are of every race and nationality. Their ages range from 16 to 60.

Why do people come to the Jefferson School? What do they want to learn?

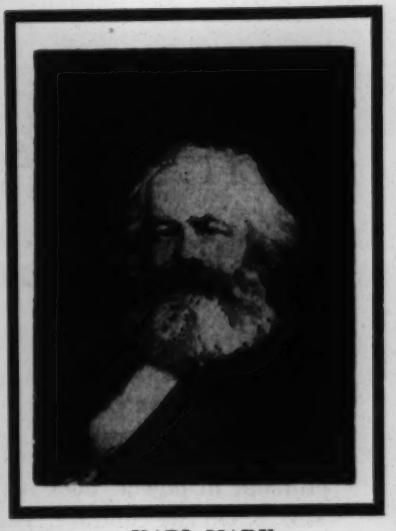
Jefferson Bookshop

They come for a variety of reasons, but primarily they want answers to such questions as: Why are there depressions? Why wars? Why is ours a system in which "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer"? Why are Negroes segregated, discriminated against, lynched? Why is there a "double standard" for men and women? Why is the government always on the side of the employers? What is the reason for the cult of Mickey Spillane, for violence and brutality in movies, radio and television?

Section of the Office

The students come to this people's School solely to learn. There are no degrees and no honors offered. Teachers hold their students only by their ability to make their teaching interesting and vital. As a result, the classes are considerably more lively than elsewhere. They are generally marked by spirited give-and-take discussion, by a "down-to-earth" quality, by warm, friendly relations between teacher and students.

A MARXIST SCHOOL



KARL MARX

The distinctive thing about the Jefferson School, however, is what it teaches. This is what constitutes the heart of the struggle over whether the Jefferson School should be closed.

The School's catalog lists a great variety of courses covering such fields as economics, politics, history, philosophy, science, literature, music and art. The preponderance is in the social science field. Many courses deal with current questions such as *The Third Party Question, Wage Policies, Problems of Marriage and Family Life, The Crisis in U.S. Agriculture, African Liberation Struggles, The Puerto Rican National Minority, The Soviet Union: Eye-Witness Report.*

Another major group of courses deals with general theoretical questions, such as *Science of Society, Fundamentals of Trade Unionism, The Woman Question, Political Economy, Marxism vs. Keynesism, The Negro Question, The Jewish Question, Philosophy of History, Materialism and Idealism, Psychology, Painting: Realism and Formalism.*

The School's catalog and all its publicity clearly state that its teaching is presented, in the main, from the point of view of Marxism. It is this fact that gives the Jefferson School its unique quality.

It is no secret that this is why the McCarthyites want to close the School. It is because of this fact that our government proposes to destroy a Marxist school, thereby threatening the basic freedom of thought of the whole American people.

It is not relevant to argue here whether the Marxist interpretation of social phenomena is true. The validity of Marxism will be tested as all ideas are ultimately tested—by history. The question at issue is *whether Americans have the right to teach and learn Marxism if they wish to;* whether a school devoted to the presentation and interpretation of Marxist ideas is to be permitted to operate as a free, open, public institution, or whether it is to be closed down by governmental decree.

The issue is "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." It is the issue of the freedom of the market-place of ideas. On it depends the right of the American people to think freely, to examine all ideas and come to their own conclusions. It is an absolute right. Either we are permitted to examine all ideas, or we are not intellectually free. The proscription of thought, the burning of books, the persecution of ideas—all this is nothing more nor less than fascism. And yet that is precisely what is involved in the government's attempt to close the Jefferson School.

THE REAL TEST OF INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

The fact that the School teaches Marxism, a doctrine repugnant to the government in power, does not lessen the enormity of the threat to Constitutional liberty. On the contrary. The right to propagate unpopular views is the only real test of intellectual freedom.

To close the Jefferson School is to deny the right of the American people to study Marxism. For the Jefferson School is the only public educational institution where Marxism is taught by teachers who know this vast and complex body of thought, and who believe in it.

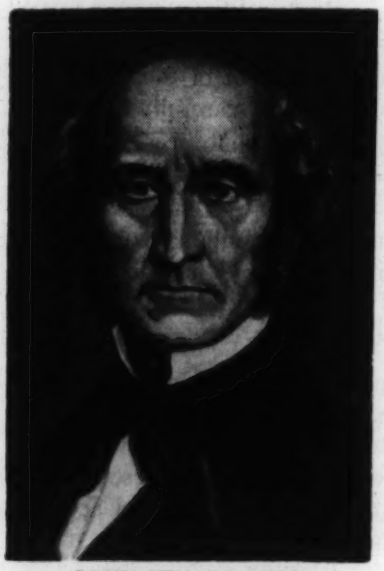
But, some might argue, Marxism can be taught elsewhere than in the Jefferson School. Closing the School as a "Communist front," they say, does not abridge the American people's right to study Marxism. There are plenty of anti-Marxist "experts" who will teach us all about Marxism.

This specious argument is pure surrender to thought-control. It tells people, "You may study anything you wish, even Marxism. But you must learn it only from those who oppose it. You are permitted to approach this body of ideas, but you must not do so objectively, with a view to making up your own mind. Rather you must close your mind first, and then you may examine Marxism. To guarantee that you will always wear this intellectual strait-jacket, we will permit you to get your Marxism only from those who abhor it."

This is the classical argument of all book-burners, from the medieval Inquisition to Hitler to McCarthy. In effect, it says you may study Communism, but you must not read the *Communist Manifesto,* or listen to anyone who will interpret it sympathetically. You may study biological evolution, but you must not read *The Origin of Species* or study under a Darwinian. You may study the theory of relativity, but you must not learn it from Einstein or from a follower of Einstein. Such is the logic implicit in the thesis that the American people should be denied the right to study Marxism from Marxists.

John Stuart Mill, in his famous essay *On Liberty,* gave the definitive answer to this argument. Speaking of anyone who wishes to "study any subject in order to arrive at the truth," he said:

"Nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations.... He must be able to hear them from persons who actually believe them; who defend them in earnest, and do their very utmost for them. He must know them in their most plausible and persuasive form."



JOHN STUART MILL

Rejecting the doctrine of Mill is a rejection of our own Constitution. Banning the right of the Jefferson School to teach Marxism means that no dissenting view is safe; no school teaching a partisan doctrine, whether political, social or religious, is immune from our latter-day witch-hunting conformists. Today it is the Jefferson School. Tomorrow, who knows? After all, A. F. of L. schools teach opposition to the Taft-Hartley Law; CIO schools teach policies directed against Charles E. Wilson's General Motors; Quaker schools teach peace and friendship. Aren't these subversive doctrines that "do not deviate from" the line of the Communist Party?

FASCIST OBSCURANTISM

How does Mr. Brownell answer the charge that by attacking the Jefferson School he is violating the fundamental liberties of our land?

One line of argument is seen in the testimony of stool-pigeon Kowall, quoted above. She, like the fascist illiterates for whom she speaks, simply denies that Marxism exists as a body of ideas. It is "a matter of indifference" to her. The conclusion implicit here is that you can disregard, trample on, outlaw Marxist ideas, and our intellectual freedom will remain intact. Consider this—the whole philosophy and social science of Marxism, comprising a world outlook and a theory of history, a massive critique of the capitalist system, an analysis of classes and class relations, a theory of the state and the national question, an elaboration of the principles of the socialist reorganization of society—all this can be shrugged off as "a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," a scheme to "take money away from the capitalists," a set of directives to "punch the bosses in the nose."

Let it be clear that we are not here arguing the validity of Marxist ideas. But to deny that they exist, to reduce them to a vulgar Hitlerian caricature, is not only a monstrous lie; it is a malicious and dangerous assault on intellectual freedom. This lie is the instrumentality for the subversion of our Constitution.

Nowhere in the world, except perhaps in such intellectually barren deserts as Franco Spain or Chiang Kai-shek Formosa, could such idiocy be put forward. Go to any university in Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, India, and you will hear Marxism discussed fully, freely, soberly. Whatever they might think of it and however they might oppose it, intellectuals everywhere must deal with it in serious terms. For it is a major ideological current of our time, with profound and carefully reasoned things to say about every aspect of social life. As a body of thought and a political doctrine it has won the allegiance of 800 million people in our modern world, and has deeply influenced the thinking of many hundreds of millions more.

McCARTHYISM

"The name which has been given to this present danger is McCarthyism. But I wish to make it clear that I do not consider any one man to be the sole source of the danger. It is far deeper than that. The danger is a broad stream, fed by many groups, some open and some underground. It spreads and gathers power as it flows. Unless we understand the breadth and extent of this tide, and move to control it along all of its length, it will inundate us."

—Sen. Herbert Lehman

Thus it becomes clear that to deny the existence of the *ideas* of Marxism and to move to close a school that teaches them, is fascist obscurantism, pure and simple. It is McCarthyism in "legal" dress.

The Attorney General has no doubt been conscious that to deal with the real issues in the Jefferson School case would be very hazardous for him. He knows that he dare not try to make out a logical case against the right to teach Marxism, for that opens up the question of the right to think—the Constitutional question which is the real issue. Even the Attorney General dares not *openly* flout the Bill of Rights!

How then destroy the right to teach Marxism without coming to grips with this question?

The answer is provided by the McCarran Law. Just show that the Jefferson School is a "Communist front."

And how is this done? Simple, my dear Mr. Attorney General, simple. Just borrow from the arsenal of McCarthy two time-worn devices and your case is won.

These two devices are *guilt by association* and *guilt by parallelism.*

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

Let us see how all this works. The record of the Jefferson School trial shows that all the government witnesses were either renegade Communist informers or bought-and-paid-for stool pigeons (for one of them, $450 per month, plus tuition, books, contributions, etc.). It takes no very great acumen to recognize that the testimony of such witnesses can readily be tailored to fit the needs of an Attorney General who has already shown his ability to cast the red herring as far as ex-President Truman.

Now what does this motley group of witnesses disclose about the Jefferson School? That among its teachers of Marxism, there are a number—even a large number—of Communists! How surprising! A Marxist school invites Communists to teach some of its classes. On cross-examination the witnesses have to admit that the Jefferson School never hid the fact that along with many other qualified instructors, it invited Communists to teach. The names and affiliations of its teachers have for years been prominently printed in its catalogs, issued in the hundreds of thousands.

These same witnesses also testify that the Communist Party urged its members to study at the Jefferson School. Isn't that amazing? A political party based on the principles of Marxism wants its members to study Marxism! And therefore, along with many other people interested in Marxism, Communists have studied at the Jefferson School.

All this, however, when presented through the twisted McCarthyite prism of "guilt by association," becomes somehow "sinister." In this land of the free, we are told, it is criminal to have relations with Communists, to permit them to teach at your school, to allow them to send members to your classes. To do this opens you up to stigmatization, to prosecution under the McCarran Law.

And while the argument rages over this "guilt by association" question, the right of the whole American people to think, their right to teach and learn, to study any body of thought they wish to, is quietly stabbed in the back!

GUILT BY PARALLELISM

A similar, and even more appalling, technique is the "guilt by parallelism" line. This involves simply the demonstration that the views and aims of an organization "do not deviate from" those of the Communist Party. In the case of the Jefferson School, a number of witnesses obligingly testified that the attitude of the School on the Taft-Hartley Law, on the Mundt-Nixon Bill (ancestor of the McCarran Law), on the Marshall Plan, on the Korean War, and on a host of other issues, "paralleled" that of the Communists. No matter that lots of other people also opposed the Taft-Hartley Law. No matter that on some issues the Jefferson School's statement preceded the *Daily Worker* editorial it was supposed to "parallel." It only matters that there was a parallel—a deadly parallel, sufficient to warrant prosecution under the McCarran Law.

THE PROBLEM OF INTELLECTUALS

"The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are faced is very serious. The reactionary politicians have managed to instill suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions those who do not prove submissive, i.e. to starve them."

—Albert Einstein

The Department of Justice has on a number of occasions, including the trial of the Jefferson School, stated its position on this question with barbaric frankness. Here is how Assistant District Attorney William A. Paisley put it during the SACB hearing of the Communist Party:

> *"It doesn't matter whether the particular view or policy is held by many people, by some people, or by all the people of the world. The issue is whether the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the U.S. hold similar views."*

The implications of this "guilt by parallelism" thesis are almost too awful to contemplate. Carried to its logical conclusion, this proposition states that no one with a decent act to his credit or an enlightened thought in his head is immune. For a little research would easily reveal that such a view was similarly held by the Communist Party or the Soviet Union. The dragnet laid by the "guilt by parallelism" doctrine is admittedly one that can include "many people, . . . or . . . all the people of the world." Thus we see how far down the road to fascism the "built-in" theories of the McCarran Act take us.

REVULSION AND PROTEST AGAINST McCARTHYISM

The story of the Attorney General's attack on the Jefferson School is a grim and serious matter. Its special significance is its importance for intellectual freedom in our country. Its broader and more general significance is its relationship to the national phenomenon of McCarthyism that threatens to engulf all our democratic liberties and turn our nation over to the men of Wall Street, to the wielders of the atom bomb, to the architects of war, economic crisis and fascism.

> ***"The miasma of thought control that is now spreading over this country is the greatest menace since Hitler."***
>
> **—Robert M. Hutchins**

In opposition to the McCarthyite menace, a wave of revulsion and protest is rapidly rising. From shop and farm, from barber shop and college campus, voices are being raised against the danger to freedom that McCarthyism represents. Even ex-President Truman, whose own record on the question of Constitutional liberty can hardly be called unblemished, has been stung into sharp and violent opposition to McCarthyism in general and to Attorney General Brownell in particular.

Anti-McCarthy editorials crop up with increasing frequency in newspapers throughout the country. Major sections of the religious community are likewise speaking out. Recently a group of highly conservative U.S. diplomats, headed by former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, Norman Armour and William Phillips, expressed their profound concern over the danger of "a totalitarian government rather than the government of the United States as we have heretofore known it." In this anti-McCarthy movement organized labor and the Negro people's organizations occupy a place in the front rank, and more and more they are moving into leadership of the whole broad struggle.

TWO EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES

The case of the Jefferson School involves a choice between two philosophies of education:

That expressed by Congressman Harold Velde: "The basis of all Communism and socialistic influence is education of the people," *or*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

That expressed by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Jefferson School as its motto: "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

From the days of Alexander Hamilton on, there have always been those in our country who distrust the people, who fear an enlightened, thinking populace. Never before has this been so true as it is today. In the most immediate sense, what they dread is not so much "socialism" or "communism," but a powerful democratic people that is "educated and informed." They fear a strong labor movement, a united labor-farmer-Negro people's movement. Above all, they fear and dread the return of another "New Deal."

That is why theirs is the philosophy of book-burning, the philosophy of ignorance, fear and hate.

On the other side are the people. They have no fear of books, of knowledge, of study. They are sincerely dedicated to the principle emblazoned on our postage stamps: *MAN'S RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE AND THE FREE USE THEREOF.*

When they come to know the facts, the people will come to the defense of the Jefferson School. They will recognize that if such a school can be closed for what it teaches, then no school, no union, no church is safe. The defense of the Jefferson School is the defense of the working class and the nation, of peace and democracy.

Confronted by the choice between two philosophies—that of McCarthy and that of Jefferson—there is no question which the American people will choose. *That is why the Jefferson School never will be closed! "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof" will yet prevail in our country!*

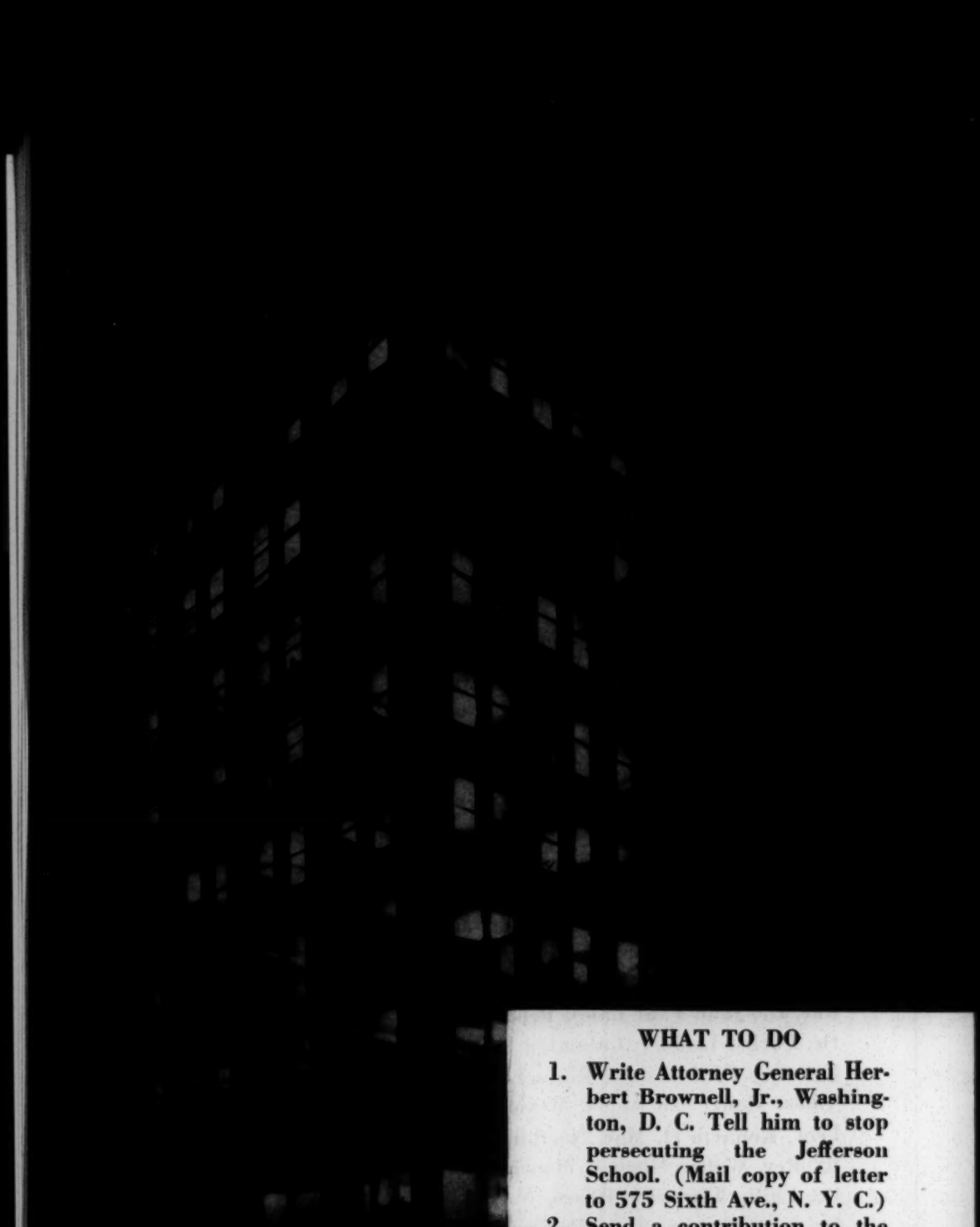
THE RIGHT TO TEACH AND LEARN

Our constitutional right of free speech necessarily includes the right of Americans to conduct schools in which to teach and learn the truth as they see it. I believe, therefore, that any attempt to suppress the teaching of Marxism in such an institution as the Jefferson School of Social Science represents a serious threat to all free inquiry.

Endorsed by:

Prof. Paul A. Baran, Stanford University
Prof. Nelson L. Bossing, University of Minnesota
Prof. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College
Atty. James L. Brewer, Rochester, N. Y.
Prof. Lindley J. Burton, Lake Forest College
Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Wesleyan University
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale University
Prof. Joseph Fletcher, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Fowler V. Harper, Yale University
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago
Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Corliss Lamont, Columbia University
Emeritus Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago University
Albert Maltz, San Angel, Mexico
Prof. Kenneth O. May, Northfield, Minn.
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.
Dr. Philip Morrison, Ithaca, N. Y.
Dr. Scott Nearing, Cape Rosier, Me.
Dr. Linus Pauling, Pasadena, Calif.
Prof. George Sarton, Harvard University
Atty. Frank Serri, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Emeritus Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Wellesley College
I. F. Stone, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, New York, N. Y.
Prof. H. H. Wilson, Princeton, N. J.

. . . and more than 100 other intellectual leaders



WHAT TO DO

1. **Write Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Washington, D. C. Tell him to stop persecuting the Jefferson School. (Mail copy of letter to 575 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C.)**
2. **Send a contribution to the Jefferson School Defense Fund (Dr. Joseph B. Furst, Treasurer, 575 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.).**

Don't Let McCarthyism Darken The Halls Of Learning

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

May 25, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

While I am writing you about something else I must express the warmest appreciation of all of us for your excellent and effective testimony before the SACB. It was a joy to behold you in the witness chair and very good to have the content of your interrogations in the record.

What moved me to write was to tell you of the warm and glowing tribute paid to you at Antioch College last Thursday. The occasion was a two day conference on intellectual freedom. One participant, Prof. Clinton Oliver, chairman of the English Department of Central State College, devoted himself to the struggle of the Negro people for their intellectual freedom, their right to education, to a knowledge of their history, and the like, and did it in terms of your life work. It was warm and moving and he made the Supreme Court Decision of last Monday the latest leap forward in the struggle you had led so clearly and ably throughout your whole life.

One of the Antioch faculty reactionaries-- who, I understand, had tried to bait you when you were there two years ago-- went at it again and was pretty effectively squelched by Oliver, and several other participants, including me. When I told Oliver I had been with you on Tuesday he at once asked: "What did He say about the Supreme Court Decision?" I told him and gave him a picture, too, of the hearing. He was most interested.

There is as filthy a gang of reactionaries on the faculty at Antioch as I have ever seen. They are real worthy disciples of Sidney Hook and Whittaker Chambers and I understand they try to give everyone who comes there as rough a time as possible. The interesting thing about this two day conference, however, was that all the panel leaders; professors at Ohio colleges and universities, Donald Meiklejohn (son of Alexander) from Chicago, and myself, stood solidly together and had the support of virtually all the Antioch students against their own faculty ruffians. Thus the thing as a whole was quite inspiring.

My warmest good wishes,

Howard Selsam

P.S. I would be curious to learn if you know Clinton Oliver. He's fairly young but has extraordinary ability & real stature.

HS.

27-2-9

264

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

May 26, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Since I wrote you a few days ago we have decided that it would be most desirable and important to have a meeting on the defense of the School just before the final arguments in Washington.

We argue in Washington June 25 and have selected June 23, Wednesday evening, for the meeting. It would be in a mid-town hotel not yet decided on. The central idea of it is that of a report of our witnesses and counsel. Thus we are asking you, Broadus Mitchell, Robert S. Cohen, Fowler Harper and Harry Sacher to participate. Obviously this would require only relatively brief remarks from each ~~xxx~~ of the speakers. You could direct yourself to any aspect of the subject you wish.

27-6-10

We are most eager to have you join us in this affair. We will go through with it, of course, only if we can have the majority of the invited speakers. I'll call you the beginning of next week for your reply.

Most cordially,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

June 21, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 W. 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Now that you are back from California and settled with the dentist, I hope, we would like you to consider teaching a course for us this Fall on "Reconstruction in the South" or under whatever title you would like.

The term will open October 11 and run for the usual ten weeks. We haven't had anything detailed on this great historic period for a number of years and think the present is an excellent time to review and draw lessons from the developments of that period. If you are at all favorably disposed we would be happy to discuss it further with you. Please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

Howard Selsam

Howard Selsam

27-2-4

June 22, 1954

Dr. Howard Selsam
Jefferson School
575 Avenue of the Americas
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Selsam:

If I am in good health and there are no other hindrances I shall be glad to give a ten-week course on "Reconstruction" at the Jefferson School next fall.

We can talk about it later.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

July 28, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois

Dear Instructor:

This is to confirm your teaching assignment for the Fall term. We list below the class (or classes) for which you are scheduled:

SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION: 1865-1890

Wednesday 6:45-8:15

27-2-6

The Fall term will begin October 4. Catalogs will be ready in about two weeks. We shall be in touch with you some time in September to discuss matters relative to your class. If there are any problems you wish to take up with us before then, please call Doxey Wilkerson or myself. We will be available at the School except for the last week in August.

Cordially yours,

David Goldway

David Goldway

P.S. I enclose a draft of the course description to be printed in the catalog. If you wish to change it, or if you find the day and hour assigned to your course unsatisfactory, please let me know, and we will make whatever changes you suggest. Kindest personal regards.

DG:yw

DG

[Enc.]

44. SOUTHERN RECONSTRUCTION: 1865 to 1880

W.E.B. Du Bois Wednesday 6:45-8:15

The central problems and historic tasks of Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War. Johnsonian Reconstruction - serfdom in new forms. Radical Reconstruction - democratic revolution. Role of the governing people's coalition - in the Deep South, in the border states. Contradictions inherent in the coalition. The defeat of Reconstruction Democracy with the rise of monopoly capitalism. The Wall Street-Bourbon alliance against the whole American people. Previous study of Course No. 31 , or the equivalent, is required.

27-2-7

July 30, 1954

Mr. David Goldway, Executive Secretary
The Jefferson School of Social Science
575 Avenue of the Americas,
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Goldway:

I have your letter of July 28.

The outline of the proposed course is satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

October 1, 1954

Mr. Doxey Wilkerson
Jefferson School
575 Sixth Avenue
New York 11, N. Y.

My dear Doxey:

I have had no further communication from you concerning my course at the Jefferson School. Please let me hear from you before Monday.

Best wishes to you and to Yolande.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Jefferson School
27-6-14

6-3-54

Dear Mrs. Mc Barr

I am returning
these for yours
files. Thanks.

Dorothy Wilkinson

[Jefferson School--]

REPORT ON

CLASS EVALUATION SESSION

Teacher W.E.B. Du BOIS Date Nov. 17, 1954

Course RECONSTRUCTION Day of Week Wed. Period 6.45 - 8. 15

Instructions:

1. Devote about 15 minutes in each class to an informal discussion evaluating the work of the course thus far. Read the key questions below as a guide to the discussion. Encourage criticism and self-criticism. Stimulate suggestions for the improvement of instructional content and methods.

2. Designate a class secretary to keep a record of the main points developed, and then to summarize the discussion below — in duplicate.

3. Submit one copy of the report to the office; the other is for your files.

A. WHAT ASPECTS OF THE COURSE HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY HELPFUL?

Student participation in conduct of class and discussion of opinions

B. WHAT HAVE BEEN THE MAIN WEAKNESSES OR LIMITATIONS OF CONTENT (what is taught)?

Lack of prepared and classified information from teacher

27-6-13

C. WHAT HAVE BEEN THE MAIN WEAKNESSES OF METHODS (how the course is taught)?

Dependence of the teacher on information and opinion from class instead of opinion and information from him

D. HOW CAN CONTENT AND METHODS BE IMPROVED?

A considerable difference of opinion as to whether the object of the course is the development of the individual student or the presentation of a definitive body of information on the part of the teacher

(Use back of page for additional comments by instructor.)

tu/555

There s a real question as to wheather a class of students who work in the day , have had limited academic preparation, and have little time for reading and prepation should be taught

A. As students who can develope an intelligent point of view on a current subject, by thinking, reading and research

OR

B. As a group to whom the teacher should present a body of knowledge which he has prepared for their information

I have in this course followed A; many if not most of the class expected B and are somewhat dissappointed to find the responsibility for understanding Restruc- ion left on their shoulders

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

575 Avenue of the Americas, New York 11, N. Y.

WAtkins 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM
Director

DAVID GOLDWAY
Executive Secretary

DOXEY A. WILKERSON
Director of Curriculum

December 29, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The enclosed check for $150.00 covers the very nominal fee we agreed to pay for your teaching our fall term course on "Southern Reconstruction: 1865 to 1880."

We are very happy again to have had you participate in our instructional program.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey A. Wilkerson

27-2-9

February 11, 1954.

Mr. V. J. Jerome
320 Second Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Jerome:

I sent the manuscript to the MIDWEST JOURNAL and have just received the enclosed letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

V. J. JEROME
320 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

February 22, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for letting me see the text of your speech of February 17th, at the Cornish Arms, which I am herewith returning. I enjoyed reading it and profited from it, not only as regards valuable historical facts related to the fight for Abolition, but as regards the important lesson you bid us draw from that struggle, in your concluding remarks: "We must still see the fight for Abolition magnificent. But realize that it was not carried on long enough to engage the greater enemy of mankind which in the 19th century became the widely believed theory that regarded all civilization as the creation of the favored few built upon the degradation of the majority of mankind."

May I bring one point, minor in emphasis, to your attention?--namely, the statement, "Even Communists like Kriege and Weitling, friends of Marx, refused to oppose Negro slavery." Actually, only the very early phase of the Marx-Weitling relationship can be viewed as one of friendship, while the Marx-Kriege connection could at no time be so characterized. Marx's breach with Weitling culminated in 1846, a year prior to the founding of the Communist League. Further, the immediate cause of the conflict was Weitling's refusal to join Marx and his adherents in repudiating Kriege for his irresponsible and compromising procedures on the American scene. The breach between Marx and Weitling, as well as the action against Kriege, had become inevitable as the Marx-led movement of proletarian scientific communism had need to draw its lines of demarcation from the petty-bourgeois, utopian communism and "true socialism", of which Weitling and Kriege were principal exponents. We have Engels' own statement, in his retrospective account of the Communist League:

> "Thus a young Westphalian student, Hermann Kriege, who went to America, had come forward there as an emissary of the League and associated himself with the crazy Harro Harring in order by means of the League to turn South America upside down. He founded a paper in which, in the name of the League, he preached an extravagant communism of love dreaming, based on 'love' and overflowing with love. Against this we let fly with a circular that did not fail of its effect. Kriege vanished from the League platform."

Of Weitling, Engels writes in the same document:

> "The inadequacy of the previous conception of communism, both the simple French equalitarian communism and that of Weitling, became more and more clear to them. [the leading members of the League of the Just, precursor of the Communist League-- V. J.]

27-5-78

V. J. JEROME
320 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

The point I want to make in all this is that Weitling and Kriege, in refusing to oppose Negro slavery, acted as opponents of Marx, and as his enemies. How Marx felt about their position is set forth, for instance, in the Address of the First International to Lincoln, which he composed:

> "While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation...".

I was informed ~~him~~ today again that the weekly is planning to comment on your The Souls of Black Folk. I am happy at the prospect of its appearance.

Warm greetings to you and Shirley,

Sincerely yours,

V. J. Jerome

V. J. Jerome

27-5-79

March 1, 1954

Mr. V. J. Jerome
320 Second Avenue
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Jerome:

I am glad to have the additional data concerning Weitling and Kriege.

I did not know the personal relations between Marx and these men, although I was sure that Marx did not follow their line of thinking and action.

With best regards,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-83

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Jewish Life

A Progressive Monthly

22 East 17TH STREET
ROOM 601
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone:
WATKINS 4-5740-1

April 21, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We were very happy to publish excerpts from your memorandum on your appearance at the Ben Gold trial in our May issue. Thank you very much for permitting us to use this. Enclosed is your copy of the memorandum.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the May issue.

Cordially yours,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

27-5-81

April27, 1954

Dr. Louis Harap, Managing Editor
Jewish Life
Room 601
22 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Harap:

I thank you very much for publishing my memorandum on the Ben Gold trial.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23-5-82

EDITORIAL BOARD:
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WATKINS 4-5740-1

July 16, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

You probably know that from September 1954 to May 1955 the Tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States will be celebrated. In honor of this occasion, Jewish Life is devoting its entire November issue to material of an historical and evaluative nature on the Tercentenary. And of course one important element of this occasion is the relationship between the Negro and Jewish peoples in this country through these three hundred years and the perspective of mutual relations in the fight for the preservation of democracy and prevention of war, as well as in the specific struggles of the Negro people for full equality and freedom from discrimination of every kind for all groups in our country.

We should be very proud indeed to publish a contribution from your hand for this special Tercentenary issue. And it seems that the most appropriate topic might be a perspective of Negro-Jewish relations in these three hundred years. Participation by Jews in the Abolitionist movement, in the Civil War and in the subsequent democratic struggles of the Negro people as part of the fight for a full democracy in this country - these might form a part of such an article as we should very much like you to do for this issue.

Will you do this for us? The article should be about 2,000 words and should be in our hands by September 15. I should appreciate an early reply from you as to whether you will do this article.

The honorarium for this article would be $25.

Cordially yours,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

27-5-6

July 23, 1954

Dr. Louis Harap, Managing Editor
Jewish Life
22 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Harap:

In accordance with your letter of July 16th I should be very glad to prepare for JEWISH LIFE a short article on Negro-Jewish relations.

It will be more personal than historical; that is, a recounting of the way in which I became conscious of the Jewish problem and its relation to the Negro.

I shall have it in your hands before September 15th.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

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Jewish Life
A Progressive Monthly

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NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
Telephone:
WATKINS 4-5740-1

November 10, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York City.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

May we take up the generous offer you made when I last saw you, to write for themagazine? We are planning to devote a large section of our February issue to the segregation question. We should be very happy to include in that section an article by you on the historical aspects of the fight ~~for~~ against school segregation. The article should be about 2500 words and the deadline is December 15.

The honorarium for the article will be $35.

Will you be good enough to let me know if we can expect to receive this article?

Cordially yours,

Louis Harap

Louis Harap
Managing Editor

Telephone
Canterbury 2683

The Deanery
Canterbury

12th April 1954.

Dr. W.B.E.DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York.

27-178-16

Dear Dr. DuBois,

I am well acquainted with the Smith Act but I did not know that it was being operated in the way you state. I cannot help but feel that this is disasterous, not only for you in the United States, but for the world, and particularly for your connection with this country. That connection has been very seriously strained in many directions of late, and amongst all classes and all parties there is unfortunately a growing hostility to the States as such, not discriminating the different elements in your country. It is an attitude so totally different from the former freedoms of the anglo-saxon world, that it is hard to understand, but as it is terribly infectious, it makes British people increasingly anxious to sever their connections with the United States and tie closer our natural ties with Europe. Especially now, with a growingly prosperous Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and China, we are beginning to feel that not only is the centre of gravity of power, but industry and science is drifting eastwards. This is proved by the speedy mastery of the hydrogen bomb and the growing complexity of Soviet machinery. It is felt alas, that the moral superiority of the west is degenerating whilst that on the east is slowly and obviously increasing.

Would that we could change this drift and once again feel that in the United States we had an ally in all that was best in the free and cultural life of the world.

Yours very truly,

Hewlett Johnson

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

M.Frederic Joliet-Curie
World Peace Council
Palais S.I.A. Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear M. Joliet-Curie:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of the most widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. F ifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends andin the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear M.Joliet-Curie

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

January 28, 1954

Mrs. Eugene Kinckle Jones
43--11--162 Street
Flushing, Long Island

My dear Mrs. Jones:

Last night I learned for the first time of the death of your husband.

Allow me to express at this late hour my condolence for you and the family, and to recall my memory of forty years' collaboration in a great cause with Eugene Kinckle Jones.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-14-24

Kenya Committee

For Democratic Rights for Kenya Africans

Telephone
VICtoria 4962

Chairman: Mrs Frida Laski *Vice-Chairman:* Miss Monica Whately
Joint Secretaries: C. L. Collymore, S. O'Brien

86 Rochester Row,
London, S.W.1.

17th May 1954

Dear Friend,

The Kenya Committee for Democratic Rights for Kenya Africans has been in existence for over a year, and last December held a very impressive National Day of Protest against the continued repression in Kenya. A deputation visited the Colonial Office in London to present protest postcards which had been signed by organisations representing almost half a million people.

According to statements made in the British House of Commons, over 4,000 Africans have been killed by troops and police since the declaration of the "emergency" in Kenya in October 1952. The slaughter is continuing and intensifying and in March a War Council was formed, an event which justifies the assertion that an undeclared war is being waged against the African people. We feel that the wealth of evidence that accumulates around the charge of genocide can no longer be ignored.

The aim of our Committee is to win support for the just demands of the Africans in Kenya for fundamental democratic rights. The fighting must be brought to an end, and negotiations held with the African leaders, many of whom are captives. The next step in our campaign is the organisation of a National Deputation to the Colonial Office on Empire Day (May 24th next). Already many organisations in this country have pledged their support for this action and have appointed delegates to represent them on the deputation. Labour Members of Parliament have promised either to accompany the deputation or to send supporting messages.

27-6-17

We are writing to ask if you would add your voice to ours by sending us a cabled message to reach us before May 24th, which could encourage and strengthen our endeavours -- of which this is only one -- to stop the slaughter and aid those who are fighting for justice and democratic rights.

Yours sincerely,

C L Collymore
S. O'Brien
Joint Secretaries.

Dr.Du Bois
c/o American Peace Crusade
35 West 26th Street
New York 10.

May 6, 1954

Dr. John A. Kingsbury
"Lavorika"
Shady, New York

My dear Doctor Kingsbury:

I learned that between 1917 and 1921 Harry Hopkins was an official in the Red Cross. He went to New Orleans to direct the Gulf Division, and later became Director of all Red Cross activities in the southeastern states, with headquarters in Atlanta.

In this work he must have learned about the Negro problem. Do you have any recollection as to what his reactions were? Did he have any hand in relief from Mississippi floods?

Please do not undertake any research, but if you remember anything pertinent kindly let me know at your leisure.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Kingsbury,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-178-22

27-173-23

JOHN A. KINGSBURY
"LAVORIKA"
SHADY, N. Y.

May 7, 1934

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was in France and Yugoslavia during the time Hopkins was with the American Red Cross, and quite out of touch with him. Soon after my return from World War I, and post-war service in Europe, I rescued Hopkins from the Red Cross!

I persuaded him to return to New York and take charge of Public Health work under the Milbank Fund. Of course I talked with him about his work in the South, and I am sure he did learn a great deal about the Negro problem. I don't, however, have any specific recollection of his reactions, but I am sure they were what one would expect of a liberal social minded man. If he had been unsympathetic to racial equalities, I certainly

would remember that.

I have no doubt that he had a hand in the relief from Mississippi floods, and I can tell you who can give you specific information. I refer to Aubrey Williams, Editor of Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Ala. whom you surely know. His attitude on the Negro problem is well known. He has recently "stood on the press" — to use a phrase of President Taft!

I regret that, without research, I cannot be more helpful.

Mrs. Kingsbury joins me in kind regards to you and Mrs. Du Bois.

Sincerely yours,

John A Kingsbury

August 24, 1954

Dr. John A. Kingsbury
"Lavorika"
Shady, New York

Dear Dr. Kingsbury:

Shirley and I have been rather rushed these last few weeks and I have not had the opportunity to congratulate you upon your courageous stand for free speech and the right to think.

Shirley, besides writing books, has been with me for a weekend at White Lake where she made an impressive talk about current comic books. Then together we spent last weekend at Croton-on-the-Hudson.

I have been writing pretty steadily on that endless novel of mine, and have been going over for a second time an effort to bring you and Harry Hopkins into it. I think I have had some success.

I trust this will find you and Mrs. Kingsbury and your daughter in reasonable health.

Shirley joines me in best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

February 25, 1954

Mr. S. Kojima
688 2 Chome
Itabashicho, Itabashiku
Tokyo, Japan

My dear Mr. Kojima:

My wife and I have recieved your birthday greetings with great joy.

We trust that the Japanese people may soon enjoy Peace and Freedom.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. S. Kojima
688 2 Chome, Itabashicho, Itabashiku
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Mr. Kojima:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of the most widespread and increasing imjustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. F ifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Someof these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as A mericans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the National affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Japan to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Kojima

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

INDIA

KUNNIKKAL MADHAVAN SMARAKA VAYANASALA

KALLAI ROAD, KOZHIKODE-2, S. MALABAR.

President:
A. KARUNAKARAN B. A., B. L.

Rly. Station: CALICUT.

Secretary:
K. RADHAKRISHNAN.

16th June 1954

Copy for information

Resolution adopted at a meeting held at the K.M.S. Public Library & Reading Room, Calicut, held on 16th June, 1954.

This meeting of the readers and organisers of the K.M.S. Public Library & Reading Room protests at the heartless action of the U.S. Government in withholding for the last four years the Passport of Paul Robeson, the great Negro artiste and humanist. Robeson is as much dear to the people all over the world as he is to the American people. This act of the American Government is an attempt to throttle the voice of Robeson and cut off the people of the world from the moving message of peace and brotherhood about which Robeson always sings.

8-2-17

We, therefore, demand of the U.S. Government that this restriction on the free movement of the world artiste and American citizen Paul Robeson be forthwith removed and full rights of travel restored to him.

Proposed by : N.N. Kakkad, B.O.L.

Seconded by : K. Narayanan

Forwarded to :- The Embassy of the United States of America, NewDelhi.

Secretary,
K.M.S. Public Library & Reading Room.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in China to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Kuo Mo Jo

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Kuo Mo Jo MARCH 4, 1954

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Professor H. Labouret
26 Rue de la Pepiniere
Paris VIII, France

Dear Professor Labouret:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of most widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected ofbeing possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the National affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President E isenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Professor Labouret

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

M.Jean Laffitte
World Peace Council,Palais,S.I.A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear M. Laffitte:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of most widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

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I am, dear M. Laffitte

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

April 27, 1954

Mr. Corliss Lamont
450 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lamont:

I am venturing to enclose correspondence which I have had with a student of the University of Michigan. Enclosed is a letter to me an my answer.

I hope you will write him and give him any legal advice that you can. This seems to be a very important case.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-30

copy enclosed of
Mike Sharpe's letter to WEBD
April 22/54 and answer of April 27/54
see Folder
"Civil Liberties"

450 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

April 28, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Mr. Mike Sharpe of the University of Michigan had already written me about his case, but I was glad to have your reminder. I am enclosing for your interest copies of my letter and statement to him.

Cordially yours,

Robert Lamont

27-6-31

[Enc.]

April 28, 1954

Mr. Mike Sharpe
1214 Willard
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Sharpe:

I was glad to have your letter of April 22 and the copy of your letter to the Un-American Committee. I am shocked that this Committee should subpoena you. Enclosed is a statement on the subject which you may use as you see fit and publish in the Michigan Daily if this newspaper is willing to give it the space. If there is any such publication, please send me the clipping for my files.

In case you have not seen the basic documents in my own battle with the McCarthy Committee, I am enclosing a pamphlet on this subject. You will note that it also includes Albert Einstein's noteworthy letter challenging the congressional committees.

If you forego use of the Fifth Amendment and refuse to answer questions on the grounds I have suggested in my statement, you will be, I believe, the first student in America to challenge congressional investigating committees in this way and to risk a court case and possible jail sentence.

I also suggest that you talk the matter over with Dr. Nancy Morse, who works in Psychology in the University of Michigan and is a member of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. I am a member of this same group and will try to get them to support you when the time comes if you so desire.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

CORLISS LAMONT

27-6-32

2 encl

450 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

April 28, 1954

Dear Mr. Sharpe:

The fact that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has subpoenaed you to appear before it undoubtedly means that this Committee intends to ask you questions dealing with your beliefs and associations in the realm of politics and economics. Such questions put to a witness by a Congressional investigating committee clearly violate the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights and the tripartite separation of powers -- Legislative, Judicial and Executive -- as set forth in the first three Articles of the Constitution.

For the Un-American Committee to grill a student concerning his ideas, whether they be Marxist, progressive, conservative or otherwise, subverts the First Amendment by discouraging students, teachers and Americans in general from taking a clearcut position on fundamental issues, particularly if that position is in disagreement with current orthodoxies.

27-6-33

If we can judge from past experience, the Velde Committee will conduct a "trial" in your case, find you "guilty" of holding unorthodox opinions and attempt to have you punished. Such a legislative "trial" is unconstitutional because it invades the power of the Judiciary by usurping the functions of courts and juries. Furthermore, any inquiry into personal conduct, personal beliefs and associational activity lies within the jurisdiction of the Judicial Department.

It is important to remember, too, that the very resolution establishing the House Un-American Activities Committee invades freedom of speech as guaranteed under the Bill of Rights. For that resolution directs the Committee to investigate "un-American propaganda activities." Now the word "propaganda" means precisely the diffusion of certain ideas; and for Congress to investigate ideas of whatever variety is a threat to free discussion and to the unhampered controversy and propaganda of all sorts which are the lifeblood of a democracy. The use of the word "activities" in the resolution mentioned and in the Committee's title is simply a thin disguise to cover up the unconstitutional nature of the Committee.

I hope very much that if the Velde Committee asks you any improper questions, you will refuse to answer on the three main constitutional grounds I have suggested, namely, the First Amendment, the separation of powers and the unconstitutionality of the Committee's enabling resolution. Should the Committee then cite you for contempt, your case may go to the courts; and there will be a good chance of your winning an important decision that forces Congressional investigating committees to stay within constitutional limits while retaining the highly desirable power of inquiry.

If you challenge the House Un-American Activities Committee in some such way, you will be following the advice of one of the greatest minds of this age, Dr. Albert Einstein, and will in my opinion be taking the most effective possible action against the Congressional Inquisition.

Corliss Lamont

27-6-34

[Lapidus Civic Club]

December 29, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Our Club, a Jewish cultural club is planning a meeting for Brotherhood Month. We are an English-speaking group of 110 members in a predominately Jewish community.

At this meeting in February we plan to have one speaker present the contributions of the Jews to American life and another speaker to set forth the contributions of the Negroes to American life.

We make a very humble request that you accept our invitation to speak about the contributions of the Negro people. If you could give us any one Friday evening in February, we know that our membership and the community would respond.

Our finances are limited but we can be prepared to meet your speaking fee or make a contribution to whomever you would designate.

May we hear from you favorably. Our best wishes for the Holiday season and we join in the hope that the New Year will bring peace and unity for all the peoples.

Respectfully yours,

Al Greenbaum

Al Greenbaum, President

Daniel Lapidus Civic Club
935 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn 13, New York

87-15-15

October 5, 1954

Miss Betty Millard
Latin American Research Bureau
799 Broadwy, Room 636
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Betty Millard:

Your LATIN AMERICA TODAY for September was a very fine job.

With love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Lev.]

490 W E

Ray Lev and George Edgar

Please come
very informally
Sun. Dec 18th
at 8:15.
Music-Bells. Fun
time.
Pr + Geo.
RSVP

April 5, 1954

Ray Lev
490 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ray Lev:

We have your kind invitation, but Shirley is writing every minute and I am helping with the cishes.

I am afraid neither of us can get away on the 18th, but good luck.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[May, 1954]

Letter to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
c/o of NWR

I have no typewriter. I hope Dr. Du Bois will please read this.

Lewis

My dear Dr. Du Bois;

You addressed an appeal to a group of European friends, asking them to aid in the effort to free the Smith Act Victims. I wonder if you would care to hear from an American who sympathizes.

It is very strange that of all the persons, investigated and arrested by the Committees, none are Catholics; while the inquisitors, the ones who ask the questions, are members of the Romish church, - like for instance, Mc Carran and Mc Carthy.

Let people remember that the fanatical clergymen who jailed the great Galileo because he said that the earth was round, were of the Romish faith, they were the rulers of the Papacy.

27-6-54

Our Constitution contains provisions for the right to free speech; the right to criticize, to protest, to change the government by means of laws, in accordance with the wishes of the people, - because it was written by Protestants. - The Protestant religion permits its congregations to "protest" and to have a voice in the management of the affairs of its churches.

The Papists on the other hand, have a religion that allows the congregations no voice in the management of the church. The Popish faith is inflexible and the right to decide what is right or wrong not only in religious matters, but in politics as well, is reserved to the clerics. Furthermore, the dictates of the Pope are mandatory upon the laity in the same manner that the laws of this country are mandatory upon the citizens of this country.

Papal encyclicals are read on the same day in every Catholic pulpit all over the world and no cleric may differ from the opinions expressed by the Pope, nor protest against them. No Catholic may decide any political question according to the dictates of his own conscience.

The result is a uniform, slavish conformity of opinion which permits no freedom of thought or freedom of individual judgment.

It is this slavish conformity of opinion so typical of their church which the Catholic Congressmen are trying to produce in this country, - in defiance however, of the provisions of the Constitution regarding the rights of free speech.

Due to the great influx of foreigners in recent times, the proportion of Catholics has increased, although even today, the Catholics are less than one fourth of the whole population of the country.

Yes Catholics on the whole are the late comers to this country, and the United States is not governed in the manner that the Vatican rules its religious subjects, — and what is more, the United States never shall be governed in any such manner.

Since there are so many deportations from this country of right-thinking, liberal-minded men and women, may I suggest that those late comers to this country, nurtured on dogmas and catechisms who can't understand the free principles and liberal provisions of our democratic constitution, are free to return at any time, to the dogmatic atmosphere with its Old World point of view, and to the country from which they came.

May I offer my respects to you, Dr. Du Bois for the great work you are doing.

Yours truly,
Mina J. Lewis,
Apt. 3 — 96 How St.
Haverhill, Mass.

27-6-26

May 24, 1954

Miss Mina Lewis
Apt. 3
96 How Street
Haverhill, Mass.

Dear Miss Lewis:

Your letter concerning the attitude of the Catholic Church toward Democracy has been received.

I agree with most things which you say. I pin my faith on certain movements within the Catholic church which I hope are going to change its attitude, certainly in some degree. "America" and its editor, Father La Farge, are examples.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

(Subject very important time to read this handwriting) 6/5/54.

W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed is a copy of a new Act, S2670. Pending are S2744, S2746, S2743, S2745, S2750, S2747, S2748, S2749 & S2813, relating to transfer of Indian Affairs from Federal Bureau to States. The bills pending are for Indians of Ala., Texas, Oregon, Kan., Neb., Mont., Fla., S. D., N. D., Calif. and Wash. (Sen. Lehman informs me, they adopted 5 of his amendments to S2670: about sub-surface rights on property, cancellation of debts on loans, compensation for irrigation assessments, and for education).

While the country is apprehensive about Indo-China, the rights of labor union and racial equality in education, the "race-haters" have sneaked in unnoticed, bills which if carried out, will rob the oldest of all Americans, the Indians, of all they have left and kill them all. Also, right now, Arizona and N. M. are going to permit sale of liquor to Indians. — We are witnessing the extermination of all Indians. The features intended by the "race killers" for the rest of the human races, is being realized against the Indians.

Now is the time to strike! My efforts; bother with right hand, no typewriter, over 20 cramped, handwritten letters to Congress! From past experience, I know there is no publication, liberal or otherwise, will print anything that I write.

From books, I have dug up a collection of facts with quotations from Speeches made by Indian chiefs: the sources, Britt's "Great Indian Chiefs", Helen Hunt Jackson's "Century of Dishonor" and Moorehead's "American Indians", as mass of statistical data from Indian Bureau and affidavits of sworn testimony revealing frauds.

1. Would you accept and could you use any of the facts that I have compiled? (It is not original, taken from books.) — There is a brief account of 8 chiefs and their tribes with events in chronological order, which is written (24 pages, handwritten on thin paper, hope to typewrite it later. Contains above-mentioned quotes from Indian speeches.)

2. Would you like to use now what I have already written? (and send more later about broken Treaties, and money promised Indians, later if you want it?

3. Is handwriting legible enough so you could use it if not typewritten?

Here is up to the moment Indian news: Uranium Co. are after the Indians

27-6-27

lands, aided and abetted by Secy. Int. McKay and Sen. Goldwater of N. M. They are digging in the Chiricahua Mts in Arizona on Navajo lands and they want Jack Pueblo in N. M.

Desert Mag., Jan., '54: El Paso Nat'l Co. is already digging 451 mile trench through Navajo territory; starts Barker dome, N. M. through northern N. M. and Ariz. to Topock near Needles, Calif. Wires other proposed to Calif, Pacific northwest, Nevada and Utah. One already begun (extending largely across Indian lands) for 473 miles from Blanco, Texas to Kingman, Ariz.

Cordially yours,
Mina D. Quinn
Apt 3 — 16 Howe-st., Haverhill, Mass

From Britt's "great Indian Chiefs"

Quotes: King Philip's War, in Mass. Cotton Mather said: (example of Messianic complex)

"That the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and which land the Lord God of our Fathers hath given to us for a rightful Possession, have at sundry times been plotting Mischievous Devices against that part of the English Israel which is seated in these goings down of the Sun —" (the underline is mine)

Chief Joseph says: about ownership of land he is unwilling to vote,

"That which I have great affection for, I have no reason nor wish to dispose of; if I did, where would I go? The earth and myself are of one mind. The measure of the land and the measure of our bodies are the same. Say to us, if you can say it, that you are sent by the Creator to talk to us. Perhaps you think that the Creator sent you here to dispose of us as you see fit. If I thought you were sent by the Creator I might be induced to think that you had a right to dispose of me. Do not misunderstand me, but understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land. I never said the land was mine to do with as I chose. The one who has the right to dispose of it, is the one who created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours." (I have underlined words.)

83D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 2670

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 11, 1954

Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

AN ACT

To provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of certain tribes, bands, and colonies of Indians in the State of Utah and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the purpose of this Act is to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the trust and restricted property of certain tribes and bands of Indians located in the State of Utah and the individual members thereof, for the disposition of federally owned property acquired or withdrawn for the administration of the affairs of such Indians, and for a termination of Federal services furnished such Indians because of their status as Indians.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this Act—

(a) "Tribe" means any of the following tribes or bands of Indians located in the State of Utah: Shivwits, Kanosh, Koosharem, and Indian Peaks Bands of the Paiute Indian Tribe, Skull Valley Band of the Shoshone Indian Tribe, and the Washakie Band of the Northwestern Band of Shoshone Indians.

(b) "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

(c) "Lands" mean real property, interests therein, or improvements thereon, and include water rights.

(d) "Individual Indian" means any individual Indian whose name appears on the final roll prepared pursuant to section 3 of this Act.

(e) "Tribal property" means any real or personal property, including water rights, or any interest in real or personal property, that belongs to the tribe and either is held by the United States in trust for the tribe or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States.

SEC. 3. Each tribe shall have a period of six months from the date of this Act in which to prepare and submit to the Secretary a proposed roll of the members of the tribe living on the date of this Act, which shall be published in the Federal Register. If a tribe fails to submit such roll within the time specified in this section, the Secretary shall prepare a proposed role for the tribe, which shall be published in

the Federal Register. Any person claiming membership rights in the tribe or an interest in its assets, or a representative of the Secretary on behalf of any such person, may, within sixty days from the date of publication of the proposed roll, file an appeal with the Secretary contesting the inclusion or omission of the name of any person on or from such roll. The Secretary shall review such appeals and his decisions thereon shall be final and conclusive. After disposition of all such appeals by the Secretary, the roll of the tribe shall be published in the Federal Register, and such roll shall be final for the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 4. Upon publication in the Federal Register of the final roll as provided in section 3 of this Act, the rights or beneficial interests in tribal property of each person whose name appears on the roll shall constitute personal property which may be inherited or bequeathed, but shall not otherwise be subject to alienation or encumbrance before the transfer of title to such tribal property as provided in section 5 of this Act without the approval of the Secretary. Any contract made in violation of this section shall be null and void.

SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary shall, within six months after the publication of each final membership roll, notify the tribe of the period of time during which the tribe may study means of disposition of tribal property, real and per-

sonal, under supervision of the United States. Such period shall not be less than three months and not more than two years, including any authorized extension of the original periods. The Secretary is authorized to provide such reasonable assistance as may be requested by the tribe in the formulation of a plan for the disposition or future control and management of the property, including necessary consultations with representatives of Federal departments and agencies, officials of the State of Utah and political subdivisions thereof, and members of the tribe. During such period, the tribe may elect—

(1) to apply to the Secretary for the transfer to a corporation or other legal entity organized by the tribe in a form satisfactory to the Secretary of title to all or any part of the tribal property, and the Secretary is authorized to make such transfer: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Interior shall not approve any form of organization that provides for the transfer of stock or an undivided share in corporate assets as compensation for services of agents or attorneys unless such transfer is based upon an appraisal of tribal assets that is satisfactory to the Secretary;

(2) to apply to the Secretary for the transfer to one or more trustees designated by the tribe of title to all or any part of the tribal property, real and personal,

the title to be held by such trustee for management or liquidation purposes under terms and conditions prescribed by the tribe, and the Secretary is authorized to make such transfer if he approves the trustees and the terms and conditions of the trust;

(3) to apply to the Secretary for the sale of all or any part of the tribal property, and for the pro rata distribution among the members of the tribe of all or any part of the proceeds of sale or of any other tribal funds, and the Secretary is authorized and directed to sell such property upon such terms and conditions as he deems proper and to make such distribution among the members of the tribe after deducting, in his discretion, reasonable costs of sale and distribution; and

(4) to apply to the Secretary for a division of all or any part of the tribal land into parcels for members and for public purposes, together with a general plan for the subdivision showing the approximate size, location, and number of parcels, and the Secretary is authorized to issue patents for that purpose.

(b) Title to any tribal property that is not transferred in accordance with the provisions of subsection (a) of this section shall be transferred by the Secretary either to all members of the tribe as tenants in common or to one or more trustees designated by him for the liquidation and distribu-

tion of assets among the members of the tribe under such terms and conditions as the Secretary may prescribe: *Provided*, That the trust agreement shall provide for the termination of the trust not more than three years from the date of such transfer unless the term of the trust is extended by order of a judge of a court of record designated in the trust agreement.

(c) When approving or disapproving the selection of trustees in accordance with the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, and when designating trustees pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, the Secretary shall give due regard to the laws of the State of Utah that relate to the selection of trustees: *Provided further*, That the trust agreement shall provide that at any time before the sale of tribal property by the trustees the tribe may notify the trustees that it elects to retain such property and to transfer title thereto to a corporation, other legal entity, or trustee in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (a) of this section, and that the trustees shall transfer title to such property in accordance with the notice from the tribe if it is approved by the Secretary.

(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, the Secretary is directed to reserve subsurface rights in tribal property from any sale or division of such property, and to require any trustee or trustees to whom title to tribal prop-

erty is transferred to retain title to the subsurface rights in such property for not less than 10 years.

SEC. 6. (a) The Secretary is authorized and directed to transfer within two years after the date of this Act to each member of each tribe unrestricted control of funds or other personal property held in trust for such member by the United States.

(b) All restrictions on the sale or encumbrance of trust or restricted land owned by members of the tribe (including allottees, heirs, and devisees, either adult or minor) are hereby removed two years after the date of this Act, and the patents or deeds under which titles are then held shall pass the titles in fee simple, subject to any valid encumbrance: *Provided,* That the provisions of this subsection shall not apply to subsurface rights in such lands, and the Secretary is directed to transfer such subsurface rights to one or more trustees designated by him for management for a period not less than 10 years. The title to all interests in trust or restricted land acquired by members of the tribe by devise or inheritance two years or more after the date of this Act shall vest in such members in fee simple, subject to any valid encumbrance.

(c) Prior to the time provided in subsection (b) of this section for the removal of restrictions on land owned by more than one member of a tribe, the Secretary may—

(1) upon request of any of the owners, partition the land and issue to each owner a patent or deed for his individual share that shall become unrestricted two years from the date of this Act;

(2) upon request of any of the owners and a finding by the Secretary that partition of all or any part of the land is not practicable, cause all or any part of the land to be sold at not less than the appraised value thereof and distribute the proceeds of sale to the owners: *Provided,* That any one or more of the owners may elect before a sale to purchase the other interests in the land at not less than the appraised value thereof, and the purchaser shall receive an unrestricted patent or deed to the land; and

(3) if the whereabouts of none of the owners can be ascertained, cause such lands to be sold and deposit the proceeds of sale in the Treasury of the United States for safekeeping.

SEC. 7. (a) The Act of June 25, 1910 (36 Stat. 855), the Act of February 14, 1913 (37 Stat. 678), and other Acts amendatory thereto shall not apply to the probate of the trust and restricted property of the members of a tribe who die six months or more after the date of this Act.

(b) The laws of the several States, Territories, posses-

sions, and the District of Columbia with respect to the probate of wills, the determination of heirs, and the administration of decedents' estates shall apply to the individual property of members of the tribe who die six months after the date of this Act.

SEC. 8. The Secretary is authorized, in his discretion, to transfer to a tribe or any member or group of members thereof any federally owned property acquired, withdrawn, or used for the administration of the affairs of the tribe which he deems necessary for Indian use, or to transfer to a public or nonprofit body any such property which he deems necessary to public use and from which members of the tribes will derive benefit.

SEC. 9. No property distributed under the provisions of this Act shall at the time of distribution be subject to Federal or State income tax. Following any distribution of property made under the provisions of this Act, such property and any income derived therefrom by the individual, corporation, or other legal entity shall be subject to the same taxes, State and Federal, as in the case of non-Indians: *Provided*, That for the purpose of capital gains or losses the base value of the property shall be the value of the property when distributed to the individual, corporation, or other legal entity.

SEC. 10. Nothing contained in this Act shall deprive any Indian tribe, band, or other identifiable group of American Indians of any right, privilege, or benefit granted by the Indian Claims Commission Act of August 13, 1946 (ch. 959, 60 Stat. 1049), including the right to pursue claims against the United States as authorized by said Act.

SEC. 11. Nothing in this Act shall abrogate any valid lease, permit, license, right-of-way, lien, or other contract heretofore approved. Whenever any such instrument places in or reserves to the Secretary any powers, duties, or other functions with respect to the property subject thereto, the Secretary may transfer such functions, in whole or in part, to any Federal agency with the consent of such agency and may transfer such function, in whole or in part, to a State agency with the consent of such agency and the other party or parties to such instrument.

SEC. 12. Nothing in this Act shall abrogate any water rights of a tribe or its members.

SEC. 13. Prior to the transfer of title to, or the removal of restrictions from, property in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the Secretary shall protect the rights of members of a tribe who are minors, non compos mentis, or in the opinion of the Secretary in need of assistance in conducting their affairs by causing the appointment of guardians

in courts of competent jurisdiction, or by such other means as he may deem adequate.

SEC. 14. Pending the completion of the property dispositions provided for in this Act, the funds now on deposit, or hereafter deposited, in the United States Treasury to the credit of the tribe shall be available for advance to the tribe, or for expenditure, for such purposes as may be designated by the governing body of the tribe and approved by the Secretary.

SEC. 15. The Secretary shall have authority to execute such patents, deeds, assignments, releases, certificates, contracts, and other instruments as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this Act, or to establish a marketable and recordable title to any property disposed of pursuant to this Act.

SEC. 16. The Secretary is authorized and directed to cancel any indebtedness payable to the United States by the tribe arising out of any loan made by the United States to such tribe, and any indebtedness, whether payable to the United States or to the tribe, arising out of a loan made from the proceeds thereof to an individual Indian.

SEC. 17. (a) Upon removal of Federal restrictions on the property of each tribe and individual members thereof, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register a procla-

mation declaring that the Federal trust relationship to the affairs of the tribe and its members has terminated. Thereafter individual members of the tribe shall not be entitled to any of the services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians, all statutes of the United States which affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall no longer be applicable to the members of the tribe, and the laws of the several States shall apply to the tribe and its members in the same manner as they apply to other citizens or persons within their jurisdiction.

(b) Nothing in this Act shall affect the status of the members of the tribe as citizens of the United States, or shall affect their rights, privileges, immunities, and obligations as such citizens.

SEC. 18. (a) Effective on the date of the proclamation provided for in section 17 of this Act, the corporate charter issued pursuant to the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended, to the Kanosh Band of Paiute Indians of the Kanosh Reservation, Utah, and ratified by the band on August 15, 1943, and to the Shivwits Band of Paiute Indians of the Shivwits Reservation, Utah, and ratified by the band on August 30, 1941, are hereby revoked.

(b) Effective on the date of the proclamation provided for in section 17 of this Act, all powers of the Secretary or other officer of the United States to take, review,

or approve any action under the constitution and bylaws of the tribe are hereby terminated. Any powers conferred upon the tribe by such constitution which are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act are hereby terminated. Such termination shall not affect the power of the tribe to take any action under its constitution and bylaws that is consistent with this Act without the participation of the Secretary or other officer of the United States.

SEC. 19. The Secretary is authorized to issue rules and regulations necessary to effectuate the purposes of this Act, and may in his discretion provide for tribal referenda on matters pertaining to management or disposition of tribal assets.

SEC. 20. All Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed insofar as they affect the tribe or its members. The Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378), shall not apply to the tribe and its members after the date of the proclamation provided for in section 17 of this Act.

SEC. 21. If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof, to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 22. (a) Not later than two years after the date of this Act, the management and operation of irrigation works for Indian lands of the tribe by the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be discontinued. Upon such discontinuance, the Secretary shall cancel the unpaid irrigation operation and maintenance assessments and reimbursable irrigation construction charges against such lands.

(b) The Secretary may transfer the title to such irrigation works to water users, water user's associations organized for such purpose, or to corporations organized, or trustees designated, as provided in section 5.

SEC. 23. Prior to the issuance of a proclamation in accordance with the provisions of section 17 of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to undertake, within the limits of available appropriations, a special program of education and training designed to help the members of the tribe to earn a livelihood, to conduct their own affairs, and to assume their responsibilities as citizens without special services because of their status as Indians. Such program may include language training, orientation in non-Indian community customs and living standards, vocational training and related subjects, transportation to the place of training or instruction, and subsistence during the course of training or instruction. For the purposes of such program the Secretary is authorized to enter into contracts or agreements with any Federal, State,

or local governmental agency, corporation, association, or person. Nothing in this section shall preclude any Federal agency from undertaking any other program for the education and training of Indians with funds appropriated to it.

Passed the Senate May 10 (legislative day, April 14), 1954.

Attest: J. MARK TRICE,

Secretary.

83D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 2670

AN ACT

To provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of certain tribes, bands, and colonies of Indians in the State of Utah and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes.

MAY 11, 1954
Referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

June 28, 1954.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

Today, a matter of days, is the last chance to stop a plan to kill off the Indians! This extermination is planned here, in this country!

Wishing to bring the perilous situation to your attention, I sent you a copy of a Senate Bill: to transfer the control of the Indians of Utah from the Federal government to that state. --I hope you received it.

This is one bill of a long series of Bills to bring the management of all Indians under the control of the separate states.

Separately, I sent you a letter giving some details to show how at present, plans countenanced by Secy. of Interior McKay, and Sen. Goldwater, are being executed which when completed would leave the Indians, landless, homeless, and starving!

For example: Digging for uranium on the Navajo Reservation in the Chiricahua Mts. - Plans to sell Taos Pueblo to a mining Co. - El Paso Gas Co. blueprint for 1424 miles of ditches for oil pipes all the way to Calif. (451 miles largely through Navajo Territory already being dug and 973 more miles in prospect.)Three more lines besides these two, planned for the future. - A Bill to permit sale of liquor to Indians.

The facts have been deleted from history textbooks and the public has been kept in ignorance of the repeated cheats, lies, massacres and hypocritical acts which have victimized the Indian people. A history, extended in retrospect of the long-standing typical abuses, should arouse the public to make a belated demand for justice to the Indian race who are being deliberately exterminated!

In my attempt to create just such an extensive view of typical abuses of Indians in the cases of different tribes, I gathered material from 3 different sources. The 3 sources are: Britt's "Great Indian Chiefs", Helen Hunt Jackson's "Century of Dishonor" and Moorehead's "American Indians", this last being an official record from the Federal Agency and it contains the records ~~fo~~ White Earth Scandal.

24-6-53

My purpose in collecting the quotes and accounts from reliable sources friendly to the Indians, was; that I hoped they might afford good dramatic material for a novel or a play! --the material is not in the form of a regular story; besides from experience I know that I could never get anything published myself.

The best part of the material is some of the quotations of what the Chiefs said! It is dramatic material. The Chieftains make splendid answers to the Government's arguments!

When I wrote before, I told you that I hoped to get the matter typewritten. Now, it is typewritten; 28 closely-typed pages (the same type as this letter).

Busy as you are Dr. DuBois with many activities, I hope you may find time to reply.; an addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Pardon me for writing again about a race whose crisis is Now and Here!

If this material can prove useful; it is freely offered.

Respectfully Yours,
Mina J. Lewis,
Apt. 3 - 96 How St.
Haverhill, Mass.

[Enc. from Mina Lewis]

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS., CHAIRMAN
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PHILIP K. ALLEN, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

May 21, 1954

Miss Mina I. Lewis
Apartment 3, 96 How Street
Haverhill, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Lewis:

Permit me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of recent date with regard to S. 2670.

This bill passed the Senate on May 11 and is now before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this bill for your information.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Richard B. Russell

27-6-29

Several Senators answered my letters — miss Lewis

NEW ADDRESS:
100 W. 23 ST.
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Liberty BOOK CLUB · INC.
1123 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
Telephone: WATKINS 4-2706

February 17, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you very kindly for agreeing to do the letter for us.

I am enclosing a rough draft of a letter as you requested.

With kindest personal regards.

27-4-12

Very truly yours,

Charles A. Collins
Managing Director

CAC/rg
Enc.

February 25, 1954

Mr. Charles Collins
Liberty Book Club
~~113 Broadway~~ 100 W 23 St
New York 11, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Collins:

I am sending you a proposed draft of the letter which I am willing to send out.

Of course I would agree to any verbal changes in this, but kindly let me know what they are before sending.

Also may I inquire why "In Battle for Peace" cannot be listed among the books which you have for sale or as a monthly choice?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Enc.]

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Member:

You with other Americans have noticed the current decline of our national literature. We seem to be trying to say nothing as pleasantly as possible without offending anybody and indeed, without arousing even their interest. This is not what the times demand. We need to be informed, aroused, and made to think. It is better to have a good piece of literature withwwhich we do not entirely agree than to have a series of books not worth reading.

Today the flow of thought in America is damned by the refusal of wholesalers to handle any books of which they do not approve; and the acquiescence of publishers in the dictation of these book distributors. The only cure for this is the Book Club, the organization of readers into groups which insist on having some word in the sort of book which shall be available for intelligent readers of taste.

For five years the Liberty Book Club has in my opinion been that sort of club. It has tried to distribute books which deserve reading, not because they are perfect but because they are good. This book club has filled a real need. It has made it possible for many notable authors to continue their work with a chance of being published and read, and it has brought to thousands some of the world's finest books at a price they can afford. To do a job like this and secure wider distribution of good books among readers who want Truth and Sincerity and not current propaganda calls for [redacted] support. The Liberty Book Club wants therefore to double its current membership.

I am writing to ask you to join with me in doing just that. We would like everyone of the present members of the club to enroll just ONE other person into it. To act as some small spur to this action I want to send to each member who does this an autographed copy of my SOULS OF BLACK FOLK. It was first published fifty years ago. It has just been reissued in a Jubilee edition. If you accept this offer, indicate this on your application order.

Very truly yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-4-4

c/o Lighton Publications
P.O. Box 1007
San Jose, California
November 6, 1954

Dr. William Edward B. Du Bois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The work which you are doing for the betterment of your people prompts me to write this letter. I believe you will be in accord with the purpose of a little book entitled "Addict to Yearning" by my husband, Merle Lighton. It accompanies this letter under separate cover.

I think you will find "Addict to Yearning" not only speaks for itself but is a rebellious departure from books of the usual trend. Self-published in order to retain the spirit and intent of the message, my husband has consistently refused to do the reader's thinking for him.

Upon publication of this book, Mr. Lighton received Honorary Membership to the International Mark Twain Society for an outstanding contribution. An additional page to this letter bears a few pertinent remarks of interest from individuals, press and radio.

With such a need in the world for an understanding among people and with so many seeking a source of inspiration, your additional comment will be of great value. We are in hopes that "Addict to Yearning" will provoke a reaction which you will be willing to express for quotation.

We would like to call your attention to page 47 under sub-title "The Angel of Wisdom" and page 112 under "Not a Moment Between Us".

With gratitude for any thought you may offer which will help this book to be more widely read,

Sincerely,

Dorothy Lighton

Dorothy Lighton
(Mrs. Merle Lighton)

Enclosures

P.S. Mr. Lighton leaves on a trip into the Central American jungles shortly after the first of the year. It would be a help if it were possible to hear from you before that time.

[Enc.]

COMMENT FROM THE READER [Lighton]

THE GUARDIAN, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, CANADA: "Merle Lighton has set down his thoughts on life in the form of a stream of consciousness. They take form surprisingly like latter day Proverbs and are exceedingly potent in causing the reader to do some serious thinking for himself, which is the author's prime intention."

BOOKS and AUTHORS - HOLLYWOOD CITIZEN-NEWS: "This is a profound book, not one that guarantees to teach you how to become healthy, wealthy and wise in ten easy lessons...far beyond creeds, dogmas and edifices..inspires the reader to discover for himself the 'universe within'."

EMILY G. BALCH, co-winner NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, Hon. Pres. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom since 1936: "It is a pleasant contrast to the flood of standardized conformist commercialized stuff of which we have so much."

LOUISE FITZGERALD, "What's New in Books" KTAR - Phoenix, Arizona: "..is certainly quite different from the usual, and is one that cannot be, and should not be read lightly."

THE CEDAR RAPIDS GAZETTE: "Like Emerson's essays, "Addict to Yearning" is meant to be absorbed in lean doses."

PHIL WATSON, San Jose Mercury-News: "Something of the tender mysticism of a Kahlil Gibran and something of the..observation of a practical man.. combined in this..book of inspirational philosophy for everyday living."

SACRAMENTO UNION: "...a thought-provoking book.."

NEWS-HERALD, Hutchinson, Kansas: "The philosophy is interesting. If you agree...fine. If you don't, that's good, too, because it starts you thinking and that is exactly what this little book is intended to do."

DON. L. NICKERSON, Minister, First Christian Church, Redwood City, California:..."presents some penetrating insights in its proverbial travels, but its greatest weakness is its failure to direct the reader clearly."

(AUTHOR'S NOTE: I am not writing for the purpose of directing people's lives. I am writing to be of assistance to those who choose to direct their own lives.)

SIMON DONIGER, Editor, PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY, Great Neck, New York: "This is unquestionably a book in which our ministers will be interested.."

ISAPHENE MCQUIRE, Minister, Chapel of Truth, San Jose, California: "....ADDICT TO YEARNING is a bright star on the horizon of present day thinking. It awakens in the individual a spiritual impetus - the challenge of the New Age."

San Jose Mercury-News
11 Sunday, July 26, 1953

WINS AWARD—Merle Lighton, San Jose author, has been elected to honorary membership in the International Mark Twain Society in recognition of his recent book "Addict to Yearning." He is shown autographing his book at Kay's Bookshelf, Los Altos.

Navy Pilot Honored

SUNNYVALE— Frank J. Lassster Jr., Navy pilot husband of the former Miriam C. Vigeant of 354 E. Duane Ave., has received the Air Medal for distinguished combat service in Korea. He has completed 32 missions.

San Jose Author Wins Twain Society Honors

Merle Lighton, San Jose author, has joined a select fellowship of literary and cultural giants — the International Mark Twain Society —for his new book "Addict to Yearning," published here recently.

Lighton, who lives in seclusion "so I can get some work done," as he puts it, was nominated to the Mark Twain Society by an anonymous benefactor.

"I feel honored by such a membership," he said. "With it is the satisfaction of belonging to a world-wide group whose announced purpose is 'knitting the world in bonds of cultured peace.' I can think of no worthier objective today."

Lighton's book was first reviewed by Phil Watson in the San Jose Mercury-News of Jan. 25, 1953, in advance of publication. It has been praised highly for its lucidity and inspirational philosophy, and as one reviewer said, "It causes the reader to do some serious thinking for himself."

The author has two more books, as yet unpublished, and with the usual candor of a writer who feels he has something, Lighton says these tomes surpass his first effort.

The International Mark Twain Society numbers in its membership many of the world's greatest authors. and a number of notable political leaders as well, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Prime Finisters Churchill and Nehru, Adlai Stevenson, Herbert Hoover, Harry S. Truman and the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

On its board of directors are John Masefield, the Duke of Windsor, Helen Hayes, Eugene O'Neill, T. S. Eliot, Jean Sibelius, among others.

Fence Seekers Win Council Aid on Issue

SANTA CLARA—Residents of Wisteria Way in the Kaiser tract who want a fence to screen their property from rear of a shopping center parking lot have enlisted aid of the City Council.

Pat Regan of 15 Wisteria Way told the council that while Kaiser developers have planted shrubs along the rear of the parking lot, the paved area still is visible and an attractive nuisance for children.

Committee composed of City Mgr. Joseph F. Base, City Atty. Robley E. Morgan and City Engineer Edgar Schott reported the shrubs, when they grow high enough, should provide adequate screening.

In planting the shrubs, the Kaiser developers have compiled with the tract restrictions and are obligated to do no more, the committee report said.

Councilmen pointed out they have no right to force construction of a fence, but expressed willingness to help residents interest Kaiser representatives in the project. Councilmen W. J. Nicholson, Victor E. Salberg and Anthony R. Toledo were delegated to confer on the matter.

27-6-22

STANDARD TIME

AL 47954

Literary Gazette

1954 APR 20 PM 4 58

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DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED MESSAGE

TC705 (PHONED AT 515PM APR 20TH BY TL/DELY)

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WILLIAN DUBOIS NEWYORK (W E B DUBOIS 31 GRACE COURT BKLYN NY) D

DAILWORK BY

WILL YOU PLEASE ANSWER FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FOR THE MAY DAY ISSUE LITERARY GAZETTE COLON WHAT DO COMMON PEOPLE YOUR COUNTRY EXPECT FROM GENEVA CONFERENCE QUESTION MARK WHAT ARE IN YOUR OPINION PROSPECTS OF STRUGGLE FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN EUROPE STOP CASE CONSENT PLEASE TRANSMITT YOUR ANSWERS

27-6-23

PAGE 2 25

VIA TASS AGENCY STOP YOUR ANSWERS SHOULD AMOUNT TO SOME THREE OR FIVE HUNDRED WORDS STOP THANK YOU IN ADVANCE

EDITOR IN CHIEF BORIS REUKHOV

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY
PUBLISHERS
34 BEACON STREET, BOSTON 6

May 24, 1954

Dear Mr. DuBois:

A short time ago we sent you a pre-publication copy of DOCTOR DAN: PIONEER IN AMERICAN SURGERY -- Helen Buckler's biography of the famous American Negro physician and surgeon, Daniel Hale Williams.

We hope that you have received the book; we would appreciate hearing your comments if you care to send them to us.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher has said of DOCTOR DAN: "...very sincere and competently written. You're told everything about Doctor Dan...."

Sincerely,

Milton L. Rusk

Milton L. Rusk
Publicity Department

sent copy of Buckler letter

Lee Lorch

1615 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee
February 21, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Happy Birthday — I know that this joyous wish is in the hearts and on the lips of progressive mankind the world over, as they think of you this February 23. Grace and Alice join with me in adding our appreciation to that of this swelling multitude.

Each year, with eternal youthfulness, you help lead mankind toward the bright future of peace, freedom and joy. May it come soon!

To the respect of mankind is joined the affection of your friends. May you have happiness for many years to come.

With all good wishes,
Lee Lorch

27-6-51

Happy Birthday and many happy returns of the day.
Alice

February 25, 1954

Mr. Lee Lorch
1615 Meharry Blvd.
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lorch:

Thank you very much for your birthday greetings and those of your wife and daughter. Shirley and I appreciate them.

We are hoping to have a vacation in the Virgin Islands shortly.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-52

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

September 20, 1954

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
2 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

As the enclosed materials indicate, IT has happened. Just as the fight for desegregation is moving into high gear on the heels of the Supreme Court decision of last May, some one has decided that I am too great a nuisance to have in this region.

I read in yeaterday's paper, since Dr. Johnson does not inform me of these things, that the question of my dissmissal from Fisk will be laid before the regular meeting of the Board of Trustees scheduled for October 28th and that, if possible, a special meeting of that Board will be called sooner to consider this question. Good support for my position is developing in the community, among the faculty and students. But the morning newspaper, The Nashville Tennessean, has been baiting Dr. Johnson with considerable success. Panic seems to have decended upon him and he has done many foolish things. For example, he has issued statements in advance of events and thereby giving this newspaper its stories. The afternoon paper, The Nashville Banner, a generally reactionary paper by the way, has taken this whole matter very calmly. Interestingly enough, I have received no threatening phone calls (in contrast to what happened after we first raised the question of entering Alice in Pearl Elementary School, previously a Negro School) and there have been no letters to the editor screaming for my blood.

I should be appreciative of any advice and help that you may see fit to render. Petitions are being circulated locally which will be directed to the Board of Trustees and letters from mathematiciansat various Institutions who are opposed to witch-hunting can also be expected. Rev. T. M. Brumfield, Professor emeritus of Biblical Literature, has been educating the local alumni to the significance of this issue. He has some considerable hopes of gaining some support from this quarter.

My wife and daughter joinme in the very warmest greetings to you and Shirley. We hope that both of you are enjoying the best of health and spirit.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

Lee Lorch, ~~Chairman~~
~~Department of Physics~~

LL/w

27-17A-25

September 24, 1954

Dr. Lee Lorch
Dept. of Mathmatics
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Dr. Lorch:

I am sure you know how deeply I sympathize with you in the attack now being made on you. If there is anything that you think I can do please let me know immediately.

I hesitate to take any action on my own initiative for fear it may do you more harm than good. I am on speaking terms with President Johnson but I opposed his election in the first place and have had little contact with him since, and he has never called on me.

Most of the alumni whom I knew well are dead, and I am not certain as to whether or not any of those living would listen to anything I would say.

Despite all this let me know if you think of any action I could take or any letters I could write.

Shirley joins me in very deep sympathy and regards for you, your wife and little girl.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

enc

[Enc.]

September 24, 1954

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The dismissal of Dr. Lee Lorch from his professorship at Fisk University would be a calamity. It would be an unwarranted attack upon a man of high character and of learning, and a denial of freedom of thought and expression in a nation founded to protect liberty.

It would be a deliberate attack upon a man who has tried to implement the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court from the reactionary and fascist forces of the white South.

If the American Negro and particularly the graduates of Fisk University do not stand up and oppose this unwarranted punishment of a man who deserves reward rather than attack, they will do irreparable harm to a great university and to a struggling race.

W. E. B. Du Bois
Member of the Nat'l Institute
of Arts and Letters
International Peace Prize
Winner 1952

December 1, 1954

Mr. Lee Lorch
1615 Meharry Blvd.
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lorch:

I have heard with shame and sorrow of the decision of the Board of Trustees of Fisk University.

I presume we will have to gird ourselves for a bitter attack on progressives in America during these coming years when the United States is compelled to give up the crazy dream of conquering Communism by war. We are going to attempt to conquer ourselves by unprecedented injustice and suppression.

I wish there was something I could do in your behalf. If you think of anything let me know.

Mrs. Du Bois and I join in sympathy and love to you, Mrs. Lorch, and the little girl.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-170-33

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

Dec. 14, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thanks so much for your warm letter. The enclosure indicate something about the situation. If you have the time I'd like to tell you more about it when I'm in N.Y. I expect to be there Dec 21-26. My family, however, is remaining here.

All the best to you & Mrs. Du Bois

Sincerely
Lee Lorch

27-6-42

[Encl.]

The following statement was prepared by Lee Lorch just prior to his compulsory appearance before a Subcommittee of the House Un-American Committee.

On the afternoon of September 7 I was served a summons to appear before the House UnAmerican Committee on September 15 in Dayton, Ohio. This Committee has not however, informed me in any way as to the matters concerning which my testimony is desired, despite apparent requirements to do so contained in its own official Rules of Procedure. Further, these Rules declare (p.2):

> "Witnesses shall be subpoenaed at a reasonably sufficient time in advance of any hearing, said time to be determined by the Committee, in order to give the Witness an opportunity to prepare for the hearing and to employ counsel..."

Does the Committee regard one week as "sufficient time?" Perhaps it does, since there is, in any event, no possibility of "preparing" without information as to what to prepare for.

Is the Committee desirous of asking me, as Vice President of the Tennessee State NAACP, what, if anything, I may have heard concerning the subversion, actual or planned, of constitutional safeguards of the rights of Negroes? The record would not suggest so.

It was the Governor of Georgia, not of Tennessee, who only this past Sunday again sought to inflame violent resistance to the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public education by declaring that "no amount of force whatever can compel desegregation."

Does this Committee plan to draft legislation to protect Negroes against unconstitutional, lawless invasion of their rights? This is an area in which, indeed, much needs to be done. It is now several years since Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP leaders, were murdered for their efforts to win Negroes the right to vote in an area where this basic right is systematically denied. Their murderers have never been caught. Perhaps the Committee wishes to find out how to correct such situations.

In that case the Committee should consult national officials, rather than a state officer, stating the purpose of the hearing well in advance and giving our national leaders adequate time to assemble data and prepare suggestions.

However, this Committee has never concerned itself with protecting the rights of which Negro citizens are still forcibly deprived in many sections of the country, and I don't suppose that it has suddenly mended its ways.

This Hearing, to which I am in ignorance summoned, takes place in a city distant from my home in Tennessee. If the locale has any significance, I note that it is now more than 13 years since I cincluded my brief residence in the State of Ohio,

27-6-35

upon completion of my graduate studies at the University of Cincinnati in 1941.

If this Hearing is to do with things which are alleged to have transpired over 13 years ago, and of which the Committee has not informed me, then the suddenness of my summoning after such a long period of silence presents a rather remarkable coincidence. It comes precisely at the moment when I am, together with other NAACP leaders, busy seeking the prompt desegregation of Tennessee schools in keeping with the recent Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation. As is very well-known, I am attempting to enroll my own daughter in the neighborhood school from which she has been excluded because of race.

Any effort to smear me here is an effort to discredit the fight against segregation.

I know that there are many who will welcome such a smear. After about three years of war-time military service, I lived in Stuyvesant Town, owned by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and took a leading part in forcing that giant to withdraw, unwillingly, its policy of excluding Negroes, a policy it is fighting today to maintain in Parkchester. My Department of Mathematics initiated the fight to outlaw anti-Negro practices prevailing in certain meetings of the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association. I have been a member of the Executive Committe of my NAACP Branch for 4 years and Vice President of the Tennessee State NAACP for 2, and have pushed vigorously for an end to all discrimination and segregation. Unlike th majority members of this Committee, I oppose efforts to cripple TVA on whose development so much of the welfare of the people, Negro and white, of my region depends.

I stand against oppression, whether based on color, religion, economic status, or political views. And I shall continue so to stand.

I believe that this advocacy corresponds to the wishes, welfare and needs of my countrymen. I shall continue it.

I believe that the Constitution of the United States and of my State of Tennessee protect my rights to these views and that these instruments do not authorize any Committee of the Congress to examine the private opinions and beliefs of private citizens. To help protect the citizenry from any invasion of its rights of privacy, I shall follow the advice of a man the world regards as "Mr. Science", Dr. Albert Einstein, who advises those called before such committees as this to refuse to testify declaring:

> "This refusal to testify must be based on the assertion that it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition and this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution.
>
> "If enough people are ready to take this grave step they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals of this country deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them."

His advice is in keeping with the Constitution of my Country and my State. It is in accord with the needs of a free people.

27-6-36

[Enc]

COPY COPY COPY

NASHVILLE BANNER, Nashville, Tennessee, Thursday Afternoon, Sept. 16, 1954

Committee Broke Rule Calling Me - Lorch

Dr. Lee Lorch, Professor of Mathematics at Fisk University, charged here today a House Un-American Activities subcommittee violated its own rules when it made him appear Wednesday before it in Dayton, Ohio, to answer questions about alleged communistic activities.

Meanwhile, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, was scheduled to arrive this afternoon from New York and was expected to have a further statement regarding the matter in the light of the findings at Dayton. After Lorch was subpoenaed, Dr. Johnson made a statement for release at time of the hearing.

Dr. Lorch informed the subcommittee, headed by Republican Rep. Gordon Scherer of Ohio, that he is not a member of the Communist party and was not when he joined the Fisk faculty in 1950, according to wire dispatches.

However, he refused to say if he were a member while at the University of Cincinnati in 1941 or while at the City College in New York in 1946, Lorch said here this morning.

Dr. Lorch said he refused "out of respect and support for the First Amendment, to say what political beliefs and associations I might or might not have had at the University of Cincinnati in 1941 and at the City College of New York in 1946, believing that such beliefs and associations are the private business of the individual citizen and do not have to be paraded before congressional subcommittee."

27-6-37

NAACP Officer

Lorch, who serves as vice-president of the State Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he was "not informed what would be brought before me and I had no chance to prepare counsel."

Dr. Lorch also charged today he believes that "one of the purposes of this shotgun expedition was to smear Fisk University and to procure unfavorable publicity for it." He said that "since that appears to be its aim, I state that I am not a member of the Communist Party."

The professor said he does "not concede that any congressional committee has the right to inquire into beliefs or associations of a private citizen. Thus, such inquiry violates the Bill of Rights."

Dr. Lorch is one of two white faculty members at Fisk who are trying to get their children admitted to Pearl Elementary School. The other is Dr. Robert Rempfer, associate professor of Mathematics at Fisk.

Dr. Lorch's statement follows:

> "A subcommittee of the Velde Committee, presided over by Republican Congressman Gordon Scherer of Cincinnati, summoned me to appear before it on one week's notice without any statement whatever as to the matter concerning which my testimony was desired. It turned out to be a fishing and publicity scheme in which Scherer and Republican Congressman Kit Clardy from Michigan desired principally to inquire after matters 13 and more years old, based on charges placed before that very committee four years ago.

27-6-36

[Enc.]

*** C O P Y . NASHVILLE BANNER, 9/16/54 "Committee Broke Rule Calling Me-Lorch" cont.

"Their own printed rules of procedure require that I should have been served with a precise statement of allegation concerning me and that I should have had time to prepare and to secure legal counsel who would be with me at the hearing. But preparation is a pious mockery when one is not told what to prepare for. To secure counsel in an unknown city distant from my own proved impossible in time to allow my lawyer to acquaint himself with the issues involved and the constitutional requirement. So I had to appear without counsel.

"The Scherer subcommittee thus suddenly picked up old charges about ancient claims, staging a public spectacle designed to revive faltering election hopes.

"Scherer also chose a convenient moment to render a service to the Talmadges who are at this moment disgracing the South, of which they are not authentic voices, by open proclamation threatening to mobilize force and violence against the Federal Constitution. Scherer chose this moment, in a place distant from my home in Tennessee, to seek to secure unfavorable publicity for me just when I am actively and publicly identified with the campaign to desegregate public education in the South. But this only continues Scherer's own anti-Negro record.

"The Constitution of the United States is being flaunted by his subcommittee, but will prevail long after Scherer, McCarthy and the like have been driven from public life."

Dr. Johnson had indicated in a prepared statement that Lorch might be dismissed if he used the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer yes or no to party membership. Dr. Johnson's statement follows:

"Fisk's position regarding communism, in the present state of the nation and world, is forthright and unequivocal. We do not, knowingly, employ or retain faculty members who hold this allegiance.

"The allegation by an informant that Dr. Lee Lorch was a member of the Communist Party in 1941 when a student at the University of Cincinnati introduces for the first time to our knowledge any suggestion of interest of any sort in the Communist Party. In fact, as a mathematician of note, and a person occasionally active in the NAACP on issues of legitimate democratic concern, the evidence of his professional and civic behavior and associations has been the very opposite of such an allegation.

"We believe he should have the right to face his accusers. There is a categorical and simple negative answer if the allegation is untrue. In numbers of such cases, the accused person has acknowledged early membership and later repudiated the party, or has acknowledged membership in an organization that later changed its character. However, in these times, invoking the Fifth Amendment when there is a clear opportunity to affirm or deny is for all practical purposes tantamount to admission of membership. Under any such circumstances Fisk University would have to take prompt steps to release the person from its faculty.

"We are aware of the injustice not infrequently done to innocent persons by unfounded accusations and do not presume to prejudge the issue. Rather, this statement is intended to make clear the position of the university in such matters."

On countless questions, Lorch invoked the First and other amendments rather than the Fifth Amendment when he refused to answer during the hearing, according to an AP release. Committee members warned him he was risking a contempt citation if he did not invoke the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment protects a witness from possible self-incrimination in testimony; the First Amendment provides Congress shall make no law respecting the right of the people peaceably to assemble and also guarantees free speech.

27-6-38

[Enc.]

Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee
September 18, 1954

To the President, the Faculty, and the Board of Trustees, of Fisk University:

We, the other members of Dr. Lee Lorch's Department of Mathematics, are unanimously of the following view regarding his subpoena before a House Un-American Activities Subcommittee in Dayton, Ohio, three days ago.

We support Dr. Lorch's position before the Committee. We are concerned over its attack against him. We feel this concern is shared by our colleagues and by the friends of Fisk University throughout this region as well as by others throughout the country who are aware of Dr. Lorch's qualities as mathematician, teacher, and staunch fighter against discrimination.

[redacted]ist, as Dr. Lorch did, Committee invasion of private belief and association, is to protect dwindling constitutional rights from further encroachment. Denying Communist Party membership during his service at Fisk, which Dr. Lorch also did,--while not granting any Committee right to have this answer--was his way of trying to protect Fisk from Committee smears against himself and the causes with which he is identified. Whether or not one agrees with this way of dealing with the Committee, it seems to us that this was a sincere attempt to serve his responsibility to his profession and to his integrity while protecting, as far as he thought he honorably could, the reputation of the University.

We deem it important that the President and the Board should have this view, held by those most closely associated with Dr. Lorch. Our future work in mathematics and in the science area, and the continued tradition of this University, in our opinion, depend on our promptly reassuring our community of Fisk friends of our continued confidence in Dr. Lee Lorch.

Sincerely,

Signed, JOHN R. HATCHER
Assistant Professor of Mathematics

Signed, H.M. HOLLOWAY
Assistant Professor of Mathematics

Signed, R.W. REMPFER
Associate Professor of Mathematics

27-6-39

COPY COPY COPY COPY

[Enc.]

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.
October, 1954

Dear Fellow Alumnus of Fisk University:

As you perhaps know, Dr. Lee Lorch, the head of the Department of Mathematics at Fisk, was subpoenaed last month to appear before a House Un-American Activities Sub-Committee in Dayton, Ohio; and that, according to press reports, our University Trustees are to meet October 28 to consider his case.

Very expediently the surprise summoning of Dr. Lorch came just when the struggle for civil rights is sharpening in the South, and when one can expect pro-segregation forces to attack such vigorous champions of civil rights as Dr. Lorch.

We do not presume to judge the merits of the legal technicalities and aspects of the case, but we do respect the integrity of Dr. Lorch, who has shown himself among us to be a man having not only sound judgment and deep convictions regarding human rights and justice, but also having the courage of his convictions.

The Lorches came to us following a nationally-known successful campaign to open to Negroes the Stuyvesant Town (owned by Metropolitan Life) in which they lived in New York. As a direct result of this fight, Dr. Lorch was ousted, successively, from teaching positions at the College of the City of New York and at Pennsylvania State College. Since coming to Fisk, he has built up the Department of Mathematics to one of national repute. In the community he has devotedly served a whole series of splendid fights against discrimination, as Vice-President of the State N.A.A.C.P., and an executive committee member of the Nashville Branch. To mention only two: There was the successful campaign which prevented a frame-up of a 12-year-old Negro boy for alleged "rape" of a 47-year-old white divorcee. At this very moment there is now the effort about which you may have read, begun last June, by Dr. and Mrs. Lorch, to have their daughter enrolled in the public school of their neighborhood, now segregated despite the May 17th ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court.

27-6-41

We believe that this record of citizenship and the scholarly quality of Dr. Lorch's work at Fisk warrant a widespread expression of confidence in him by the alumni and friends of our University, to the end and with the hope of assuring his continuance as a teacher at Fisk, and as a defender of human rights in the community.

Because of the shortness of time before the Trustees' meeting on the case, we request that you, with probably the help of a committee, have as many Fiskites as possible, in your Club and community, sign the enclosed statement. Please collect and return them by October 20 if possible, to Professor H. M. Holloway--address, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sincerely

H. M. Holloway
H. M. Holloway

Aaron Allen
Aaron Allen

Jean Elder Cazort
Mrs. Jean Elder Cazort

James R. Lawson
James R. Lawson

T. M. Brumfield
T. M. Brumfield

William H. Fort
William H. Fort

Richard A. Ewing
Richard A. Ewing

J. W. King
J. W. King

Cecelia Nabrit Adkins
Mrs. Cecelia Nabrit Adkins

[Encl]

Editorial, BLACK DISPATCH, Saturday, Oct. 2, 1954, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
ROSCOE DUNJEE, Editor.

SMEARING FISK UNIVERSITY

Thirteen years can make a lot of difference in the life of any individual, and it could have been that Dr. Lee Lorch, Fisk instructor, who has been called before the House UnAmerican Committee, convening in Dayton, Ohio, during his student days did attend a few Communist meetings, and listen in on what was going on. It seems, however, passing strange that no one would think of this past experience of Dr. Lorch until he decided to enroll his child in the separate schools in Nashville.

It appears also, in its rush to hail Dr. Lorch before the UnAmerican committee, the committee overlooked its own rules which permit witnesses called before it to have ample time to secure counsel and prepare evidence. This essential protection given witnesses was entirely flouted by the committee in Dr. Lorch's case. Here is what the committee's rules provide:

> "Witnesses shall be subpoenaed at a reasonably sufficient time in advance of any hearing, said time to be determined by the committee, in order to give the witness an opportunity to prepare for the hearing and to employ counsel."

Certainly there looks like some sort of collusion between Dixiecrats and this UnAmerican Committee when immediately following his attempt to enroll his child in a Negro school in Nashville, Dr. Lorch without the usual notice and time given witnesses, is summarily hailed before the committee and required to testify.

Dr. Lorch was served with a subpoena on the 7th of September and required to appear on the 15th. He is the vice-president of the State Conference of Branches, NAACP, and it looks as though a hurried attempt is being made to besmirch the NAACP as well as destroy the usefulness of this Fisk professor. Dr. Lorch is also noted for having led the fight to get Negro tenants into the Stuyvesant housing project in New York. Because of this stand he is to be given a heavy smear and coat of Communism.

27-6-40

We believe that this good man should have the support of not only Dr. Charles S. Johnson, the president of the university, but of all the faculty and the Tennessee Conference of Branches, NAACP. It is passing strange that no one thought of Dr. Lorch's past until he became active in the interest of the civil rights of Negroes. If Dr. Lorch desires his child to attend a Negro school, that is certainly his business, and no paternalistic government should deny him that right. He openly says he is not a member of the Communist Party and that should end that discussion entirely. To persist in this inquiry is to infer that no one other than a white Communist would want his daughter to attend a Negro grade school. We do not believe that is the proper yardstick with which to measure brotherhood and democracy in this country.

In this period of controversy when there is mounting opposition to integration, the liberal forces in America sorely need assistance from men who have the courage of Dr. Lorch. There are millions of white Americans who silently think right, but the number gets extremely small when they must take an open stand for justice and fair play. Few there are who are willing to stand out in the open and say, "What right have I to segregate myself from black people?" It takes courage to ask that question in the open and before the multitude. Dr. Lorch is made out of that sort of moral fiber and he should have the unflinching support of every lover of justice and fair play.

What Mr. Ordinary Citizen should do immediately is to write Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk, and tell him he should not be intimidated by the reactionary forces in the South. He should keep Dr. Lorch on the faculty and support his desire to help vitalize and give life to the Supreme Court's decision on integration. Every white man who supports the idea of integration is not a Communist, and those who oppose integration are certainly not giving expression to the highest type of Americanism.

[Encl]

The following statement was made by Dr. Lee Lorch of Fisk University on November 18, 1954:

According to press reports, I have been cited by the Congressional Un-American Committee on the technical charge of contempt, because of my refusal to discuss with the Committee political views and associations I might or might not have had more than 13 years ago.

The opinions and lawful associations of a private citizen are his personal business and not that of any government agency. The First Amendment to the Constitution so provides. The McCarthyite actions of this Congressional Committee are designed to inflict thought control on the citizenry and thus to destroy the constitutional safeguards of our liberties. President Roosevelt denounced the procedures of this Committee as "sordid." Dr. Albert Einstein has declared that those who yield to this Committee "deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them." Any citizen who cherishes our country's liberties is in duty bound to resist these would-be tyrants of thought-control. This doctrine is clearly stated in Article I, section 2, of our state Constitution, which says, "... the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."

I volunteered for active military service during the war, to help defend our country and its Constitution against our enemies. I have always sought, and will continue to seek, to make the democratic guarantees of our Constitution a reality for all Americans.

This being the case, I can do no less than come now to the defense of the Bill of Rights, at whatever cost, by resisting a Committee which is seeking to destroy these cherished rights.

27-6-50

[Enc.]

December 13, 1954

The following paragraphs refer to the underlined statements, as numbered, in the "statement" of the Fisk Board's Executive Committee published in the Tennessean, November 23, 1954.

1. Vague and therefore dangerous. What is "Communist doctrine", what are "activities associated with its propagation?" In many places these would be construed to cover any opposition to discrimination, including segregation.

2. The stress on "legality" leaves aside entirely the question of whether any person resisting an inquisitorial committee will be retained on the faculty - which is not a "legal" matter.

3. This paragraph suppresses my reasons for suggesting that the Fisk Board should refrain from reproducing the inquiries of the Un-American Committee. Like the entire statement it fails to mention the official policy of the University in force at the time this situation broke, namely referring to the Fisk family,

> "They belong to any or no party; they join any or no association; and they participate in whatever helps to build a stronger democracy according to their judgement and conscience. Their decisions are not made on the basis of social approval or administrative decree, but in the light of careful scholarship and devotion of truth."

This official policy, read to the faculty several times by the President since I came here, has never been revoked so far as the faculty knows, and would preclude any questioning on views and lawful associations. Further, the President himself never asked me directly whether I "had ever been a Communist," until a few minutes before the faculty meeting on November 22, after the Executive Committee of the Board had voted my severance and after the statement had been composed. All he did was tell other members of the faculty that he felt I should volunteer such information to him without even being asked.

27-1-42

I am not required to have an "opinion on Communism," much less to "express" it to an official meeting of the Board. Even the Un-American Committee did not ask me such a question. The term "Communism" can hardly be considered to be precisely defined, particularly in the present atmosphere.

My statement to the Board pointed out, for example, that no one had ever accused me of illegal or even improper conduct, that no one had claimed that I ever advocated overthrowing the government, much less by force and violence, or even that anyone else ever did so in my presence and that, in fact, I am and always have been opposed to such advocacy.

Finally, when I was summoned before the Board, Mr. W. H. Donnat Pell, then presiding, assured me officially in the name of the Board that my entire discussion with the Board would be kept absolutely confidential - but I now find a part of it presented one-sidedly and released to the press by official University channels. When Mr. Pell rendered these assurances I expressed my appreciation for this approach, but pointed out that such assurances could not be maintained against, say, a subpoena from the Un-American Committee, unless the individual Board members were willing to go to jail for contempt. However, the power of subpoena does not reside in the local press and hence cannot be used to excuse

this breach of confidence.

4. The assertion that "every precaution was taken to preserve his rights as a citizen, and as a member of the University community" and "in view of the determination on the part of the officers of the University to protect Dr. Lorch's rights", which appear to be the key claims in the Statement's argument, conflict with the facts. Before going to Dayton I advised Dr. Johnson that I had been subpoenaed, only to learn that the Nashville Tennessean had already so informed him. Information that this paper had solicited from the Cincinnati Enquirer revealed that in July 1950 two paid informers (husband and wife) had claimed that I had been a member of the Communist Party during the first week of July 1941, and that one other person made a similar assertion. The Enquirer supplied this background in a teletype dated June 24 - two weeks after I had appeared before the Board of Education in an effort to enroll my daughter in the only nearby public school and from which she is now debarred because of race, and many weeks before the subpoena was issued, much less served.

In our conversation, Dr. Johnson advised me of the approximate contents of this teletype, urged me to answer what questions the Committee might put to me and told me that the University "could not support" a position of refusing to answer the Committee's questions. He issued a statement to the press before I testified which was published in full in the Nashville Tennessean on September 16th in issues actually on sale before I was able to get back to town. This statement declared itself to be "University policy" and included this paragraph:

> "We believe that he should have the right to face his accusers. There is a categorical and simple negative answer if the allegation is untrue. In numbers of such cases, the accused person has acknowledged early membership and later repudiated the party; or had acknowledged membership in an organization that later changed its character. However, in these times, invoking the Fifth Amendment when there is a clear opportunity to affirm or deny is for all practical purposes tantamount to admission of membership. Under any such circumstances Fisk University would have to take prompt steps to release the person from its faculty." (Emphasis added)

27-6-47

On September 17, the Tennessean reported that "the future of Lee Lorch ... is under careful study by university officials and trustees." That same day Dr. Johnson told me to hold myself in readiness to answer questions to the local trustees meeting the following day, and told me that he saw no difference between my use of the First Amendment to resist the Un-American Activities Committee and the prospective use of the Fifth Amendment which he had explicitly and publicly said would result in automatic dismissal.

At the request of other members of the faculty, I reported on the Dayton hearings on September 18th, making no mention whatever of my University status or any prospective threat thereto, confining my remarks solely to the Un-American Committee. Immediately upon the conclusion of my remarks, Dr. Johnson read a statement of his own in which he declared that my behavior in Dayton jeopardized the entire University, described the refusal to answer questions before the Committee as a "Communist tactic" and called attention to a previous occasion on which he had dropped a person from the faculty as a result of the refusal of that individual to answer questions before the very same House Committee

That same afternoon he announced to the press that "Fisk University's board of trustees will decide whether or not professor Lee Lorch will be dismissed from the faculty at its annual October meeting." This was published in the Tennessean on September 19th where it was directly ascribed to Dr. Johnson.

When I wrote Dr. Johnson to ask if the press was accurate his reply contained no denial.

In other words, on September 16, 17, 19, immediately on my return from Dayton the Tennessean carried statements from the President clearly placing my position at the University in jeopardy; such statements were made to me in private and overtones to this effect were found in the President's statement to the faculty.

Also, Dr. Johnson told at least one member of the faculty, very soon after I had testified in Dayton, that he (Dr. Johnson) felt that I should have submitted my resignation when I was subpoenaed, thereby surrendering all the "rights ... as a member of the University community" which this statement alleges that University officers were determined to protect.

Furthermore, my rights should have included tenure, which should have been conferred upon me during 1952-53 to become effective with the opening of the school year 1953-54. But this never happened for the granting of tenure was stopped without warning, allegedly because too many people (namely less than one-third of the faculty, now about one-fourth) held it, although only two persons out of 16 in the entire science division were on tenure. The sudden and surreptitious (it was never discussed with or even announced to the faculty) suspension of tenure occurred precisely when I should have received it. Even at that time, long before any open attack was made on me, this suggested the possibility that this was done for the deliberate purpose of making it possible to drop a controversial figure from the faculty as easily as possible in case heavy pressures were brought to do so. I have been actively fighting discrimination during (and long before) the entire period of my connection with Fisk and had been involved in several public controversies locally on racial matters before tenure disappeared from the Fisk scene just at the moment when I became eligible for its protection.

27-6-48

Thus, the administrative atmosphere was not one of solicitude for my rights, but of immediate, open and repeated threats against them, coupled with private suggestions that I should have surrendered all these rights by submitting a resignation, and a public reference to a previous resistance to the Un-American Committee as having resulted in a termination.

The uncertainties created by the several Presidential statements September 16-19 reinforced the general feeling of uneasiness which academic people everywhere feel when such a situation arises. Expression therefore reflected legitimate concerns. Uncontradicted quotations in the press from Dr. Johnson stating that the trustees were about to consider dismissing me led those close to the situation to desire to have their views taken into account. To many people democratic procedure means helping to formulate a policy, not merely reacting to it after it is made. Thus, statements from the mathematics department, other faculty members, students, alumni and residents of the community in which Fisk is located are but natural outgrowths of concern. Further, mathematicians elsewhere have an obvious interest. As their responses make clear, a number of eminent scholars

sent in their views upon receiving information from the other members of the Fisk mathematics department. This information, as I have since ascertained, consisted solely of a reprint of the account published in the Nashville Banner, September 16, plus a covering letter in which my colleagues expressed their personal confidence in me and suggested that it might be helpful for others to give their views of the situation. They made no attack on the University or any person connected therewith.

As I pointed out to the Board none of the above material which I have seen reflected adversely on the University. All of it offered support to the University in what the writers hoped would be a stand in defense of freedom.

Much of what is asserted in the Board statement here can be challenged as to fact, all of it as to balance. I have never been questioned as to this charge by the President or Board or anyone and so shall not discuss it here in detail.

5. This is a charge with which I have never been faced! Neither the President nor the Board have ever asked me about said actions. I do not know what the specifications for this charge are, nor who made it. The implication of supposed misconduct I deny categorically.

27-6-49

[Enc.]

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville 8, Tennessee
December 14, 1954

Dear Friend:

On November 8, I sent you an expression of appreciation for your communication to Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University, reiterating what I told the Board of Trustees, namely, that these letters offer "not only me, but also the Administration and Trustees, the fullest moral support in what the writers hope will be our common stand in defense of freedom." The full Board apparently divided very sharply on the issue and took no action.

On or about November 17, the House Un-American Activities Committee met, five of its nine members being present, and voted to recommend that several persons, including me, be prosecuted for contempt, because of refusal to answer certain of their questions. (I do not know the present status of this situation.) The following day the Executive Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees met in New York and voted to terminate my connection with the University as of June, 1955. The action was not announced as unanimous and cannot be assumed to represent any change in sentiment among the Board members as a whole, for a number of reasons, including the composition of the Executive Committee.

A statement of the Board (actually of its Executive Committee) was given to the Nashville Tennesseean where it was published in full on November 23. Subsequently, copies were mailed to the individual Trustees, at least some of whom were ignorant of the Statement issued in their name, and of the decision it reported, until after it was published in the newspapers. I enclose herewith a copy of its complete text.

27-6-43

I have written briefly to the Board of Trustees (December 1), pointing out that the comments concerning my being "an active participant" in my own behalf and in engaging in (undisclosed) detrimental actions of which the Board of Trustees "disapproves" implies a charge, publicly made and entirely new, concerning which neither the Board nor the President has ever questioned me. On this basis I have asked the Board to review the actions of its Executive Committee. There has been no reply to date.

Although the Statement issued in the name of the Board was given to the press by the President, I have continued to refuse to issue any public statement of my own concerning the University. The only two statements I have issued deal solely with the Un-American Committee, the first (Sept. 16) after my Dayton testimony had been publicized, the second on November 18 after that Committee recommended a contempt citation. The first was published in full in the Nashville Banner (Sept. 16) in an account which most of you have. (Let me know if you don't.) I enclose a copy of the second, which was published November 19.

However, I have jotted down for my own benefit some of the many observations which I think should be made on the Board Statement and enclose a copy for your information. The comments are numbered to correspond to the underlined and numbered places on the Board Statement.

My own feeling is that the situation is still not hopeless. The depth and extent of sincere local sentiment plus the warm response from many alumni and mathematicians elsewhere may well have had the effect of both slowing down a well-organized effort to remove me from the scene and also of causing the Executive Committee of the Board to put the proposed severance within a framework of verbal solicitude for academic freedom. This, in itself, is an interesting tribute to the increasing support in the general public, felt with particular depth in our constituency, for civil rights and academic freedom.

The feeling locally, which I share, is that the Un-American Committee was put up to this flank attack on me because of my effort to enroll my daughter in the only public school near our home, a school now restricted to Negroes. (She had been attending a private inter-racial school on the campus.) The Nashville effort is the only one of this kind reported anywhere in the South. My activities against racial discrimination have become well known in the area.

At this moment, the entire campaign has become more intense. In many states, so-called "citizens councils" have been organized openly by leading whites for the express purpose of applying economic sanctions against Negroes pressing for desegregation. In Mississippi the franchise has been restricted further. Some states are threatening to abandon their public schools entirely. The Un-American Committee has gone to Miami to intensify the "red scare" there. In Louisville, Kentucky, the District Attorney is prosecuting several whites under an old sedition statute, claiming that they transferred a house, in a white neighborhood, to Negro friends and then, he says, dynamited it in order to stir up racial hatreds and promote communism! In the trial, now under way, professional witnesses, once used against Dr. Ralph Bunche, have been trotted out and the defendants are being quizzed about books captured in a police raid on their homes. (The "Louisville fire trial" is too raw for the press of that city which has denounced it as preposterous.)

Many of us view the Nashville episode as part of this general development. We note that the Un-American Committee waited <u>four years</u> concerning allegations now more than 13 years old and suddenly subpoenaed me for a public hearing on one week's notice. After such a delay, in vivid contrast to its usual practices, the timing seems somewhat too convenient to be accidental.

27-6-44

Be that as it may, in the earlier part of this letter I have outlined the local situation.

If you have any comment that you would care to make, I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Again, many thanks for your support and encouragement.

Sincerely,

Lee Lorch

27-6-45

Five Acres
WEYMOUTH ROAD
MAYS LANDING
NEW JERSEY

August 26, 1954

Dear Dr. Dubois:

I am writing to ask your aid in attempting to secure a lenient sentence for Walter, the first poet to be convicted under the Smith Act.

The sentence to be imposed the first week of September is entirely up to the discretion of the court. It can be a suspended sentence or up to five years and $10,000 fine. The trial judge has said that he would receive reports from the probation officer to aid him in determining sentence.

Walter is 57 years old. A heart attack in 1952 has left his heart in a permanently weakened condition. A lengthy prison term might impose a harsher penalty than intended.

As you may know, Walter is the author of eight books, mostly poetry, dating from 1925, and is the Pennsylvania editor of the Daily Worker. His recent works, all poetry, include AMERICAN VOICES, 1953, THE PRISONERS, 1954, SONNETS OF LOVE AND LIBERTY, Fall, 1954, and LATER POEMS, 1940-1955, scheduled for publication inthe Spring, 1955.

Will you write, privately, (or publicly if you wish) asking for leniency or a suspended sentence to Prosecuting Attorney W. Wilson White with a copy to Judge J. Cullen Ganey, 9th & Chestnut Sts., Phila., Pa.? Or if you prefer, send your communication directly to me for presentation to the Philadelphia probation officer?

I take the liberty of enclosing some material which may be pertinent - about his career as a writer and the concern felt abroad over his arrest. I believe his conviction and the length of his sentence will also be of concern to fellow artists in our own country.

I would be grateful to know whether my appeal to you - that of a wife for her husband, father of our four daughters, fits in with your conscience in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Dillman Crawford

P.S. It would be helpful if this appeal could be brought to the attention of writers, artists, of your acquaintance. While this is not a plea for financial assistance, funds are urgently needed to appeal Walter's conviction.

27-6-19

27-2-11

"THE PRISONERS--*should be read by all Americans*"

Protests from individuals and groups representing over five million people have come from all over the world against the government's frameup under the Smith Act of the poet Walter Lowenfels, who has just been convicted in Philadelphia together with eight co-defendants.

In Latin America, a call for the freeing of Lowenfels, editor of the Pennsylvania edition of The Worker, was signed by more than 75 Mexican intellectuals, artists and other cultural leaders. The resolution was presented to the recent Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela.

• • •

Frida Kahlo, wife of Diego Rivera and herself one of Mexico's great artists, whose recent death saddened the entire progressive world, was one of the first to sign the resolution protesting the arrest of the poet. She summed up the sentiment of many throughout the world by stating at that time, "The arrest of the poet Lowenfels for 'subversive thoughts' highlights in a most shocking manner the utter cynicism and hyprocrisy of the government that boasts of defending the 'free world.'"

• • •

Translations of Lowenfels' poetry from his new book, 'The Prisoners'—Poems for Amnesty,— and articles about his arrest have appeared in Mexico, Chile, Germany, Italy, France and other countries. Protests from individuals and petitions for the freedom to the United States government are being signed from England to India.

Aragon, world - famous French poet and critic, headlined a recent front page article in the leading French cultural weekly **Les Lettres Francaises:** 'Poets in Prison 1454-1954 Walter Lowenfels and Francois Villion.' The occasion was a poem Lowenfels had written on Villion's 500th anniversary and which Aragon had translated into French. The article denounced Lowenfels' arrest and called for the people of France to make their protests heard.

The French Confederation of Labor, representing over three million workers cited the case of "the well-known poet Walter Lowenfels" along with Steve Nelson, Paul Robeson and Ben Gold, as an instance of political persecution in an amnesty plea to President Eisenhower. This pointed up again how poetry is seen throughout the world as a powerful weapon in the struggle for peace and freedom.

• • •

From the China Welfare Institute of which Madame Soong Ching Ling, widow of Sun Yat Sen, is chairman has come this message addressed to Lowenfels: "We here in China are very much aware of the difficult conditions under which you have to work and also of the stern struggle which you and your colleagues are putting up in defense of the basic rights of the American people as well as for the peace of the world. Thus, you have our most ardent wishes for success in all of your labors."

• • •

From England, in addition to many expressions of individual support, the secretary of the Authors' World Peace Appeal writes that their executive committee has requested the Clerk of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Philadelphia to bring the organization's concern over the arrest of Walter Lowenfels to the American public. And from Bombay, India, comes assurances that the Progressive Writers are moving to protest the arrest of Walter Lowenfels "author of that great poem for peace, 'American Voices.'"

• • •

Typical of the many individual protests are that of the distinguished architect (Laureate in Architecture of the French Government) Francois Joseph Caviglioli, and his wife who have cabled from their home in Algiers, French North Africa, to President Eisenhower calling upon him to free Walter Lowenfels, John Gates and Ben Davis

WALTER LOWENFELS

and to "uphold the principles of democracy and freedom of speech and of the press"; and that of the journalist Hans Fuer of Munich, Germany (West) who sends a passionate plea to the President of the United States to free the poet Lowenfels whose arrest is so bitterly reminiscent to him of the persecutions under the Nazis.

It was the poem 'American Voices' — The People Speak for Peace, now in its third edition, and published shortly before Lowenfels' arrest last July, that started the wide protests on behalf of himself and his co-defendants.

'American Voices' was the subject of a leading article on Lowenfels and his career as a poet by Aragon that was widely reprinted —in **Novedades,** an influential conservative Mexican daily in **El Popular,** Mexico's foremost labor paper, in **Vistazo** the great Chilean newspaper, and in other countries. This article has been followed by other front page translations from Lowenfels in France with appeals for world opinion to speak up in his behalf.

• • •

Lowenfels has himself dramatized the issue of freedom for political prisoners in his book of poems 'The Prisoners'—Poems for Amnesty. Published July 31, the book has already gone into a second printing, and has succeeded in making some penetration of the newspaper curtain around progressive writers in the United States. Thus, Frank Brookhouser, columnist on the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin comments on Aug. 10: ". . . . The first book of poems in 17 years by Walter Lowenfels, one of the alleged Red leaders on Federal trial here, has just been published. Symbolically perhaps, the book is entitled 'The Prisoners': Poems for Amnesty. Lowenfels . . . at one time had a rising reputation in the literary world and won the Richard Aldington Poetry Prize in 1932. . ."

Lowenfels' talent as a poet was recognized by leading writers with the publication of the first of his eight books in 1925. Carl Sandburg then wrote about one of his poems: "I know the ashes and tears of all its lines. It is a document and a chant." Other writers who greeted his early work included F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ford Madox Ford, Norman Douglas, Kay Boyle, the poet Marianne Moore etc. etc.

THE PRISONERS

POEMS FOR AMNESTY
by Walter Lowenfels

(with biographical sketch by the
French poet and critic Louis Aragon.)

THE PRISONERS is an inspired and inspiring book which should be read by all Americans who still believe in our native speech and the power of words to preserve and carry on our liberties.—ALFRED KREYMBORG.

SPECIAL OFFER! SECOND PRINTING **2 *for* $1**

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WHITTIER PRESS, Box 5405
Kingsessing Station, Philadelphia 43, Pa.
Please send me THE PRISONERS by Walter Lowenfels.
I enclose $1.00.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

Whittier Press, Box 5405, Philadelphia 43, Pa. $1.00

As advertised in The Nation, The N. Y. Times, The National Guardian

September 10, 1954

Mrs. Lillian Lowenfels
Five Acres
Weymouth Road
Mays Landing, New Jersey

My dear Mrs. Lowenfels:

I am distressed to realize that nothing I can do will help your husband. I believe that his conviction is an outrage and disgrace for democracy in America, but it is one of many similar actions on the part of this country, so many of whose people seem to be going insane.

I protest, and have protested, but I have come to realize that my name on any petition hinders rather than helps. However, if there is anything that you think that I could do I would be only too glad to do it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-20

October 27, 1954

Mr. Walter Lowenfels
Five Acres
Weymouth Road
Mays Landing
New Jersey

My dear Mr. Lowenfels:

Thank you so much for your pamphlets: "Peace on Earth" and "American Voices," and for your kind dedication.

There is little that one can say these days for those who are suffering the shameful current martyrdom, but you have all my best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 11, 1954

Mr. Clifford McAvoy
144 Willow Street
Brooklyn, N.Y.

My dear Mr. McAvoy:

Of course I meant to say February 17th for my last letter and not January.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

Mrs. Clifford Thomas McAvoy

12-8-61

Dear Shirley - Clifford is in Montefiore Hospital with a rather serious kidney infection. Would you call him & help pass the time for it, if you have time? Ds K17-1000 - Rosenthal Pavilion 202.

Our love to you & the Doctor -

Mimi

June 22, 1954

Mrs. Clifford T. McAvoy
144 Willow Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. McAvoy:

I am so sorry to hear of your husband's illness, and hope he is better.

I tried to get him at the hospital but was unable to find him. Perhaps he had already gone home.

Shirley and I join in condolence and hope you will let us know how he is getting on.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-66

The Dial Press
INC.
PUBLISHERS
461 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-2566

November 23, 1954

Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

Some three years ago I received from a number of outstanding American citizens a much-appreciated answer to our request that they express their personal thoughts on the value to themselves of prayer to God.

Their answers were requested for inclusion in a volume now titled HOW PRAYER HAS HELPED ME, to be published by this Company early in 1955.

My work as an editor was at that time interrupted by a sudden and serious illness, from which I now feel recovered. The publishers are permitting me, with my physician's consent, to resume this effort. Pages already in hand are being set in type, and it is hoped that the book can be issued shortly. Pages will be held open for additional letters until February 1, 1955. We earnestly hope you will contribute your views on this subject.

We enclose two such pages. The first is written by an American known and loved by millions, not only in the United States but throughout the world--Jimmy Durante. The second is by John Alden Carpenter, distinguished American composer, member of the Academy of American Arts and Letters.

Each of the many other statements received equally evidence the sender's personal viewpoint. We invite you to join their company.

We shall be deeply grateful for your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Duff McCoy

Samuel Duff McCoy
Editor

SDMcC/sj

27-178-10

PRAYER

COPY

December 2, 1954

Mr. Samuel Duff McCoy
The Dial Press, Inc.
461 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McCoy:

I do not believe in prayer. I do not believe that there exists an omnipotent and benevolent ruler of this universe who on request can or will so direct or change the laws of the universe as to please me. Such belief is, I am sure, very often a survival of primitive superstitution among the ignorant, encouraged by persons and organizations interested for various reasons in keeping the masses ignorant and obedient. There are others who assert their belief in prayer for fear of dominant public opinion or to curry favor or garner votes.

On the other hand there are undoubtedly large numbers of educated and honest folk who sincerely believe in prayer. I respect their belief. Some of it is due to well-known psychological reactions of the sick and nervous, but it seems to me in most cases to be based on false logic. Simply because a fact if true would be pleasant or comforting does not prove its truth or entitle us to damn or kill those who do not believe it is true.

To be sure, we know little about this complicated universe, but what we do know is based on long and agonizing effort of great minds and cannot lightly be set aside by desire and dogma. When honest and intelligent men discover that we can guide the events of nature by prayer they certainly will pray. Today and in terrible crises like those of the last half century the overwhelming mass even of those who profess to believe in prayer made no real attempt to use it. This, I am sure, is because they do not really believe in prayer any more than I do.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

September 10, 1954

Macy's Liquor Store
459 Seventh Av.
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find my check for $29.86.

This is for 6 bottles of 4/5 quarts of bonded

Supre Macy's Whiskey, and 87¢ for tax.

Please see that this is mailed at your

earliest convenience to:

W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

733 East 61st Street
Chicago, Illinois
April 21, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Several months ago when I was guest in your home you were most kind to me and evidenced an interest in my research project-- the history and analysis of political attitudes and activities of the Negro, 1865-1920. At the time of our meeting you were leaving soon thereafter for the Virgin Islands, consequently, there was no time for a later conference.

I should like so very much to talk with you sometime at your convenience. I shall be back in New York early next month, perhaps on May 3, and I do hope that it will be convenient for you to see me. I shall write you later relative to an appointment.

Thank you for your interest and please accept my kindest personal regards and extend same to Mrs. DuBois.

Very truly yours,

Elsie Lewis Makel

Elsie Lewis Makel

27-8-46

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Malinowski

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D .,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Branislaw Malinowski ?, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

[illegible]

FUNERAL SERVICES FOR VITO MARCANTONIO

Funeral services for former Congressman Vito Marcantonio will be held THURSDAY, August 12th at 1 P.M. at the Ralph Giordano Funeral Chapel, 2242 First Avenue (corner 115th Street), Manhattan.

The following will speak at the funeral services: Luigi Albarelli, life-long friend; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, world-renowned educator; and the Rev. Dr. Nicola Notar, Pastor of the Jefferson Park Methodist Church located at 407 East 114th Street.

Honorary pallbearers will include John Abt, Luigi Albarelli, Dr. Harry Arnhaus, Peter J. Bartone, Hon. Elmer Benson, Lionel Berman, Hon. John T. Bernard, Hon. Joseph Boccia, Louis Carbonetti, Fred Cincotti, Charles Collins, Dr. Leonard Covello, Fabri Cuesta, ANTHONY CANDELORA.

Also Dr. S. R. Cutolo, Dr. Gilberto Concep[illegible]on de Gracia, Hon. Mario Di Pirro, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Clifford Durr, Raymond Egbert, David M. Freedman, Ralph Giordano, Ben Gold, LEE BOSCO, JR.

Also John Harrington, Andronicus Jacobs, San Jaquinto, Hon. Arthur G. Klein, Canio Lagala, Corliss Lamont, Michael J. Magliano, Joseph Mandato, Dr. Frank A. Manzella, Frank Maurelli, Vito Nagli.

Also Clifford T. McAvoy, Manuel Medina, Michael F. Pinto, Harry Robinson, Vito Romano, Peter Sabbatino, Harold W. Sanders, Richard Sasuly, Arthur Schutzer, Alfred K. Stern, Marvin Stenzler.

Also Joseph Testa, Abraham Unger, Frank Varrichio, A. Ponce Vasquez, Vincent J. Velella, Joseph J. Verdicchio, Leonard Wacker, Luke Wilson, Henry Wittner and Claude Yearwood.

At the completion of the services, the funeral procession will proceed from the Chapel past the headquarters of the Vito Marcantonio Political Association, 247 East 116th Street, and will pause in front of the home of the deceased, at 231 East 116th Street.

Thereafter, further pauses in tribute to Mr. Marcantonio will be made in front of his headquarters at 1673 Madison Avenue (corner 111th Street) and at 1484 First Avenue (corner 77th Street).

Interment will be in Woodlawn Cemetery in Section 106, Oakwood, which is fifty feet from the grave of the late Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, mentor and close associate of Mr. Marcantonio.

-end-

MRS. MIRIAM S. MARCANTONIO
231 East 116th Street, New York 29, N. Y.

September 15, 1954

Dear Friend:

I know that as a friend and co-worker of Marc's, you must be giving earnest thought to what we can most fittingly do now, so that the great meaning of his life lives on.

I want to talk over with you and others among Marc's colleagues some tentative ideas and proposals toward this end.

Will you kindly be at the Vito Marcantonio Political Association, 247 East 116th Street, New York City, on WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22ND at 8:00 P.M?

I look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam S. Marcantonio

25-42-3

[Marcantonio (Vito) Memorial]

November 3, 1954

Mrs. Louise Berman
50 West 11 Street
New York 11, New York

My dear Mrs. Berman:

Enclosed is a proposed draft of the Marcantonio letter. I am sending a copy of this simultaneously to Abbott Simon.

Discussion should be had on the third paragraph. Personally I do not think that a committee can ask for so considerable a sum of money without being fairly definite as to what they propose to do with it. I have therefore tried to indicate our objects, and am not sure that what I say is suitable.

I am returning the paper which you left with me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

enc

filed under
: Circular letters

[Marcantonio Memorial]

sent to
Louis Bigman
Abbott Simon

November 3, 1954

Marcantonio is dead. Even after three months it is difficult to realize that this vivid personality, this tireless worker is gone forever. The influence of his life will long remain, but we who live still have opportunity to make his example reach further and his world become better for long years ahead.

I am therefore writing you as one who appreciated the work of Vito Marcantonio, to ask your help in keeping his memory alive. This you will agree is the day of all days when his deep faith in America and his long struggle for Peace and Justice must be made a part of our eternal heritage.

To help accomplish this, we who loved Marc and who owe him much more than can ever be repaid are seeking to raise the sum of $50,000 to establish a memorial to his memory and for the realization of his ideals. This sum is not designed to help his family who do not ask aid. It is to be expended to collect and publish his speeches in Congress and on street corners, which carry his message to the mass of citizens; to write a definitive account of his life and career; to fulfill some of his personal committments, which in the case of a man of his known generosity and catholic acquaintance were far more than debts but included philanthropies which rescued many poor and discouraged and kept me and my friends out of jail in the face of baseless persecution. The balance will be applied to such other form of memorial as seems best adapted to this cause.

Will you help this project? Marc would not wish you to do anything you cannot do willingly and without hurt to yourself or any other cause. But if you feel that giving to this cause is a privilege or if it presents itself as a duty when so many seem to forget what duty is, then please at your earliest

convenience let us hear from you. We will be glad to discuss with you any details and plans for this memorial or to have suggestions from you.

W.E.B. Du Bois

63-3-12

copy to Abbott Simon [Marcantonio Memorial]

letter filed under
Circular letter

November 5, 1954

Mrs. Louise Berman
50 West 11 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Berman:

I had a talk with Marc's secretary last night and I see reasons for a little different kind of letter than I sent you. At any rate, this is for your consideration.

I understand that a leaflet outlining the work of the Memorial will be enclosed in the letter. This will obviate the detailed explanations that I had put in the first letter.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Marcantonio Memorial]

sent to Louise Berman Abbott Leman (revised)

Nov. 6, 1954

Marcantonio is dead. Even after three months it is difficult to realize that this vivid personality, this tireless worker is gone forever. The influence of his life will long remain, but we who live still have opportunity to make his example reach further and his world become better for long years ahead.

I am therefore writing you as one who appreciated the work of Vito Marcantonio, to ask your help in keeping his memory alive. This you will agree is the day of all days when his deep faith in America and his long struggle for Peace and Justice must be made a part of our eternal heritage.

To help accomplish this, we who loved Marc and who owe him much more than can ever be repaid are seeking to establish a memorial to his memory and for the realization of his ideals. Enclosed you will find a leaflet explaining the form and purposes of the Vito Marcantonio Memorial. It will seek to make men remember the life of a man who had the courage of his convictions and dared stand against a cloud of opponents for what he thought was right; it will give to politicians an example of tireless devotion to constituents, especially the poor and unfortunate, far beyond any return to himself in money, power or renown. Marc's selfless loyalty to friends made him stand apart from and above his fellows. This is the sort of man which the world today must not forget.

Will you help this project? Marc would not wish you to do anything you cannot do willingly and without hurt to yourself or any other cause. But if you feel that giving to this cause is a privilege or if it presents itself as a duty when so many seem to forget what duty is,

then please at your earliest convenience let us hear from you. We will be glad to discuss with you any details and plans for this memorial or to have suggestions from you.

W. E. B. Du Bois

27-5-87

[Marcantonio (Vito) Memorial]

Nov. 8th

50 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Dear Dr. De Bois -

Thank you for your beautiful and moving letter. I should like one of two others to see it and will be in touch with you around the middle of the week.

Your prompt response and the expression of your deep feeling are very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours.

Lorenz R. Berman

27-1-66

[Marcantonio (Vito) Memorial]

Nov. 24th

50 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois -

Thank you for ratifying the minor changes in your letter. I hope you are pleased with the letter itself and I'm certain that it will bring good results. Of course we'll let you know of its effect

With all good wishes -

Sincerely yours,
Louis R. Bransten

27-1-67

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL
1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

Dear Dr. Du Bois –

I thought you might want to see how this looks before you get one in the mail.

27-8-49

Our warmest thanks to you –

Cordially

Louis Burnham

[Enc. ?]

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1484 First Avenue, New York 21, N.Y., RH 4-6450

MIRIAM S. MARCANTONIO, *Honorary Chairman*
ARTHUR SCHUTZER, *Secretary*

Enroll in The Vito Marcantonio Memorial

If you wish to make a contribution to the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, or if you desire to become an Annual Associate, please fill out the underside of the flap of the enclosed envelope.

Regular Associate	$1 per year
Contributing Associate	$10 per year
Sustaining Associate	$25 per year
Endowment Associate	$100 per year

27-11-2

December 10, 1902
August 9, 1954

"It is best to live one's life with one's conscience than to temporize or accept with silence those things which one believes to be against the interests of one's people and one's nation."

HON. VITO MARCANTONIO
Tuesday, June 27, 1950
in the House of Representatives

THESE ARE THE PURPOSES OF THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1. To keep alive and ever-present among the people of his community and of this country, the meaning and the memory of the life and activities of Vito Marcantonio.

   a. By assembling, publishing and distributing the record of his life, his community activities, his congressional career, his writings and his speeches;

   b. By creating enduring memorials of public and private character, including but not limited to, Vito Marcantonio Memorial scholarships, essay awards and other similar memorials;

   c. By holding annual and other public assemblies to commemorate his life and work.

2. To help support, financially or otherwise, other groups, committees or associations which The Vito Marcantonio Memorial may deem proper and fitting in the carrying on or continuing of activities or services which were identified with Vito Marcantonio during his lifetime.

3. To assume and to discharge those financial obligations and commitments incurred by Vito Marcantonio in connection with his public career and services rendered by him to the people.

4. To establish and maintain a headquarters of The Vito Marcantonio Memorial.

32-33-13

December 10, 1902—August 9, 1954

"It is best to live one's life with one's conscience than to temporize or accept with silence those things which one believes to be against the interests of one's people and one's nation."

HON. VITO MARCANTONIO
Tuesday, June 27, 1950 in the House of Representatives

VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL PROGRAM

Manhattan Center

December 7, 1954

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

"DEATH OF A HERO" — BEETHOVEN

TRIBUTES

by

MR. LUIGI ALBARELLI

HON. JOHN T. BERNARD

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

MRS. SELMA CORBETT

DR. LEONARD COVELLO

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

MRS. MABEL JACKSON

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

MISS RAY LEV

MISS LENA MARINO

MR. MANUEL MEDINA

MR. ARTHUR SCHUTZER

MR. SIXTO SORIANO

PURPOSES OF THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

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THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1484 FIRST AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • RHINELANDER 4-6450

MIRIAM S. MARCANTONIO, *Honorary Chairman*

ARTHUR SCHUTZER, *Secretary*

ENROLL IN THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

Associates shall pay annual dues, which shall be due for each calendar year at the beginning thereof or at the time of becoming an associate.

Dues shall be as follows:

Regular Associate	$1 per year
Contributing Associate	$10 per year
Sustaining Associate	$25 per year
Endowment Associate	$100 per year

THE VITO MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL

1484 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK • RHinelander 4-6450

Miriam S. Marcantonio, Honorary Chairman
Arthur Schutzer, Secretary

December 20, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn 1, New York.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Your personal tribute helped make the Vito Marcantonio Memorial Meeting an occasion that truly bespoke the tribute of all the people for whom the memory and meaning of Marc's life will never die.

In behalf of the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, kindly accept our deep appreciation.

Sincerely,

Arthur Schutzer

Arthur Schutzer
Secretary

27-5-28

MARCH OF LABOR

799 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • OREGON 4-4950

AN INDEPENDENT
NATIONAL MONTHLY
LABOR MAGAZINE

JOHN STEUBEN, Editor

April 12, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 W. 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been most anxious to send you this letter for quite some time. Ill health has restricted my activities to a bare minimum and this affected important correspondence. I hope you will forgive me.

Your article was a great contribution towards the understanding of the Colonial question. Believe me the overwhelming majority of our readers need it very badly. I hope that you will continue to make such contributions to MARCH OF LABOR whenever time permits.

25-42-4

Being a poor man's magazine, the payments to our writers are really of a token nature. Please view the enclosed check in this light.

We are placing you on our advance mailing list so that in the year to come you will receive MOL regularly.

Although I have heard you on several occasions and read several of your books, I have never met you personally. I hope I will have this pleasure real soon.

With personal regards,

Cordially yours,

John Steuben

John Steuben, Editor

MARCH OF LABOR

799 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • OREGON 4-4950

AN INDEPENDENT
NATIONAL MONTHLY
LABOR MAGAZINE

JOHN STEUBEN, Editor

April 15, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 W. 26 St.
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are sending you two guest tickets for our Reception on April 27th in honor of March of Labor and John Steuben, our Editor.

We feel that you and your wife would do us great honor by spending the evening with us. Your presence would help to inspire the 400 union representatives to support and contribute to March of Labor, the only independent, progressive national labor magazine.

We look forward to spending the evening with you.

Respectfully yours,

Esther Letz

Esther Letz

25-42-5

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Marek

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Mr Marek , March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

January 11, 1954

Mr. Samuel Sillen
Masses & Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, NY

Dear Mr. Sillen:

Please let me know as soon as possible whether or not you are going to use my article.

If you do use it there are some corrections I would like to make in view of Eisenhower's last speech.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-12

Editor: SAMUEL SILLEN • *Associate Editors:* HERBERT APTHEKER, LLOYD L. BROWN, A. B. MAGIL

Masses & Mainstream

832 BROADWAY NEW YORK 3 GRamercy 3-5145

January 13, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are very sorry that we find ourselves unable to publish the article which you so kindly sent us in answer to our request. The dominant consideration is the fact that the article, in focussing on the political problems of the coming campaign, falls rather outside the scope of the magazine, which is principally concerned with questions of a broader cultural character.

We have been seeking to emphasize this character more and more strongly, and did not, for example, carry political analyses of the 1953 and 1952 election campaigns. This is the controlling factor. We do have certain differences with the analysis presented in your article, which we should be glad to discuss with you at your convenience, should you so desire.

Our February number will contain an article on The Souls of Black Folk, the re-publication of which we greet warmly. We also plan to publish, if you have no objection, an excerpt from the speech you delivered at the Amnesty Meeting in December.

We deeply appreciate your sending us the enclosed article, and we hope that in further discussion with you we can elaborate on the specific problems of the magazine with regard to cultural material.

Yours cordially,

Samuel Sillen

Samuel Sillen

27-2-13

December 2, 1954

Mr. Joseph Felshin, Manager
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Felshin:

Have you had any word regarding that Czechoslovakian contract for re-publication of my book?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

THE COMMUNICATION
SKILLS PROGRAM

N. 233 Currier Hall
Iowa City, Iowa
October 9, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

For a Ph.D. dissertation I am making a study of the speaking effectiveness of Mrs. Florence Kelley.

From research I learn that you and Mrs. Kelley were friends and several times were speakers on the same program or for the same conference. I have not been able to locate any of the speeches she gave for The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

25-42-6

Among your papers would you happen to have copies of any of these addresses? Where may I secure copies of the Proceedings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? Our University Library does not have them. I am in hopes there may be some of Mrs. Kelley's speeches in their entireties.

So far as I have been able to ascertain this thesis will be the first academic research study made of Mrs. Kelley's rhetoric and speaking. Her achievements and contributions are still so close to us that scholars have not had time to view her speaking from the research angle.

I have written to Mrs. Kelley's son, Mr. Nicholas Kelley. He was most gracious and expressed his willingness to give all the help possible. He does not have any copies of his Mother's addresses,- other than those published in book form. So I am appealing to you in hopes that you might have copies of some speeches.

I plan to study all types of speeches Mrs. Kelley gave,- Legislative, Congressional, formal, informal, radio, and group discussions. In making a study of this sort one needs to learn everything possible about the speaker as an individual as well as a speaker. I have learned of her background, education, family, achievements,- now I need to know about the <u>speeches</u> and the <u>speaking</u>. To learn of these I shall need to ask the assistance of people who knew her as a woman as well as a "valiant crusader".

Did Mrs. Kelley write out her speeches as complete manuscripts?
If not, did she use an outline? or notes?
When she spoke before an audience wherein was her great power of persuasiveness?
How would you describe her voice? Its inflections? The timing

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA

THE COMMUNICATION
SKILLS PROGRAM

in which she spoke,- was it fast, slow, measured, or varied?
What was outstanding about her delivery?
Did she have mannerisms? Characteristic gestures?
What do you recall of her facial expression while speaking?
Was she at ease, well-poised on the platform?
What was her appearance? How was she usually dressed for public speaking?

I well realize that I am asking you to recall the long past,- but I need the help of those who remember Mrs. Kelley.
I assure you this study will be carried on with all seriousness and with the greatest of respect and consideration. I shall do my utmost to make a study worthy of such a great person who spent her life working for others.

25-42-7

Very truly yours,
Ramona T. Mattson
Mrs. Ramona T. Mattson

Sofism

human - appearance

- a certain charm

1954
1925
1-9

October 12, 1954

Mrs. Ramona T. Mattson
N. 233 Currier Hall
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mrs. Mattson:

Answering your letter of October 9, I regret that I cannot be of any service to you. I have not seen or heard Mrs. Kelley since 1934 when I left New York for a period of ten years. She died during that time.

Before that I seldom heard her speak and do not at present remember the slightest details as to her methods, except of course that she was always listened to with attention.

She did not make many speeches on the NAACP platform; mostly for her own organization.

I am sorry not to be able to help.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

25-42-8

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

Feb 22, '54

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed, in case you had not seen it.

Sincerely yours,
August Meier

P.S. You will undoubtedly recall our correspondence & interview last year in connection with my research.

25-42-1

March 1, 1954

25-43-7

Mr. August Meier
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Meier:

I was glad to read your article on Booker Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

P. E. O. Hall
Cottey College
Nevada, Missouri
October 31, 1954

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. DuBois:

You are probably quite curious to know who would write to you from a small college in Missouri of which you have probably never heard, and also why.

I guess that I myself don't quite know, except that I have recently read two of your books, "Black Men: Then and Now," and "The World and Africa," and was deeply impressed by both.

Before I go further into this, I would like to tell you a little about myself. I am a second year student here at Cottey, a junior college, and was born 18 years ago in Fairmont, West Virginia. This summer I went to summer school at Northwestern University, where I plan to go next year. There I met one of the most wonderful people I have ever met in my life. It isn't unusual, I guess, at my age to meet such a person and to fall in love, but I think in my case it was. You see this man is from Mozambique, and is a member of the Tsonga peoples.

For me this experience has opened the door to knowing and understanding half the people of the world, which, even though in my home I had never felt prejudice toward, were still apart from me. I gained an insatiety to read and learn about Africa, its land, its history and its peoples. And this is where your books come in.

Like most people of European descent I had the rather vague notion that Africa was all a land of wilderness, the people were and always had been savages, etc. However, I had always kept an open mind, but never had filled in the gaps of "Why," "When," and "Where," about Africa.

Your books have indeed helped me to fill in these gaps and to chrystalize my viewpoint on Africa. I now realize that there is wilderness in Africa, as there is even in our own country, and if the people are savages, it is due mostly to the effects of slavery and colonization.

I feel a burning shame for all the treacherous exploits of my "fellow" Europeans in their dastardly draining of resources--human and natural--from Africa. "It is sad," my Chinese roommate this year said, "when an inferior culture overruns a superior one.

27-178-7

Your books have made me feel even more strongly about the need for an understanding of Africa in this country, and they have also strengthened my desire to go to Africa, not to share the "so-called "white man's burden," but to try to amend some of the wrongs which my forefathers did.

Now I would like to tell you about my friend. You may have heard of him already. He was the first person ever to come to the U. S. from Mozambique. He went to school at a white university in Johannesburg till Dr. Malan made him leave. Then he went for a year to the University of Lisbon and spent a summer at the Sorbonne in Paris. He came to this country the summer of 1951 and went to Oberlin College in Ohio for two years. Last year and at the present he is at Northwestern working on his doctorate in social psychology.

He has given hundreds of speeches since he came to this country and was a Youth Consultant at the recent World Council of Churches. He is co-author of "Chitlangou, Son of a Chief," which has been translated into five languages. He himself, Eduardo C. Mondlane, speaks seven.

I know that if you are ever in the vicinity of Chicago, he would enjoy very much talking to you.

Again I want to say "Thank you" for two of the most inspiring books I have ever read. I have been recommending them to all my friends here and I hope they will get as much food for thought out of them as I did.

I hope someday I may have the pleasure of meeting you, Sir, and I would like to say that if you ever pass through Nevada, Missouri this year I would be honored to talk to you.

With hope for the future of Africa, I am

Sincerely yours,

Maribel Meisel

MissMaribel Meisel

27-178-8

December 10, 1954

Miss Maribel Meisel
P.E.O. Hall
Cottey College
Nevada, Missouri

Dear Miss Meisel:

I have your letter of October 31 and am glad that two of my books have meant something to you. There are two more republished in which you may be interested, and probably will find them in libraries. They are: "Souls of Black Folk" and "Suppression of the African Slave Trade."

I am glad to know of Mr. Mondlane, and if he comes to New York I shall be very glad to have him call. The chances of my getting west in the near future are very slim.

With best regards,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-178-9

October 12, 1954

Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish
Church of the Holy Trinity
157 Montague Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Dr. Melish:

Shirley and I want to join in sending you birthday congratulations. I especially always like to congratulate my younger fellow travellers along the present somewhat difficult road.

I hope this will find you in reasonably good health and spirits, and that I may have the pleasure of writing similar letters for many years to come.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May 11, 1954

Dr. Hershel D. Meyer
c/o The Anvil-Atlas Press
P.O. Box 345
Cooper Station
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Meyer:

I have just finished reading your book, "The Last Illusion".

May I tell you how much I enjoyed it and how valuable a piece of work I think it is.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-55

copy to Felsher
New Century Publishers June 17/54

HERSHEL MEYER, M. D.
444 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
UNIVERSITY 5-1184

May 12-1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York.

Dear Dr. Du Bois!

I am gladdened by your note that you have enjoyed reading The Last Illusion; even more so since (excepting letters from abroad) the 200 copies that were sent out to various men of letters and publications here in the USA appear as "spurlos versunken", none even bothered to acknowledge its receipt. The Saturday Review of Literature, on the other hand, refused to accept an ad for the book. Silence, they learned, is more effective than the outright burning of books which may publicize them.—

27-8-44

With best wishes

very sincerily yours

Hershel Meyer

Nelmar Apts D3
928 Whitelock St.
Baltimore 17, Md.
February 20, 1934

27-2-25

Dear Dr Du Bois—

You appear on me here in Baltimore was a pleasure I had indeed looked forward to. However, as he would have it, my little boy's sickness kept me at home. I was unable not only to hear you, but also to thank you for my husband. He is [illegible] lawyers. one of the six Baltimore Smith [illegible] victims. Upon [illegible] upon the appearance of "The Souls of Black Folk" and received an autographed copy. He was particularly anxious that I attend the affair last

might in order to express to you
his deep enjoyment of your book.
and also his thanks for the kind
thought fulness that went into
sending him an autograph copy.

Douglas broke out with chicken
pox last Thursday and it was full-
blown and quite uncomfortable by yes-
terday. It's nothing serious. but he is
only 2½ and requires pretty constant
attention at this stage.

I wish to add my thanks also.
needless to say. I am most grateful
for the satisfaction and pleasure you
have given people.

Sincerely.
Alice Meynell

February 25, 1954

Mrs. Alice Meyers
Nelmar Apt. D3
928 Whitelock St.
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Meyers:

Thank you for the kind note of February 22nd.

I am indeed sorry that you were not at the lecture. It was a very encouraging occasion.

I hope that the little boy is better. Please give my best regards to your husband.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

20-22-22

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

February 5, 1954

Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Editor
THE MIDWEST JOURNAL
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

My dear Mr. Greene:

I am venturing to send you a rather curious accumulation of documents in which you may be interested for publication in whole or in part in THE MIDWEST JOURNAL. At any rate, yours is the only periodical in the United States, save possibly PHYLON [illegible] would be interested. If for any reason, and there may be various reasons, you cannot publish it in whole or in part, kindly return it to me.

He is now free on bail; has written a charming novel "A Lantern for Jeremy"

V.J. Jerome is a Polish Jew and one of the greatest interpreters of Marxism in the modern world. His knowledge of literature is broad, and his capability of expression very fine. He was, unfortunately, one of the persons brought to trial as a Communist during the last Foley Square trials, and the accusation against him was to my mind absolutely fantastic. But that is beside the point.

27-5-2

After the trial and after the death of Canada Lee he came to me with a poem on Caliban, and asked me to read it over and give my judgment. I read it and thought it was an excellent poem. Masses and Mainstream published it. Then it happened that Louis Aragon, who is perhaps the foremost poet of France today, wrote a comment on this poem in "Les Lettres Francaise" #455, week of March 5, 1953. This has been translated, and I am sending it to you. I wish you would read it and if there is any part of this or of the original poem that you could publish I should be glad to have you do so.

As I said before, in case you cannot use this manuscript, kindly return it to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

based on "Caliban in a Changing World."

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Dr. Kiichi Miyake, Professor of Botany
College of Agriculture
Tokyo Imperial University
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Dr. Miyake:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends andin the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Japan to free the victims of the S mith Act.

I am, dear Dr. Miyake

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph. D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

[MONTAGU]

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. Ivor Mantagu
Knowle Buckshill, Kings Langley
Herts, England

Dear Mr. Montagu:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

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I am, dear Mr. Montagu

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

1370 E. 17th St.
Brooklyn 30, N.Y.
April 13, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois;

A group of friends who were visiting with me tonight were watching the Ed Murrow telecast. We were most impressed with Bishop Shiel's honest defense of American Principles of Democracy.

We felt that at this moment Ed Murrow, who has so consistently championed the rights of individuals to express their point of view, might be willing to allow some time to the progressive forces to express their views on democracy.

We think you should and could be that individual. Therefore, we suggest and urge that you ask for time on the ALCOA program.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Joseph Mogulescu

27-8-43

CARLTON MOSS
P. O. Box 1985
HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA

Feb. 5, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am very pleased to tell you I am nearing the final stages of our project.

I have completed the basic research and organized what I have read with what you have spoken on the tape recorder and with what we filmed last June. In short our script is ready for the film cutter. Now the film must be cut to meet the demands of our working script then we will prepare the final script. In the course of this there will be some details, facts, etc. I will want to check with you. This we can do via the mails.

In the meantime I am sending you, under seperate cover, two sets of photographs. One-duplicates of photos I copied in your office. Would you please identify them for me? I should like to know where they were taken, if that is important and why? In the group pictures it will not be necessary to name individuals. I'm chiefly interested in knowing the organizations and why the group is together. Oh yes, where and when? You may write or type on the back of them. The other set of two pictures you need not return. I thought perhaps you would like to have them for your files. One was sent to me from Harvard and the other from Fisk. I wrote the Harvard Library and asked them to send me a photo of the class of 1890. I believe that you are the man in the second row, top, third from the left?

27-2-18

May I ask you to return the set of pictures I'm interested in as soon as possible. You may cut them up for small envelope size if you care to.

My congratulations to Shirley for her new book.

Very sincerely,
Carlton

P.S. Preparing this material is a truly inspiring experience!

February 9, 1954

Mr. Carlton Moss
P.O. Box 1985
Hollywood 28, California

Dear Mr. Moss:

I have received the enclosed photographs and have written on the back what they are.

You speak of sending two sets of photographs. Only one set came and I am returning them all.

Best regards from myself and Shirley to you and the family.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DBdlh

27-2-19

Feb. 15th, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for returning the pictures. I find I am in error I did-not send you two sets of puctures.

Enclosed are a series of questions. The answers to them will help me visualize what is on the maps we photographed and some of what is in your books.

If you don't mind I'd like to use this question method to complete my research.

Sincerely yours,

Carlton

Carlton Moss

27-8-42

Feb. 27, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of Feb. 25th.

I realize now that my questions have been sent to you out of context. I should have explained the problem I was faced with in the script and then asked you if you could recall an incident that might help to solve it. This would have been so simple if I had had the opportunity to talk with you. I am sure the kind of incident I was searching for would have come out in a discussion with you.

27-8-41

In the meantime I have found another way to solve my script problem. It will not be necessary for me to send you anymore questions. Further, I will not need copies of your commencements speeches(High School, Fisk University, Harvard University). If you have found them and had them copied I would like to read them. But don't take the time to look for them and have them copied for me.

Sincerely yours,

Carlton

Carlton Moss

CARLTON MOSS
P. O. Box 1985
Hollywood 28, California

May, 22, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Independent Progressive Party office tells me you will be in our city beginning June 1st for three or four days. While you are here I should like very much to go over the script for the film. I would need approximatly six hours. In this time I could check the script with you---re-record two short sections of your narration and show you the developed footage we have on hand. Any part of this could be done at your convenience.

The IPP office assures me that this request for time with you does not in any way interfere with the schedule they have planned for you.

27-2-23

Sincerely yours,

Carlton

Carlton Moss

May 26, 1954

Mr.Carlton Moss
P.O. Box 1985
Hollywood 28, Calif.

My dear Carlton:

I should be very glad to spend a few hours with you while I am in California. I cannot at this time give an exact date. Please get in touch with me early in June. You can find out where I am staying from the Progressive Party office.

My best regards to you and your wife.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 8, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Carlton Moss
P.O. Box 1985
Hollywood 28, California

My dear Mr. and Mrs. Moss:

May I tell you how much I enjoyed the trip to Los Angeles. I arrived home five minutes early after a perfect voyage.

I appreciate very much the hard work and thought which Carlton is putting on my picture, and what I saw of it seems to be very encouraging again.

It was also a great pleasure for me to meet Mrs. Moss. Shirley and I join in best love and in hope we shall see you both in our house some time soon.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-20

[Moss]

Box 1985
Hollywood, 28, Cal.
Aug. 21, 1954

My dear Dr. DuBois:

I have a camera crew up in Great Barrington "shooting" some background material. They write me that they cannot locate your family home on So. Egremont Rd. I sent them a copy of the photograph I have but they say only a chimney stands where that house once stood. What is the correct address of your place on So. Egremont Rd? Have my men made a mistake?

My wife sends you her regards and we both send a "hello" to Shirley.

27-8-4

Sincerely your,

Carlton

Carlton

P.S. When you have time I would appreciate if you would send photos(or a photo) of yourself and friends during your stay in Germany etc. in 1893. I think I understood you to day you might have such a picture.

I had no luck with the editors of the colored papers of Phila. in trying to get pictures of Philadelphia's Negro community around 1899. I am now tracking down another source.

August 24, 1954

Mr. Carlton Moss
P.O. Box 1985
Hollywood 28, Calif.

Dear Carlton:

Your camera crew is quite right. After holding on to the bit of property at Great Barrington for 25 years I saw no possible chance for developing it and no use to holding it longer. I sold it last year and the buyer has already torn down the house. We have photographs of it if you would like.

Also in town there is the house where I was born, on Church Street, but I am afraid your crew would hardly find it without help. It is the old Jefferson-McKinley house and stands somewhat renovated, with fluted ornaments on the edge of the roof. Inquiry might locate it.

I will see if I can find any of the German pictures.

You might write concerning the colored people of Philadelphia of 1899 to: Arthur Huff Fausett, 5141 Brown Street, Philadelphia, Pa. He might help you.

Shirley joins me in love to you and Mrs. Moss.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Aug. 26th, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter. I have instructed the crew to look up the old Jefferson-McKinley house on Church St. We have local resident working with us and if the house is still there I'm sure he will find it.

In themeantime we are just about to start a crew in Nashville, Tenn. We are going to get a few "shots" of Fisk campus and something of the landscape mentioned in "The Soul of the Black Folks", chapter-"Of the Meaning of Progress".

We would like also to have something on the United Nations--something visual. If it could be arranged to have you make a visit to one of the buildings we would have a cameraman there to film a scene. It would be good for our purposes if we could film you with some of the representatives of some of the colored nations. It would not have to be anything elaborate just something to visually identify you with the UN when the narrator speaks of your role at the founding conference. We can always do it with "still" pictures but it would be much more effective with "live action" "shots". If there is some one person you suggest I write to in order to set this scene up I'll gladly send a pencil sketch of what we would like to film.

If for any reason this suggestion is impractical for you or if you feel it will take to much of your time we will understand.

Sincerely yours,

Carlton

Carlton Moss

P.S. The "shots" at the UN will be exterior "shots" and shouldn't take more than a half-hour or so to film.

27-8-1

August 30, 1954

Mr. Carlton Moss
P.O. B ox 1985
Hollywood 28, Calif.

Dear Carlton:

If your men will phone me at my home any time before noon at:

MAINE 4--2929

I will be glad to arrange to go out to the United Nations building with them.

I have not in mind any person here who could arrange such shots, but I will inquire.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Sept. 24th, 1954

Dear Mr. DuBois:

I have been help up on "shooting" the UN material because I have had some difficulty in finding a cameraman. It seems that all the men I know are out working on "location". However I think I have a man who will be able to help us toward the end of the week. In any case Thelma Dale will get in touch with you. She has been helping me to get permission to bring a camera(film camera) on the UN grounds.

42-19-11

In the meantime I'm sure you will be interested to know that the Great Barrington Chamber of Commerce has written asking for information on the "film about Wm. DuBois".

Regards to ~~Shirley~~

Sincerely,
Carlton
Carlton Moss

[Motorola]

September 22, 1954

Mr. Paul Lewis, Vice-President
Motorola-NY, Inc.
29-30 Hunters Point Avenue
Long Island City, New York

42/1A/6

My dear Mr. Lewis:

I regret to have to call to your attention a matter which, considered in the mass of your business is very small, but which looms as a rather large problem for us.

On September 15th, we bout a Motorola Television, Model 21T16E, Serial No. C 101955 and paid for it in full. The dealer was Frank Martini, 216 Hicks Street, Brooklyn 2.

The dealer delivered the set, plugged it in and fastened the antenna wires. He picked up the small Emerson set we had had. The pictures were faulty but he said the authorized Motorola technician would call that afternoon or the next day, check and adjust everything so that we would have perfect reception. Two days later I stopped at the shop to tell the dealer the Motorola man had not yet called. He pointed out a man in the shop and said, "Here he is now. He'll be right over."

A man in uniform did come, but after he had worked with the set a while and the result was not satisfactory he said that he was not <u>authorized</u> to work on this set, that he was doing this as a favor, that the fault seemed to be in the installation and that he could do nothing about it. Bewildered, I reported all this to the dealer who vehemently assured me that he would at once get in touch with the Motorola office and that everything would be made all right.

I have been waiting until the present time. On the 23rd I mailed the registration card on the set back to 4545 Augusta Boulevard, Chicago, as directed. Our enjoyment of the big, new set is delayed because the pictures are jumpy and cloudy. Further inquiries to the dealer only bring what seem like evasive answers.

I cannot say whether the dealer is to blame or not. I

Samuel Chapman Armstrong

do not claim that the set is defective. I do know that reception even on Channel 2 is poor and uncertain. We are not getting the quality of picture expected from a Motorola. I cannot believe that a firm such as yours would countenance misrepresentation or negligence in srvice. I therefore write now to ask that you look into the matter and make the necessary adjustments.

I can be reached at home by telephone during the day: Main 4-2929.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,

(Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois)

MOUVEMENT CONTRE LE RACISME, L'ANTISEMITISME ET POUR LA PAIX

10, Rue de Châteaudun - PARIS-IXe

Tél. : TRU. 00-87

Paris, le 26 Mai 1954

PRESIDENT :

M. **Léon LYON-CAEN**, Premier Président Honoraire de la Cour de Cassation.

COMITE D'HONNEUR :

MM.

D'ARBOUSSIER, conseiller de l'Union Française

Maurice de BARRAL, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur

Albert BAYET, président de la Ligue de l'Enseignement

Emile BURE †, journaliste

Mme **Edmond CASSIN**

Aimé CESAIRE, poète

Robert CHAMBEIRON

Raymond CHARPENTIER

le Docteur **Jean DALSACE**

Louis DAQUIN, metteur en scène

le Professeur **DESOILLE**

Mme **Marthe DUPUY**, conseil juridique

Adolphe ESPIARD, secrétaire général du Comité Franco-Malgache

Yves FARGE †, ancien ministre

le Professeur **HADAMARD**, membre de l'Institut

Georges HUISMAN, conseiller d'Etat

Joseph KESSEL, homme de lettres

Alain LE LEAP, secrétaire général de la C.G.T.

Mme **Jeanne LEVY**, professeur à la Faculté de Médecine

Jean de LORME

Louis MARIN, ancien ministre

Amiral MUSELIER, ancien chef des Forces Françaises Navales Libres

Jean PAINLEVE

Pierre PARAF, homme de lettres

le Professeur **Marcel PRENANT**

Mme **Françoise ROSAY**, artiste dramatique

Armand SALACROU, de l'Académie Goncourt.

Marc SANGNIER †, député, président d'honneur du M.R.P.

André SPIRE, poète

le Professeur **VERMEIL**

Monsieur le Professeur DU BOIS
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray St.
NEW YORK 7

Monsieur,

Le 27 Juin à Paris se déroulera, sur l'initiative de notre Mouvement, une Journée Nationale contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et pour la Paix, dont le but est de rassembler tous les courants de l'opinion antiraciste française.

Cette manifestation, devenue traditionnelle depuis plusieurs années, revêtira une particulière importance au moment où se précise le danger du racisme et de l'antisémitisme, encouragés par le projet de réarmement des anciens nazis sous le couvert d'un prétendu "esprit européen."

Face à ces menaces, la Journée Nationale exaltera l'égalité et la fraternité des hommes, l'amitié entre les peuples et la Paix.

C'est pourquoi nous nous permettons de solliciter un message exprimant votre point de vue sur les problèmes qui seront débattus à ce grand rassemblement national antiraciste.

Certains que vous voudrez bien ainsi contribuer à la défense de la cause qui nous est commune, nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Le Président — Léon LYON-CAEN

Le Secrétaire Général — Charles PALANT

27-8-39

President Leon- Caen

Mouvement contre le Rascism, l'Antisemitisme et pour la Paix

15Fourbourg Montmartre

Paris 9, France

GREETINGS TO YOUR ANNUAL MEETING AND EVERY WISH FOR SUCCESS IN YOUR WORK. I WOULD GLADLY JOIN YOU IN PERSON BUT REACTION HERE PREVENTS ME FROM ATTENDING MEETINGS SUCH AS YOURS

W.E.B. Du BOIS

42-3-163

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the 5 mith Act.

I am, dear Prof. Mukarovsky

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Professor Mukarovsky, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

3078 Mill Station Rd.,
Sebastopol, California
April 19, 1954

Lois Murray

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Cof National Guardian
17 Murray St.,
New York, 7, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In your article "Cannot this paralyzed nation awake?" you say no "great" writers are rising "in warning, in protest." Ilya Ehrenbourg two years ago addressed an open letter to "great" writers appealing to their consciences that spoke freely only in the past when it was safe. Do we go on year after year waiting for dead bodies to rise up and lead us live, vigorous, brave, new ones? No! Dead bodies are only to be buried! Let them fertilize the new crop! Does a farmer wince at the stench of fertilizer? He rejoices in this collection of decay as for a treasured food for future crops!

You have heard this fact that air cadets for the army are chosen from among the beginners because they will fling themselves without hesitation into battle and certain death. Let that rule speak for us young writers. Let the death march fade for "sunshine patriots." Ring in the new! Rejoice the flowers that have sprung from the bitter seed of the '29 crash, the corrosive soil of the following

27-2-27

depression. In stalwart stance we have stemmed the flood of blood of two world wars and still we sing, work and poetize for freedom and justice. We must not go unheeded. Rejoice that you see the turncoats' true color. But, supplant their colorless waste with the many-colored fruits and blooms, the sweet pungency of the young. The dirge for the old but deafens the ears to the song of the new.

Where are the festivals and contests for us new ones who want something better than the Saturday Evening Post, that abhor the Colliers? Beware that in mourning the old you do not watch the dropping off of the over ripe young! Beware of seeing this fiery steed of new, young talent but bruise itself at the starting gate in its tenseness of stationary flight to be off and winning.

The Mademoiselle magazine, a fashion magazine for young women sponsored a Dylan Thomas poetry contest for unpublished poets under 30 yrs. of age. Where is a National Guardian poetry contest? A People's World contest? Where is the organization to promote young talent composed of W.E.B. DuBois, John Howard Lawson, Howard Fast, Shirly Graham, etc., etc. organized for the purpose of the propagation and breeding of new standard bearers?

We poverty-stricken beginners robbed of our earnings, our rights and our lives as artists and citizens are too poor. We cannot afford the luxury of the "holy cow" system.

27-2-28

(cont. p.3)

Holy cows are too dangerous for the people in these days and nights of terror and holocaust.

I challenge you to name one prominent progressive artist under 30 or even 40 yrs. of age. I have submitted my poems including this one I send you, "July 4th, 1953", to every progressive publication and organization in the nation over the last five years without their being published or performed. This poem was performed and well received at our local I.P.P. club picnic.

We look to people of the stature of you, Shirly Graham, Howard Fast, Paul Robson, John Howard Lawson to sponsor young people such as myself in the performance and publication of our literary work.

Sincerely, Lois Murray

P.S. Enclosed, my poem "July 4th, 1953"

27-2-29

[Enc.]

July 4th, 1953

Nazi book-burnings of thirty-three
McCarthy book-burnings of fifty-three

Yours and mine

Pledge our fight for peace

Body-burnings of Lublin and Auschwitz

Yours and mine

Forge our bravery
Kindle our will
Pledge us to Life and Peace

The glazed eyes of the stone-eyed dead

Yours and mine

Look out from innocent towns
And blood-soaked battlefields
Aim our fight
Light our goals
Pledge us to Liberty and Peace

The Rosenberg's death

Yours and mine

Their electric chair

Yours and mine

Their dust and ash, soil of humanity

Yours and mine

Pledge us to the Pursuit of Happiness and Peace!

Lois Murray

27-2-30

May 24, 1954

Miss Lois Murray
3078 Mill Station Rd.
Sebastopol, California

Dear Miss Murray:

I thank you for your letter of April 19.

The outlook for poets has always been dim in the modern world, and perhaps never worse than just now. But after all, poets write because they must, not because they can sell their poems. This is scant encouragement I admit, but it is something.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-31

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal
League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Mr. Myrdal:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. & Mrs. Wheeler

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

EUROPEAN OFFICE
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

OFFICE EUROPÉEN
DES NATIONS UNIES

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

Télégrammes : UNATIONS, GENEVE
Téléphone : 3 10 00 3 20 00 3 40 00

Palais des Nations
GENÈVE

REF. No. :
(à rappeler dans la réponse)

31 March 1954.

Mr.W.E.B.DuBois,
23, West 26th Street,
NEW YORK, N.Y.
U.S.A.

27-4-30

Dear Mr. DuBois,

I have your letter of 15 March 1954 regarding the "Smith Act".

I know you will understand it is impossible for me, as an international civil servant, to comment upon the questions raised in your letter or to take the action you request of me.

With all best personal regards,

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Gunnar Myrdal
Executive Secretary
Economic Commission for Europe.

Ethel Ray Nance

922 17th Ave. North
Nashville 8, Tennessee
February 11, 1954

Dear Andre:

Do you call hearing from or seeing J. Douglas Whetmore recently? I understand he was close friend of James Weldon Johnson and possibly could give some information on his latest writings, etc.

Also do you recall a J. Max Barber of Atlanta who played a part in the stormy days around 1906-8 - I believe you were there during that time. I understand he died in Philadelphia recently. Arna Bontemps wants to include him in some historical writings if he can contact any living member of his family.

Hope both you and Shirley are well.

By the way, what are you writing now?

Love,

Marielle

Marielle

27-8-35

[Ethel Ray Nance]

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Feb. 15, 1954

Dear Andre:

I note in Masses and Mainstream a footnote "Blue Heron Press, $3" for "The Souls of Black Folk." Has the price been reduced? What shall we say to any inquirers who might question the price we set of $5.?

Also, won't you write me a separate letter stating the date of the NAACP's beginning? I insist on 1909, and other people say it wasn't incorporated until 1910, therefore that should be considered the date. A letter from you would settle this matter, for me at least.

Mr. Donnelly tells me over 30 orders have come in - and he is delighted. (5 more came in today!) Love to Shirley, too.

Yours,

Marielle

Marielle

27-8-37

February 17, 1954

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
Office of the President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Marielle:

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK with my autograph is priced at $5. The $3 edition lacks the autograph and is sold only by book clubs. I cannot find any advertisement in "Masses and Mainstream" during the last three months which offers it to the public at that price. If so, it is a mistake because that price is for books sold in bulk. I think this will answer your question.

I thank you very much for what you are doing, and I am just writing Mr. Donnelly expressing my appreciation.

I am glad even you recognize that 3 plus one plus one equals five.

As to the beginning of the NAACP: the NAACP was formed at a conference in New York in 1909 but it was not incorporated until 1910, so that there is reason for saying it began in either year.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

March 1, 1954

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
922 - 17th Avenue North
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Marielle:

J. Douglas Whetmore died at least ten years ago. He was a close friend of James Weldon Johnson and a good lawyer, but did no writing that I ever heard of.

J. Max Barber of Atlanta became a dentist and died recently in Philadelphia. I do not know whether his wife survives him or not. She was the sister of Taylor, the bicycle rider. Probably someone in Philadelphia could tell you.

Me? I am writing a novel.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:Mh

27-8-35

[Nance]

505 Cole St.
San Francisco 17
Calif.
August 11, 1954

Dear André & Shirley -

I do hope your vacation was restful and happy. I received your card.

Well I am back in California and shall not return to York — at least not immediately. I came back for vacation, and a divorce, the court proceedings are over but there are many personal matters and the house to plan for. I do like it here & when I awaken in San Francisco, this glorious city, I wonder to myself why in the

27-8-34

would I spend time in a place like Nashville (?. - smile) If I do return, the terms will have to be much better.

In the meantime I must find something to do here. I have written the National Office, Nadel, I shall not return to Regional Office here, I can't work with dear Franklin any longer. Supplied independent for a pauper you say? You're right. Surely something will develop.

Perhaps I can sell some "Songs of Black Folk" or do you have an agent here. Will it be the same commission? I can't afford to send for any at present since I don't have the fluid funds. If you have any suggestions let me have them.

Sincerely,

Ethel (Ramsey)

August 24, 1954

Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance
505 Cole St.
San Francisco 17
California

Dear Marielle,

We have your letter of August 11, and I can understand how pleasant it is in San Francisco after Nashville. I hope you get a good job there and that the divorce goes through all right. Of course I had been long expecting it.

You do not mention the boys but I trust they are getting on well.

I think your sojourn at Fisk was quite worthwhile but the sacrifice has gone far enough.

Let me hear of your further adventures at your leisure.

With best love from Shirley and myself.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. DU Bois

27-8-33

TELEPHONE 33-9193 South Africa P.O. BOX 2948

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL OF CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

Sponsoring Organisations:
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
S.A. INDIAN CONGRESS
S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
S.A. COLOURED PEOPLES ORGANISATION

4a, KORT STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
South Africa.

Dear Friend,

We enclose a copy of our Plan of Campaign together with the "Call" for the Congress of the People. All South African national bodies have been invited to endorse the Call and to join with us in sponsoring this great campaign.

We believe that this campaign will raise to new heights the struggle of the people of South Africa for peace and freedom, and feel sure that your organisation will take a keen interest in the progress of events. We would welcome any comments from you, and any suggestions you might like to offer on ways and means of popularising The Congress of the People in your country.

Looking foreward to your reply,

Yours very sincerely,

W.M. Sisulu
For Secretariat.

27-3-10

September 10, 1954

Mr. W. M. Sisulu
National Action Council of
Congress of the People
4a, Kort Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Mr. Sisulu:

I have received your Call of the Congress of the People. It is of great interest and I wish you every success.

I have watched the movement of the colored people and the Indians and Negroes of South Africa with great interest and am overjoyed at their courage and persistence.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

December 14, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

42/1A/4

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing in reference to your Hospitalization payment for the year 1954. Last year you sent a check for the total amount.

The Hospitalization cost for the year 1954 is $71.52 ($5.96) per month.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. McClain

Richard W. McClain
Chief Accountant

RWM:gd

P.S. Enclosed is your check for $100.00 for the month of December, 1954.

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23 West 26th Steeet
New York, New York
March 5, 1954

National Committee of the Partisans of Peace
Via del Corsa, 504 (scala B.int.10)
Rome, Italy

Dear Sirs:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President E isenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear sirs

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard Unive sity,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.

PResident 8-2057

December 7, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are asking a number of friends of Ben Davis to send us a personal statement about the pamphlet "Ben Davis - Fighter For Freedom", written by Miss Claudia Jones with an introduction by Mrs Eslanda Goode Robeson, to be used in popularizing it.

And knowing of your interest in peace and democracy and of your sympathies for Ben Davis himself, we are asking you to send us a personal statement about the pamphlet or any other comment you wish to make.

We are enclosing a copy of the pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Ford

James W. Ford

27-8-12

December 10, 1954

Mr. James W. Ford
National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership
Room 21
1660 Fulton Street
Brooklyn 13, New York

Dear Mr. Ford:

Ben Davis is a fine fellow and his unjust punishment is a blot on the record of this Democracy.

I sincerely hope that he will soon be released.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

WEB:lh

27-8-13.

[Nat'l Committee to Win Amnesty...]

February 16, 1954

Dr. Edward K. Barsky
54 East 61 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Barsky:

Enclosed is the outline of a letter which I propose to send to half a dozen or a dozen European friends.

There are in it some blanks which ought to be filled out, and also I shall be very glad to have your criticism or that of your friends.

Please look it over and return it to me and then I will send it back to you for final copying and afterward I will sign it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-29

[Enc.]

To Dr Barnsley
Feb. 16, 1954

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress, called the Smith Act, passed in which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act provides

(a pertinent abstract)

Under unfair interpretation of this Act, ~~by virtue of it~~, eleven Communist leaders are today in jail for five year terms. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some other American citizens, most of them of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are presently under sentence of imprisonment on similar charges. They are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Culture in a changing world."!

27-1-30

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ~~secure~~ ask your sympathy and cooperation in ~~this~~ our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency. May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also will you spread knowledge of this situation among your friends and in the public in your own country

press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear.....

Your obedient servant,

W.E.B. Du Bois

(Ph.D., Harvard University; Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1958.)

27-1-31

[Enc.]

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government by force and violence, and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of theseAmerican citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture."

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country,

27-1-33

among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear .....

Your obedient servant,

W.E.B. Du Bois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953.)

27-1-34

For Barsky. Amnesty Comm. Mar 1954

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940 which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. (This Act provides

(1) ~~(a pertinent abstract)~~

Under unfair interpretation of this Act, ~~as it is,~~ eleven Communist leaders are today in jail for five year terms. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. ~~Some~~ Scores of other American citizens, ~~most of them~~ of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, ~~are presently under sentence of imprisonment on similar charges. They~~ are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, ~~"Culture in a Changing World."~~ "Let us grasp the weapon of Culture

35-9-45

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also

in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear.....

Your obedient servant,

W.E.B. Du Bois

(Ph.D., Harvard University; Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953.)

35-9-46

SMITH Act to Dr. Barsky
Feb 16, 1954

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act provides

(a pertinent abstract)

Under unfair interpretation of this Act, ~~by using it~~, eleven Communist leaders are today in jail for five year terms. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some other American citizens, most of them of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are presently under sentence of imprisonment on similar charges. They are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "Culture in a Changing World!"

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also

in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organised effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear.....

Your obedient servant,

W.E.B. Du Bois

(Ph.D., Harvard University; Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace 1953.)

National Committee

To Win Amnesty For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

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February 18, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for the copy of the letter which you plan to send abroad.

The following is the material you asked to have filled in, as well some minor corrections:

1. The Smith Act was passed in 1940.

2. The pertinent parts of the Smith Act (which you may want to cut or summarize) are:

"Sec. 2
"(a) It shall be unlawful for any person
(1) to knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence,..
(2) with intent to cause the overthrow of destruction of any government in the United States, to print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute, or publicly display any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force and violence;
(3) to organize or help to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow of any government in the United States by force and violence; or to become a member of, or affiliated with, any society, group or assembly of persons, knowing the purpose thereof.
"Sec. 3
It shall be unlawful for any person to attempt to commit or conspire to commit, any of the acts prohibited by the provision of this title."

27-1-35

3. There are 15 men and women now in prison--the first 11 and the six Baltimore prisoners. Most of them, but not all, got five year terms. 51 others have been con-

victed; 5 are now on trial; 38 are awaiting trial. (There are 109 in all.)

4. If the pamphlet to which you refer is the one by V.J. Jerome, the title is "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

May I suggest that you consider inserting a paragraph showing how the Smith Act prosecutions and imprisonments have served as the basis for growing repression and attacks on educators, scientists, writers, etc.

As soon as you return the letter to me, our committee office will take care of making the copies and sending them to you for your signature.

Very sincerely yours,

Edward K. Barsky

27-1-36

[Nat'l Committee to Win Amnesty]

February 25, 1954.

Dr. Edward K. Barsky
54 East 61 St.
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Barsky:

Enclosed is the letter which I am willing sign.

Suggest any changes that you think necessary and then have it copied and I will sign the copies.

Very sincerely yours,

- W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-1-33

National Committee

To Win **Amnesty** For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

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Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
Jessica Smith
F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

March 5, 1954

(see "Circular Letters")

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing for your signatures the completed letters, and also the carbon copies which you may want for your files.

Unfortunately we were not able to get all the letters typed in time. We have been short of technical help, and we wanted each letter to be individually typed. Would you please put your signatures on about 25 of the enclosed second sheets: I will pick up the letters and the signed sheets this afternoon. We expect to send them out by air mail today and Monday.

Sincerely yours,
Celia L. Zitron

27-8-18

April 29, 1954

Miss Celia Zitron
Comm. to Win Amnesty
Room 611
667 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 21

Dear Miss Zitron:

Enclosed are copies of letters which were received in answer to the mailing on the Smith Act Victims.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Enclosed copies of letters from Hewlett Johnson, Sylvia Pankhurst, and Gunnar Myrdal

27-8-19

National Committee

To Win **Amnesty** For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

EDWARD K. BARSKY
Chairman

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Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
Jessica Smith
F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

May 3, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for the copies of the letters on amnesty you received from abroad. I am sending Miss Sylvia Pankhurst the information for which she asked.

May we use the statement from the Dean of Canterbury in a publicity release, and at our amnesty mass meeting of June 10th?

Sincerely yours,

Celia L. Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary

27-8-14

May 4, 1954

Miss Celia L. Zitron, Executive Secretary
National Committee to Win Amnesty
Room 611
667 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Miss Zitron:

I think it would be all right for you to use the statement from the Dean of Canterbury.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-5

June 17, 1954

Miss Celia L. Zitron
National Committee to Win Amnesty
667 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

My dear Miss Zitron:

I have just received from the Soviet Union by word of mouth an answer to my letter on the Smith Act and its victims.

The persons whom I addressed assure me that they received my letter and are considering it with sympathy but they do not think the time now ripe to take any action on the matter in the shape of a reply or protest. When it is possible they will communicate with me further.

I presume this expresses the attitude of a great many of the other persons to whom I addressed these letters.

If I have any further news I shall be glad to let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP?]

April 20, 1954

MEMO TO MR. TED BAYER

1) Here is the text of my proposed speech April 22. Make any criticisms.

2) A cablegram ought to go to Moscow in answer to the one sent me. I suggest this: Will you have it sent?

Professor Dmitri Skobeltsyn,
Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Soviet Union

I accept with pleasure your invitation to receive and bestow on Howard Fast the International Stalin Peace Prize of 1954.

The ceremony will take place April 22 at the Crystal Room of the Hotel McAlpin, Broadway and 34th Street, New York City.

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-4-28

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Jan 8 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just been most rudely reminded of the extent to which my faculties are already failing, by the discovery in a pile of other papers of the enclosed letter which I wrote to you on Nov. 19. I am utterly unable to explain to my own satisfaction, much less to yours, how it came about that having written the letter I put it where it would get buried in the paper avalanche, instead of in the Out tray to be mailed. I feel exceedingly foolish in sending it to you now, but I cannot very well do otherwise, as it offers partial explanations. Since I thought the letter had been mailed, I wondered more and more each week since I wrote it why it was that I never heard from you. With it I send my abject apologies plus the frank admission that I never should have imagined I had the necessary mental efficiency quotient to be an editor.

I do not know whether at this point you will still feel like pursuing the matter of the Eisenhower appraisal; but I do most sincerely hope that you will not hold my stupidity against me to the extent of not sending us further pieces from your pen. The Guardian has missed them badly.

27-5-65.

In particular, we are conscious that Negro History Week is about a month away and that we would very much like an article by you for our issue of that week. Will you consider doing one for us? We would like to leave the subject matter to you, it being understood that the article would not need to be one of your "short" offerings and could run to 1,000 words or so. If you will do it, will you let me know some time next week what subject you will cover, so that we may fit it in with other material?

I do want to say in conclusion that your Christmas card was not only the card of the year but the card of all years as far as I was concerned; I am rejoiced by it every time I look at it.

If you will resume sending us pieces from time to time, I will try very hard not to be guilty of such thick-headedness again.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

[Enc.]

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc. • • • • •
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Nov. 19 [1953]

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have been most remiss in not communicating with you sooner about the piece you sent on Eisenhower.

We felt rather lukewarm about it, which almost never happens with your articles. It seemed to us that you had devoted a good deal of the piece to taking Ike apart for pursuing policies which, after all, have been fixed in Washington for a long time and which he did not initiate and indeed seems hardly to comprehend, in some cases.

What does seem to us to be needed is a piece done on the same lines which would attempt to appraise Ike qua Ike - the extraordinary record of personal futility which is already causing European comment that he is bidding to go down in history as the dimmest President of them all. His hopeless fumbling with the Harry White affair seems to be the crowning example to date of his total incompetence, and one gets the impression that the unfortunate reporters who have to cover his press conferences already regard him as only about half there, if that. I assume you saw in the Post on Saturday, also in other papers, the disclosure that Ike did in fact meet White whom he claims never to have heard of - at a meeting where Ike "sparked" the ideas in the Morgenthau Plan.

The time is most ripe for an honest appraisal of Ike as man and President, and we wish you would get the inspiration to try it again.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

P.S. In view of the haziness in so many minds as to where progressives go from here politically, we are most interestedin getting good statements on the perspectives from the election. Will you want to make one?

27-5-64

January 12, 1954.

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, NY

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

The mistake as to my contribution is quite all right and liable to happen at any time.

The only point is, when I send you a suggested contribution please let me know as soon as possible the disposition of it. I know, of course, that everything I write is not suited to your needs or to publication at all. But as subjects occur to me I shall send them to you and shall continue to do so.

I am sending herewith a statement on Democracy which you may be able to use. Let me know as soon as possible what your decision is.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 29, 1954

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

Enclosed is the article re-cast and I hope more in accord with your suggestions. I have cut it as much as I can but if necessary I am sure you can take out a little more.

I shall be glad to review Annette Rubinstein's "Great Tradition" as soon as I finish it. I think it is a remarkable book.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

January 29, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I don't know whether you have this piece which a reader in Evansville, Indiana, sent to us but I thought you might like to have it for your clipping book.

With best regards,

Jim Aronson

James Aronson

JA:V
encl.

27-8-58

Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

February 5, 1954

Mr. James Aronson
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Aronson:

Thank you very much for the clipping which you sent me.

I had not seen it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-54

February 5, 1954

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Belfrage:

I'm afraid I have neglected to thank you for the bound copies of the "Guardian" which you sent us.

We cherish them deeply.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-54

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

[1954?]

April 6

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were delighted to receive your piece. It came as we were suffering from slightly aching heads as to how to select and organize material on this crisis situation. What you wrote was just what we needed on the editorial end.

We do most sincerely hope that this means more articles from you to come.

Yours,

Edwin Seaver

April 12, 1954

National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Sir:

Please send me ten copies of the current issue of the National Guardian, with bill

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-57

April 13, 1954

Mr. John McManus
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. McManus:

As I figure the matter, the National Guardian has published recently three articles of mine:

February 15, 1876 & After
March 8, The Great Tradition
April 12, Cannot this paralyzed nation awake?

In return for these articles I have received:

Check of $10

I did not receive a copy of the Rubinstein book because I already had one.

I therefore figure that there are two more payments due. Please check.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-63

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

April 16, 1954

Dr. W.E.B Du Bois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed you will find a check for $40 - $25 for your Negro History Week article and $15 for your splendid statement which we printed in the April 12 issue. We have had many fine comments on your call for a Peace Crusade.

Please accept our apologies for slipping up again on our payments. We have revised our bookkeeping system so that this won't happen again.

Sincerely yours,

James Aronson

JA:V

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

April 26, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We were delighted to see that the Paris daily Liberation picked up your last piece from the Guardian.

Liberation corresponds politically pretty much with the Guardian's point of view. We know that they have asked several prominent Americans to contribute pieces to them but they have had a poor response thus far. Paul Robeson was among the people asked but they have as yet got nothing from him. Cedric thought that you might possibly suggest a few people whom they might ask.

Sincerely yours,

James Aronson

JA:V
encl.

27-8-54

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

May 17, 1954

Mr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

In connection with what I told you recently about our every-other-Thursday-evening affairs, we are hoping to get a good turn out to the one on Thursday, the 27th, at which time we hope to be discussing matters of some interest to you. We hope very much that you will be able to find it possible to come on that occasion.

By what seems to be something of a small miracle we have succeeded in starting on time- at eight o'clock. The address is: Richard Sasuly's apartment, 231 E. 76th Street.

Sincerely yours,

Cedric Belfrage

CB:V

27-8-55

June 10, 1954

Mr. John T. McManus
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear McManus:

That new bookkeeping department of yours has not paid me for my article of May 31, 1954.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

[1954]

Aug 2

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am (we are) still in two minds about what to do with this piece. As I told you, we have been planning a more or less serious balance sheet on Ike's record, but the state of the various legislation being considered is still so chaotic that we can't do it yet. The feeling we have is that we have to wait until the returns are all in and then try to do an accurate job.

Perhaps it is therefore best for me to return this to you; you may or may not feel like doing something further with it.

You will be interested to know that my deportation hearing has finally been called - for August 10 (although we hope to get a postponement as the lawyers are not ready). The prospect is a little depressing for me - of having to sit for anything up to a month in the Immigration Service's dank, dismal "chamber" on Columbus Avenue hearing a succession of persons put together a version of my life from which I am supposed to emerge without a character on my stain. I am wondering just how I shall maintain the outward appearance of calm, but am studying various Yogi methods.

There seems to be a general feeling that we should fight this case of mine to the end - that is, first to the Immigration Appeals Board and then through the courts. Such a fight would cost a small fortune and it hardly seems worth it to me - but that is I suppose up to the readers of the paper since we have no money for it anyway.

In view of what is ahead I shall be able to spend little if any time in the office for quite a period, putting a sorry weight on Jim Aronson.

With warmest regards to you both,

Sincerely,

Cedric Belfrage

August 5, 1954

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Belfrage:

All my sympathy for your ordeal of August or as much later as possible.

It is hard words, of course, but chin up, cheerio, and all that.

Shirley joins me in best wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

October 13, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th St.,
New York City.

Dear Doctor:

This is to confirm your being our chairman at our 6th Anniversary Dinner, Tuesday Novemember 30th, at the Hotel Astor.

I can't think of it happening to a nicer guy.

We consider ourselves very fortunate that you are available.

In the meantime (between now and the 30th) I will be in touch. Personally, I think I should have my head examined. But who shouldn't??

Love - love..

Theodora Peck

27-2-21

October 13, 1954

Mr. J. Aronson
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Aronson:

Here is the review, as short as I could make it.

You have my permission to make it as much shorter as you wish.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

October 14, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Here is an unbound copy of Cedric Belfrage's "Seeds of Destruction" for review.

As I told you, we would need the copy by Tuesday morning, October 19. We leave the length to you, which means that you may write longer than we usually ask you to, if you feel inclined.

The book is an extremely important one for us. We have, as you may have noted, been advertising it in advance extensively in the paper, and hope that it will yield returns ample enough to help us defray some of the costs of fighting Cedric's case.

The deportation hearing is ended, and we expect that there will be a decision within the next two to three weeks.

27-8-53

The book itself was written on a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1947. The introduction is new. There are real personages mixed with composite people, all of whom Cedric and I remember as being parts of very m real people in Germany.

You may either send us the review by mail to arrive Tuesday, or, if you prefer, a call from your office will bring a messenger to pick it up.

Yours sincerely,

Jim Aronson

James Aronson

P.S. We'd like, in general, to have pieces from you more frequently when the mood strikes.

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, Inc. • • • • •
17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-1750

Dec. 3 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I must, and hereby do, express my personal gratitude for your contribution to our dinner. Your chairmanship ~~lends~~ lends to our affairs a quality of dignity, humanity and humor which they could not begin to have otherwise. Indeed we feel that a Guardian dinner without you would be unthinkable and really illegal. Not only do you pay us honor by occupying the chair, but you bring Mrs. DuBois who sits next to me and makes the evening a conversational delight.

The evening was memorable for many things, one of which was that the hotel waiters were so impressed that three of them bought copies of my book and warmly asked me to autograph it.

I understand well how wrapped up you are in your book; but nevertheless I do wish you would send us a piece for the paper from time to time. Many readers complain of your absence from our pages.

With affectionate respect, as ever,

Cedric Belfrage

27-5-3

December 10, 1954

Mr. Cedric Belfrage
National Guardian
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Belfrage:

I have in mind the following short articles:

1. Socialism in Scandinavia, pointing out that here socialism has gone further in practical socialism than in any modern country outside of the Soviet Union, China and lands "behind the iron curtain".
2. Two or three articles on current developments in Africa, pointing out that the African Congresses which exist in practically every province now are lineal descendents of the Pan-African Congress held in Paris in 1919; and also illustrating certain significant and unknown developments not usually mentioned.

If you think you can use these I will send them along.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-4

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

[1954]

Dec 13

Dear Dr DuBois:

We would certainly like to have the Africa articles whenever you have them ready. The other, perhaps later, but let us see what space there is. We have largely ignored Scandinavia not because it is not full pf interest but because more pressing events abroad have always claimed whatever space we could allot to foreign material.

Sincerely,

Edward Aldridge

27-2-20

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

January 11, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

At the Annual Meeting, to be held on January 22, 1954, the Council will present for your approval the name of Senator J. William Fulbright as this year's recipient of the Institute's Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts. If approved by two thirds of those present, a ballot shall be submitted to the entire membership for ratification.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

January 25, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

At a meeting of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, held on January 22, the following recommendation, presented by the Council, was approved by the members present:

> To confer the Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts on Senator J. William Fulbright for having originated the Fulbright Act, one of the most constructive steps taken in the history of the United States to promote international relations.

Please indicate your vote on the enclosed ballot.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

BALLOT

FOR THE AWARD FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO THE ARTS

1954

Nomination		
Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT	Yes	No

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

February 19, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

The next dinner meeting of the Institute will be held on Monday evening, March 22, at seven o'clock at the

Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street
New York City

at which we hope some of the newly elected members listed herewith will be present:

Department of Art: George Grosz, Eero Saarinen

Department of Literature: Elizabeth Bishop, Robert Lowell

Department of Music: Carl Ruggles

The Council has studied Article XIV of the By-Laws, regarding Arts and Letters Grants, and has prepared for your consideration the enclosed amendment, which will be voted upon at the meeting.

Please answer on the enclosed postal card whether or not you will be able to attend.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

P. S. Following the meeting, Otto Luening, member of the Institute, distinguished composer, will talk and demonstrate new musical media.

[ENC]

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BY-LAWS

ARTICLE XIV

Grants shall be awarded from time to time to non-members to further creative work in the arts, the number and amount of grants to be left to the discretion of the Council. There shall be three departmental committees on grants, each consisting of seven members, two of whom shall be appointed annually by the Council to serve for a period of three years. The Council shall appoint the seventh member to serve as chairman of each committee, for a similar period.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

February 25, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

According to the new amendment regarding Honorary members in the Academy-Institute, a call for nominations is now in order.

Although the present vacancies number fourteen, the Council has ruled that not more than seven may be filled this year.

A nomination must be submitted in writing, signed by three members, of whom two must belong to that branch of art or letters in which the candidate has achieved distinction.

A nomination blank is enclosed herewith.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

American Academy of Arts and Letters

National Institute of Arts and Letters

Nomination of Candidate for Honorary Membership

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

NAME OF PROPOSER _____

NAMES OF SECONDERS _____

_____

QUALIFICATIONS:

[IF NECESSARY USE REVERSE SIDE]

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

April 15, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

Nominations for membership in the Institute are now in order. The Council has apportioned the fifteen vacancies as follows:

6 in Literature
6 in Art
3 in Music

If you have a nomination to make, will you fill in the enclosed form with your signature as proposer and obtain the signatures of two seconders? Any member may nominate a candidate in any of the departments but at least two of the three signatories required for the nomination must be members of the department for which a candidate is proposed. Members of the Institute must be native or naturalized citizens, qualified by notable achievement in Art, Music, or Literature.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

June 1, 1954

To the Members of the Department of Literature:

Enclosed you will find a nomination blank for The Gold Medal for Essays and Criticism, which is to be awarded in 1955.

If you have a nomination to make please obtain two seconders from the Department of Literature.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 WEST 155TH STREET, NEW YORK 32, N.Y.

December 17, 1954

To the Members of the Institute:

The Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Institute will be held on Monday, January 17, 1955, at seven o'clock at the

Knickerbocker Club
2 East 62nd Street
New York City

at which the election of new members will be announced and the enclosed slate of officers for the ensuing year voted upon.

Action will be taken on the attached amendment to the By-Laws, submitted by the Council.

Following the meeting, Mr. Henry Cowell will give a talk on "Composition as a Profession."

Please make every effort to attend and answer on the enclosed postal card.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis Kronenberger

Louis Kronenberger
Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

To the Members of the Department of Literature

Ballot for New Members

The names of the candidates who have been duly proposed for the Department of Literature are herewith respectfully submitted for consideration. There are at present SIX vacancies in the Department of Literature.

Before marking your ballot please read carefully the following extract from the By-laws: ARTICLE IV - Section 4: "Each member of a Department shall number the names proposed in order of his preference, and return the ballot to the Secretary not later than December 19th. Ballots received later than this date shall not be counted."

It is essential that the names of the seventeen candidates be numbered in the order of your preference, (1, 2, 3, etc.).

Candidate	Order of Preference	Candidate	Order of Preference
HAMILTON BASSO Novelist		PHYLLIS McGINLEY Poet	
CRANE BRINTON Historian		MARGARET MEAD Anthropologist	
BRUCE CATTON Historian		LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL Poet	
H. L. DAVIS Novelist		ANNE PARRISH Novelist	
WALLACE FOWLIE Critic		THEODORE ROETHKE Poet	
CAROLINE GORDON Novelist		DELMORE SCHWARTZ Poet	
EDITH HAMILTON Classical Scholar		RICHARD WILBUR Poet	
HARRY LEVIN Critic		YVOR WINTERS Poet, Critic	
DAVID T. W. McCORD Poet			

The name on the outside envelope is necessary for authentication but will not be identified with the ballot. The smaller envelope enclosing the ballot should be sealed and then remailed in the large envelope.

November 1, 1954

MALCOLM COWLEY
Chairman

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

633 West 155th Street
New York City

1954

(Alphabetically arranged)

HAMILTON BASSO, Novelist
of Connecticut

Proposers: Van Wyck Brooks
Malcolm Cowley
Franklin P. Adams

Hamilton Basso is the author of eight novels, the most recent of which is called The Green Room (suggested by the life of Edith Wharton). He is a very accomplished writer, an all-round man of letters who has also written a life of Beauregard and a book called Mainstream (types of American character), along with many reviews and travel-papers.

V. W. B.

Mr. Basso was born in New Orleans in 1904, and was educated at Tulane University. He has been at various times associate editor of The New Republic, Time, and The New Yorker magazines. In addition to the books named above he has also published the following novels: Relics and Angels (1929); Cinnamon Seed (1934); In their Own Image (1935); Courthouse Square (1936); Days Before Lent (1939); Wine of the Country (1941) and Sin in Capricorn (1942). In 1939 he won the Southern Authors Award.

ELIZABETH BISHOP, Poet
of New York

Proposers: John Hall Wheelock
Louise Bogan
Louis Untermeyer

Elizabeth Bishop is a young poet who has already made an important place for herself among contemporary poets, and her work appears in the chief anthologies. She has published one book, North and South, issued by Houghton Mifflin in 1946. Miss Bishop's work is not only distinguished, but highly original in point of view and method. I know of no one better entitled to membership in the National Institute than this talented young woman whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting.

J. H. W.

Elizabeth Bishop was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1911. She was educated at Vassar College, from which she was graduated in 1934. She has travelled extensively in Newfoundland, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, North Africa and Mexico. Her poems have appeared in New Directions, The New Yorker and the Partisan Review. In 1945 she won the Poetry Fellowship of $1,000 from Houghton Mifflin Co., who published her book of verse, North and South, the following year. She has also won the Bryn Mawr Fellowship for poetry and a grant in literature of the National Institute (1951).

RICHARD P. BLACKMUR, Poet and Critic of New Jersey

Proposers: Lionel Trilling
Wystan Hugh Auden
Leonie Adams

R. P. Blackmur has been for many years acknowledged to be one of America's leading literary critics. His work is notable for its seriousness, profundity, and subtlety. In addition to his criticism, Mr. Blackmur has written verse of great distinction. He teaches at Princeton University, where he is in charge of the Creative Writing program.

L. T.

Mr. Blackmur was born in Springfield, Mass., in 1904. He was editor of The Hound and Horn from 1928 to 1930, and since 1940 has been at Princeton, where he won the Hodder Fellowship in 1943. In 1936-7 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1953 a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation for travel abroad. He has published four books of essays: Double Agent (1935), Expense of Greatness (1940), Lectures in Criticism (1949), Language as Gesture (1952); and the following books of verse: From Jordan's Delight (1937), Second World (1942), and The Good European (1948).

H. L. DAVIS, Novelist of California

Proposers: Malcolm Cowley
Allan Nevins
Glenway Wescott

H. L. Davis is the most distinguished writer of the Pacific Northwest, which has not been represented in the literary section of the Institute. He was a sheep herder, an itinerant laborer, and a poet, before H. L. Mencken persuaded him to write prose. His books, published as novels, are in reality ballad cycles or collections of tall tales with a footloose hero. Colt-wild and loose-jointed, they catch the look of the Oregon countryside, the speech and laughter of the people, the color of what happened, and they also convey a sense of wonder, as if nobody before had seen his country, let alone finding words for it. He is still a poet, if in prose, and still itinerant.

M. C.

Mr. Davis was born in Yoncalla, Oregon, in 1896, and was educated in the public schools and at Stanford University. His works include: Honey in the Horn (1935) Beulah Land (1949) and Winds of Morning (1951).

He won the Levinson poetry prize given by Poetry Magazine in 1919; a Guggenheim fellowship in 1932. His novel: Honey in the Horn, which was the Harper Prize Novel in 1935, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction the following year.

WALLACE FOWLIE, Critic
of Vermont

Proposers: Marianne Moore
Louise Bogan
Allen Tate

That Wallace Fowlie is not a member of the Institute is an anomaly. His (autobiography) Pantomime is a thing of taste and acumen--establishing in the mind of any French person to whom I have shown or given it, an instantaneous sense of consanguinity with America. (It is largely reminiscent of Paris and the Pyrenees.) Aside from contagion, though they have it, his studies in French literature are notable.

M. M.

Mr. Fowlie was born in Brookline, Mass., in 1908. He was educated at Harvard College, where he also took his Ph. D. He is professor of French literature at Bennington College. Among his works are: From Chartered Land (1939); Ernest Psichari (1940); Clowns and Angels (1943); The Spirit of France (1945); Rimbaud (1946); Jacob's Night (1947); Clown's Grail (1949) Mallarmé as Hamlet; a Study of Igitur (1949); The Age of Surrealism (1950). He has also translated, with an introduction and comment, the poems of the sixteenth century French poet, Maurice Scève.

CAROLINE GORDON, Novelist
of New Jersey

Proposers: Leonie Adams
Irwin Edman
Louise Bogan

Caroline Gordon is the author of a number of distinguished novels and short stories published over the last twenty years. Her book-length memoir, Alec Maury, Sportsman, ranks with Hudson's A Shepherd's Life and Sassoon's Memoirs. Her historical fiction such as Penhally, is written with respect for the aesthetic and scholarly requirements of the genre, as well as by one seized with the subject. Yet Miss Gordon has as her truest distinction, perhaps, to have carried on the great nineteenth century Flaubertian-Jamesian tradition in the novel, with increasing technical accomplishment and in a prose worthy of that tradition.

L. A.

Miss Gordon was born in Kentucky in 1895, and was educated at Bethany College. Her works include: Penhally (1931), Alec Maury, Sportsman (1934), None Shall Look Back (1937), The Garden of Adonis (1937), Green Centuries (1941), The Women on the Porch (1944), The Forest of the South (1945), The Strange Children (1951). She is a successful teacher of writing, and is co-editor with her husband, Allen Tate, of The House of Fiction, a critical anthology (1950). She is the recipient of an O'Henry Memorial Award, of a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and of a Guggenheim Fellowship in creative writing.

ROBERT LOWELL, Poet
of Massachusetts

Proposers: Louise Bogan
Allan Nevins
William Carlos Williams

Robert Lowell, more than any other American poet of his generation, has added to recent poetry both original technical means and fresh spiritual attitudes. His technical equipment combines great ease in traditional forms together with frequent brilliant innovations; he has evolved several distinctive lyric rhythms and his skill with rhyme is formidable. Intellectually, he has developed, and is still developing, a wide and searching historical sense.

L. B.

Mr. Lowell was born in Boston in 1917. He was educated at Harvard and at Kenyon College, from which he was graduated in 1940. His works include the following volumes of verse: Land of Unlikeness (1944), Lord Weary's Castle (1946) and Poems 1939-1949 (1950).

In 1947 he received a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters as well as the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. He was Consultant in Poetry at the Library of Congress, 1947-48, and won a Guggenheim Fellowship for the same period.

LLOYD MORRIS, Critic and Historian
of New York

Proposers: John van Druten
Christopher Isherwood
Louis Kronenberger

Mr. Lloyd Morris is a writer, an essayist, a critic and an American historian of the first order. His most recent work: Incredible New York, managed to achieve great literary excellence and something approaching best-sellerdom at the same time. His previous work includes a biography of Nathaniel Hawthorne which is one of the best biographies and documents of literary criticism that I know, and several volumes of autobiography and recent American history. He seems to me to deserve, most highly, recognition at the hands of the Institute.

J. v. D.

Mr. Morris was born in New York City in 1897. He is the author of The Celtic Dawn, (1917); The Poetry of E. A. Robinson, (1923); The Rebellious Puritan--Portrait of Mr. Hawthorne, (1927); Procession of Lovers (stories, 1929); This Circle of Flesh (novel) (1931); Threshold in the Sun, (1943); Postscript to Yesterday, (1947); and Incredible New York, (1951). He collaborated with John van Druten in the writing of the play The Damask Cheek.

ANNE PARRISH, Novelist of Connecticut

Proposers: Rachel Crothers
John Mason Brown
John van Druten

Anne Parrish has an exceptionally long record of success in her novels. The latest - especially Poor Child and A Clouded Star -- are written with distinction, a unique individuality and a deep understanding of human nature. The portrait of the boy in Poor Child is very remarkable. Her books for children, illustrated with her own beautiful drawings, are a delight to children and adults.

R. C.

Miss Parrish was born in Colorado in 1888, and was educated in Colorado Springs and Wilmington, Delaware. She has published the following novels: Pocketful of Poses (1923); Semi-Attached (1924); The Perennial Bachelor (1925); Tomorrow Morning (1926); All Kneeling (1928); The Methodist Faun (1929); Loads of Love (1932); Sea Level (1934); Golden Wedding (1936); Mr. Despondency's Daughter (1938); Pray for a Tomorrow (1941); Poor Child (1945); A Clouded Star (1948); a volume of short stories, Lustres (1923), and four children's books (with Dillwyn Parrish).

In 1925 she won the Harper Contest Prize for her Perennial Bachelor.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, Critic of Illinois

Proposers: Marianne Moore
Louise Bogan
Allen Tate

If anyone now in the Institute is appropriate for membership, Morton D. Zabel is. His performance is uncontrovertible. His most felicitous piece of work, I would say, is his introduction to the Viking Portable Henry James. This is phenomenal as a reduction and as enticement. The book lends James "the maximum sense"--in being exposition with mature emphasis. Mr. Zabel's introduction to Conrad's Under Western Eyes has commensurate value, knitting up all aspects of the man--especially in the matter of Conrad's apparatus of authorship. His critiques in The Nation are classic--are certainly "for reference." His immediate claim on the Institute, in my opinion, is his inter-American work. This must be examined to be evaluated--now the standard text in South America.

M. M.

Mr. Zabel was born in Minnesota Lake, Minnesota, in 1901. He took his Ph. D. at the University of Chicago, where he is now professor and also chairman of the William Vaughan Moody Lecture Committee, and did further research work at Harvard, Columbia, and in England and France. He inaugurated the Chair of North American Literature at the National University of Brazil, 1944-46, on a cultural mission for the United States Department of State. On this occasion and on a recent visit to South America he lectured at universities in Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico. Among his books are: The Romantic Realism of Art in England (1933); Literary Opinon in America (1937); Shakespeare's Imagery: a Criticism (1936); The Situation in American Criticism (1939), and his work on the literary history of the United States, which has been published in Portuguese, Spanish and French. He has also edited many literary anthologies, with critical introductions.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

633 West 155th Street
New York City

NOMINATIONS FOR HONORARY MEMBERSHIP
ACADEMY - INSTITUTE

1954

(alphabetically arranged)

HENRI BOUCHARD
French Sculptor

Proposer: Sidney Waugh
Seconders: Cecil Howard
Mahonri M. Young

Henri Bouchard is one of the last great representatives of the French tradition of monumental sculpture. His work is well known for the vigor of its conception and execution, and includes many of the outstanding contemporary monuments of France. He has received every official honor which France can bestow.

Bouchard has been a great and devoted teacher. His atelier at the Ecole des Beaux Arts has been distinguished by the teaching of sound principles and by the high professional performance of his students. He has been particularly kind to young American sculptors who have come to him for instruction, counsel and advice.

Bouchard is loved and admired in France not only for the nobility and brilliance of his sculpture, but for the Spartan simplicity of his life and his complete devotion to his work.

The election of Henri Bouchard to honorary membership would be a fitting symbol of the gratitude which so many sculptors feel toward France.

S. W.

Louis Henri Bouchard was born in 1875 and was educated at Dijon, Paris and Rome. His works include five statues and four bas-reliefs for the Monument International de la Reformation, Geneva; statue of Pierre de Montereau, Saint Denis; statue of Klaus Sluter, Dijon; statue of Jean de Chelles, Paris; Façade of St. Pierre de Chaillot, Paris; statue of Apollo, Palais de Chaillot.

He won the first Prix de Rome in 1901. A Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1908, he became an officer in 1923 and a commander in 1938. In 1925 he was awarded the Medal of Honor of the Salon, and from 1929 to 1945 he was professor of sculpture at the Beaux -Arts. Other honors include membership in the Institut de France (1933); the Presidency of the Société des Artistes Français (1941-44), and corresponding membership in the Royal Academy of Belgium.

WALTER DE LA MARE
English poet and novelist

Proposer: Mark Van Doren
Seconders: Archibald MacLeish
Chauncey Brewster Tinker

Walter De La Mare at eighty-one holds his position in English letters securely and with grace. His poems, his short stories, and his novels, but especially his poems, have now for half a century been notable for a delicacy which, so far from being inconsistent with their depth, is indeed an explanation of it. Their power with children and adults alike is a unique thing in our time, and it seems safe to say that this will continue to be true in any time that values what Mr. De La Mare has called in an important essay "the intellectual imagination."

M. V. D.

Walter De La Mare was born in 1873. His publications include Songs of Childhood, 1902; The Three Mulla-Mulgars and The Return, 1910; The Listeners, 1912; Peacock Pie, 1913; Memoirs of a Midget, 1921; Come Hither, 1923; The Connoisseur and Other Tales, 1928; The Lord Fish, 1933; Early One Morning, 1935; The Wind Blows Over, 1936; Memory and Other Poems, 1938; Behold, This Dreamer, 1939; Bells and Grass, 1941; Love, 1943; The Burning Glass, 1945; The Traveller, 1946; Inward Companion, 1950; Winged Chariot, 1951; Private View, 1953.

He is an Honorary Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and has received honorary degrees from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, London, St. Andrews and Bristol.

WILLEM MARINUS DUDOK
Dutch architect

Proposer: James Kellum Smith
Seconders: Ralph Walker
Henry R. Shepley

Willem Marinus Dudok, outstanding Dutch architect, is internationally known for his great influence in furthering modern design. Hilversum, Holland, where he has long practiced, is famous for his works. Gold Medalist of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Honorary

Fellow of The American Institute of Architects, he has always contributed to city planning, government buildings, and housing a quality of orderliness and keen understanding of fine detail. These have given stature to all he designs.

J. K. S.

Willem Marinus Dudok was born in 1884 and was educated at the Royal Military Academy at Breda. After serving eight years as an officer of the Royal Engineers he became an engineer of the city of Leyden and then Director of Public Works in Hilversum, where he has been City Architect since 1927. He has also been in private practice as an architect and town planner. His principal works include a secondary school at Leyden; banks at Schiedam, Arnhem and Rotterdam; Municipal Theatre at Utrecht; workers' houses at Hilversum; middle-class houses at Eindhoven; Town Hall of Hilversum, the Beehive stores and Erasmus House at Rotterdam; head office of the Royal Dutch Steelworks at Ijmuiden; Netherlands students' Hostel, Cité Universitaire, Paris; cinema and stores in Calcutta; designs for Town Halls at The Hague, Amsterdam, Curaçao, Velsen, etc.

He is an Officer of the Order of Orange-Nassau, Knight of the Order of Netherlands; Officer of the Order of the Crown (Belgium); Gold Medallist of the Royal Institute of British Architects, as well as recipient of Gold Medals at Hilversum and the Hague.

SIR JACOB EPSTEIN
English sculptor

Proposer: William Zorach
Seconders: Oronzio Maldarelli
Leon Kroll

Jacob Epstein has been a controversial figure in the art world since his first commissioned works for the British Medical Association Building around the year 1907. Epstein's bronzes have a tremendous power and vitality. He is perhaps the one sculptor today who utilizes the medium of bronze in the most perfect sense.

He models clay as if it were molten metal - keeping his modeling alive and flexible so that the bronze retains the flow of the metal as well as the creative fervor of the artist. His work is swift in execution, forceful in conception and always retains the freshness and spontaneity of the first impact of creation.

He is a great portraitist also. A real artist always injects into his work as much of himself as of the sitter. One will always think of Epstein's portraits not just as portrayals of definite people but as works of art.

The tremendous vitality and artistic integrity of the man as well as his creative genius put him among the greatest living sculptors.

W. Z.

Jacob Epstein was born in New York in 1880. In addition to his figures for the British Medical Association Building (bombed during the last war), he executed the tomb of Oscar Wilde at the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris (1909-12); "Venus," 1917; "Christ," 1920; the memorial to W. H. Hudson in Hyde Park, "Rima," 1925; "Day" and "Night," figures for Headquarters Building of the London Underground, 1928-29; "Genesis," 1931; "Behold the Man," 1935; "Adam," 1939; "Jacob and the Angel," 1942; and among other works portrait busts of Lord Fisher, Lady Hamilton, Lord Rothermere, Lord Beaverbrook, Chaim Weizmann, Albert Einstein, George Bernard Shaw, Hailie Selassie and Winston Churchill. He was named Knight of the British Empire in the Queen's birthday honors list in 1953.

HERMANN HESSE
Swiss novelist and poet

Proposer: Otto Luening
Seconders: Louis Kronenberger
Marc Connelly

Hermann Hesse carries on in his person and in his works the German classical and romantic literary tradition as it exists today. His intimate understanding of the Far East brings to his German heritage imaginative refinements and spiritual depths which together provide new planes for the play of his images.

Anticipating the decline of German cultural values he became a voluntary exile in Switzerland in 1912. By the mid-thirties, with the rise of Naziism, one half of his works had been destroyed and were out of print while the remainder were under boycott.

After he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1946, his poems, and the novels Der Steppenwolf and Das Glasperlenspiel again attracted the attention of the cultured world, which recognized in him a major literary figure of Germany and of our time.

O. L.

Hermann Hesse was born in Germany in 1877 and was educated at Basel and Tübingen. In addition to the books mentioned above he has also published Peter Camenzind, 1904; Unterm Rad, 1906; Knulp, 1915; Demian, 1919; Siddharta, 1922; Kurgast, 1925; Trost der Nacht, 1929;

Narziss und Goldmund, 1930; Die Morgenlandfahrt, 1932; Traumfährte, 1946; Krieg und Frieden, 1946, and other volumes of collected prose and poetry.

He received the Gottfried Keller Prize for Literature in Zurich in 1936; the Nobel Prize in 1946, and the Goethe Prize in Frankfurt in 1946.

ARTHUR HONEGGER
Swiss composer

Proposer: Douglas Moore
Seconders: Otto Luening
Deems Taylor

Although Honegger was born in Switzerland and is still of Swiss nationality, he has been identified with the French School, particularly with that group which after the First World War associated to propagandize their music under the heading of "Les Six." Very soon Honegger stepped out of the ranks with a solid success, his incidental music for René Morat's play King David. This music in concert arrangement made him world famous. The following year there was a sensational success with a descriptive orchestral piece "Pacific 231." Although Honegger wrote thereafter a number of operas, symphonies and chamber music compositions which were well received, he did not again obtain the same popularity for these works, and his fame was somewhat eclipsed by Milhaud and Poulenc, two others of the same group. Of late years, however, Honegger's steady output of serious works, less sensational perhaps but more mature and more personal, has brought about a revaluation of his importance and there seems little doubt that today he is one of the most highly respected of living composers.

D. M.

Arthur Honegger was born in 1892 and was educated at Havre, the Zurich Conservatory and in Paris, where he studied with Widor and d'Indy. Among his works are a pantomime symphony "Horace Victorieux;" "Antigone;" "Skating Rink" (ballet); "Le Roi Pansole" (operetta); "Semiramis;" "L'Aiglon;" "Jeanne d'Arc au bûcher," "Judith" (dramatic psalm); in addition to many songs, sonatas and music for the films: "Les Misérables," "Crime et Châtiment" and "Mayerling."

ANDRE MALRAUX
French novelist and critic

Proposer: Glenway Wescott
Seconders: Marc Connelly
Louis Kronenberger

The genius of this powerful and singular writer has divided itself in two aspects: belief in political action, and love of the fine arts.

As a young man he witnessed the civil war in China in 1925, and his first book, les Conquérants (The Conquerors), gave a true or at least crystal-clear account of it. His most successful novel, la Condition Humaine (Man's Fate), further epitomized the violent world-wide idealism of those years between World Wars I and II.

In recent years he has produced volume by volume, a treatise on painting and sculpture, les Voix du Silence (Voices of Silence), embracing all of art-history, old and new, oriental and occidental, in a single interpretation. His intellect towers in it, but is ever mysterious, beclouded, and with a rhetoric that is like thunder and lightning. It has had international acclaim.

One may conclude that in his early life revolution was his philosophy, and failed as such, though he has remained a professional politician. Whereas in this recent tremendous work he seems to be making a religion of his universal and timeless aesthetics.

G. W.

André Malraux was born in 1901 and received his education in Paris, later pursuing his Oriental and archeological studies in China and Indo-China. He served with the Republican Air Force in the Spanish Civil War and with the Tank Division of the French Army in 1939-40. Active in the resistance movement in the last years of the war, he attached himself to General de Gaulle and became Minister of Information in the de Gaulle Government in 1945-46.

Among his works are: La Tentation de l'Occident, La Voie Royale; Le Temps du Mépris; l'Espoir (Man's Hope) 1938; Goya -- Oeuvres Complètes, 1945; Psychologie de l'Art, 1948.

JACQUES MARITAIN
French philosopher

Proposer: Allen Tate
Seconders: Reinhold Niebuhr
Wystan Hugh Auden

Although Mr. Maritain seems to have no intention of becoming an American citizen, he has cast his lot among us, and it would seem to be highly fitting that he be made an honorary member. We do not need to accept the Thomistic basis of his thought to acknowledge the great distinction of his contribution to modern philosophy; and from the point of view of an

institution devoted to the cause of arts and letters, his contribution to the understanding of art and poetry is even more to the point. His name on our rolls would give them luster, and it would indicate an American recognition of the value of his work in our culture.

A. T.

Jacques Maritain was born in 1882 and was educated at the University of Paris. He has been professor of philosophy at the Catholic Institute in Paris and at the Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto, visiting professor at Columbia and at Princeton Universities from 1940 to 1944. From 1945 to 1948 he was French Ambassador to the Holy See. He is now professor of philosophy at Princeton. Among his publications are the following translated works: Art and Scholasticism, 1932; The Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas, 1933; Freedom in the Modern World, 1936; The Degrees of Knowledge, 1938; True Humanism, 1938; A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, 1939; France My Country, 1941; The Rights of Man and Natural Law, 1942; Education at the Crossroads, 1943; Art and Poetry, 1943; Existence and the Existent, 1948; Man and the State, 1951.

ANDRE DUNOYER DE SEGONZAC
French painter

Proposer: Leon Kroll
Seconders: Eugene Speicher
Isabel Bishop

Eminent artist working in the tradition of great painting carrying through from Courbet, Corot, Cézanne, and contributing a distinctly personal note of his own, Segonzac is still painting with vigor. His work, based on abstract form in the best sense of that term, is imbued with love of humanity and nature. It contains a moving, poetic vision expressed in all mediums of which he is a master. He is in my opinion, a great artist.

He is revered in his own country and is the recipient of numerous honors. Among the most recent, he was elected the Honorary Member to represent France in the Royal Academy of England. The official coronation gift of France to Queen Elizabeth consisted of two paintings by Segonzac.

L. K.

M. Dunoyer de Segonzac was born in 1884, and was educated at the Lycée Henri IV, in Paris. He served in the First World War, receiving four citations for the Croix de Guerre and being named Chévalier of the Legion d'Honneur. In 1933 he won first prize at the Carnegie International; in 1934 he received a gold medal at the Venice Biennale.

He is a member of the Royal Academy of Florence and honorary member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. Also known for his work as a graphic artist, he has illustrated Colette's Treille Muscate, Virgil's Georgics and Dorgelès Croix de Bois, among other works.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER
French philosopher

Proposer: Robert E. Sherwood
Seconders: Douglas Moore
Chauncey Brewster Tinker

Albert Schweitzer is a Doctor of Theology, of Medicine, of Philosophy and of Letters. A musician, he is probably the foremost authority on the works of Bach. He comes as close as anyone living to fulfillment of the concept of the universal man.

R. E. S.

Albert Schweitzer, born in Alsace in 1875, was educated at the Universities of Strasbourg, Paris and Berlin, taking degrees in philosophy, theology and medicine. He was organist of the J. S. Bach Society of Paris from 1903 to 1911, also organist of the Orfeo Catala of Barcelona. In 1913 he went as a missionary surgeon to French Equatorial Africa, where he founded the Lambarene Hospital, with which he has been associated ever since but for brief intervals. Among his publications are: Die Religionsphilosophie Kants, 1899; J. S. Bach, le musicien-poète, 1905; J. S. Bach, Deutsche Ausgabe, 1908; The Quest of the Historical Jesus, 1911; Paul and his Interpreters, 1912; On the Edge of the Primeval Forest, 1922; The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization, 1923; Civilization and Ethics, 1923; Selbstdarstellung, 1929; The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, 1931; The Forest Hospital at Lambarene, 1931; My Life and Thought, 1933; Indian Thought and its Development, 1936; From My African Notebook, 1939.

He has received many honorary degrees from universities in Europe and America. In 1952 he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

IVAR TENGBOM
Swedish architect

Proposer: Ralph Walker
Seconders: Henry R. Shepley
James Kellum Smith

Ivar Tengbom, noted Swedish architect, has been well recognized by the great architectural societies of the world, has received the coveted Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects and is an Honorary Fellow of The American Institute of Architects. His works, such as the famous Concert Hall in Stockholm and the office building for the Swedish Match Company, are characterized by imagination tempered with refinement. He was one of the leaders who after the First World War did much to create the present distinction we all accord to Swedish design.

R. W.

Ivar Tengbom was born in 1878 and was educated at the Chalmers Technical Institute of Göteborg and the Academy of Art in Stockholm. He was professor of Architecture at the Academy from 1916 to 1920; thereafter Architect at the Royal Palaces at Stockholm and Drottningholm, and General Director and Head of the Royal Board of Public Buildings from 1924 to 1936. Among the buildings he designed are: Stockholm's Enskilda Bank, 1915; Hogalid Church, Stockholm, 1923; Concert Hall, Stockholm , 1926; Head Office of Swedish Match Company, Stockholm, 1928; Johnson-Line Office, 1932; City Palace, St ockholm, 1933; Esselte Building (factory), 1933; Swedish Archeological Academy, Rome, 1940; Atvidabergs house, 1944; Bonnier Building, Stockholm (in collaboration with Anders Tengbom), 1948.

He received the King's Medal at the Academy of Art in Stockholm, 1901; in 1943 he was President of the Academy of Art. He is a member or a corresponding member of numerous academies in Europe and America, and has received honorary degrees from many universities.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

BALLOT FOR ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY - INSTITUTE

1954

According to the By-Laws Article II Section 4, "Foreign citizens distinguished in the arts may be elected as Honorary Members of the Academy - Institute...."

The names of the candidates who have been duly proposed and approved by the Board of Directors of the Academy and the Council of the Institute, are herewith respectfully submitted for consideration. Seven vacancies may be filled this year.

Candidates	Yes	No
HENRI BOUCHARD, Sculptor		
WALTER DE LA MARE, Poet, Novelist		
WILLEM MARINUS DUDOK, Architect		
JACOB EPSTEIN, Sculptor		
HERMANN HESSE, Novelist, Poet		
ARTHUR HONEGGER, Composer		
ANDRE MALRAUX, Novelist, Critic		
JACQUES MARITAIN, Philosopher		
ANDRE DUNOYER DE SEGONZAC, Painter		
ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Philosopher		
IVAR TENGBOM, Architect		

Please sign your name only on the ballot envelope. Ballots should be returned before December 20, 1954.

November 20, 1954

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS
633 West 155th Street
New York City

CANDIDATES FOR MEMBERSHIP WHO HAVE QUALIFIED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE DEPARTMENTS

1954
(alphabetically arranged)

ART

RUSSELL COWLES, Painter
of Connecticut

Proposers: Zoltan Sepeshy
Peter Blume
Henry Schnakenberg

The painting of Russell Cowles is a contribution of permanent value to the culture of his country and his time. His work shows solidity and originality of design without a trace of faddism, excellent workmanship, deep concern with quality and unwavering professional integrity. It is an achievement reflecting the intellect, the sincerity and the high principles of the artist.

Z. S.

Russell Cowles was born in Iowa in 1887. After taking his B. A. at Dartmouth College he studied painting at the National Academy of Design, the Art Students League and the American Academy in Rome. His work is in the permanent collections of the Denver and Terre Haute Museums, the Encyclopedia Britannica and the Murdock Collections, Dartmouth College, Minneapolis Institute of Art, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Des Moines Art Center, Addison Gallery of American Art and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

Among his awards are: Medal, Art Institute of Chicago, 1925; Prize, Denver Art Museum, 1936, Santa Barbara Museum, 1943.

GEORGE GROSZ, Painter
of New York

Proposers: Isabel Bishop
Henry Schnakenberg
Clare Leighton

George Grosz has contributed to this period's vision of itself. In the twenties he focussed his creativeness sharply on decadent aspects of post-World War I German society. Admired for their aesthetic qualities, his pictorial diatribes created the image in which that society was thenceforth

seen. On becoming an American in the thirties, Grosz revised New York's own view of itself through a series of expressionistic and at the same time lyric water colors. Later he solidified his art form, developing an effective and sensuous technique in oil painting, and charging it with his vivid concept of man and his world. I. B.

Born in Germany in 1893, George Grosz came to the United States in 1932 and became an American citizen in 1938. He studied at the Dresden Academy of Art and the Berlin State School of Arts and Crafts as well as in Paris. While in Europe he published some forty volumes of lithographs and drawings, of which the best known are Ecce Homo and Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse, and won prizes at Dusseldorf, Germany, and at Amsterdam, Holland. Since his arrival in the United States several volumes of his drawings have been published, including Interregnum (1936). He has also illustrated O'Henry's The Voice of the City (1935) for the Limited Editions Club and Ben Hecht's 1001 Afternoons in New York (1941). In 1937-38 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1945 a prize at the Carnegie Institute. He has exhibited extensively in this country and abroad. His work is in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago, Metropolitan Museum, Museum of Modern Art, Whitney, Detroit Institute, Los Angeles Museum and the Minneapolis Institute.

WILLIAM PLATT, Architect of New York

Proposers: William Adams Delano
James Kellum Smith
Eric Gugler
Gilmore D. Clarke

In his modest personal practice William Platt has designed many buildings -- schools, colleges and private houses -- that have been distinguished for their charm and fitness to their sites. They have the dignity of simplicity and the finish and elegance of the best traditional work. In short, he is an artist of rare ability.

W.A.D.

William Platt was born in New York City in 1897, and was educated at Harvard College and Columbia University, where he received his B. Arch., in 1923. He entered the office of his father, Charles A. Platt, in 1925, and although he started an independent practice in 1928 he was associated with his father in the planning and design of many important buildings being executed by Charles A. Platt at that time. Among his most significant works are: Library, Glens Falls, N.Y.; Office Building, Corning Glass Works; Chapel, American Military Cemetery, Suresnes, France; and the Science Building, Dining Hall, Infirmary, Dormitories and Memorial Building for the Deerfield Academy in Deerfield, Mass., as well as a large number of country houses.

He is Consulting Architect for the National Park Service in connection with Castle Clinton and Federal Hall. In 1933 he won first prize in the International Competition: Replanning Central Business District, City of Stockholm.

EERO SAARINEN, Architect
of Michigan

Proposers: Henry R. Shepley
Charles D. Maginnis
Aymar Embury II

Eero Saarinen is one of the most gifted architects of his age. His designs have a brilliance and clarity which achieve classic simplicity and have a timeless quality found only in great architecture. He is endowed with good sense and sane judgment and is exerting a powerful influence on the profession toward a sound and truly American contemporary architecture.

H.R.S.

Mr. Saarinen was born in Finland in 1910. He was brought to this country in 1923 and became a naturalized American citizen in 1940. He was educated in and around the studio of his father, Eliel Saarinen, and at Yale University where he took his degree as Bachelor of Fine Arts in 1934, winning the Charles O. Matcham Fellowship for travel in Europe. He was first associated with his father and others on the Kleinhaus Music Hall, Buffalo, 1939; Summer Opera House, Berkshire Music Center, Lenox, Mass., 1940 Art Center and Museum, Des Moines, Iowa, 1946; Campus plan and Women's dormitory, Antioch College, 1947. He was founder of the firm of Saarinen, Saarinen & Associates and was responsible for the following: Drake University Campus Plan, Science and Pharmacy buildings, and dormitories; Detroit Civic Center; General Motors Technical Center, Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee War Memorial Civic Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

He was active in planning the Willow Run Town Center; housing projects; church architecture such as the Tabernacle Church of Christ, Columbus, Indiana; and Christ Church, Cincinnati, Ohio; and educational architecture, such as campus plans for Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, and Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts.

Among his awards in architectural competitions are the following: William and Mary Art Center, 1st prize, 1939; Arts and Architecture Competition 1st prize, 1944; Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition 1st prize, 1948. He is a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects and a member of the American Society of Planners and Architects and an Associate of the National Academy of Design.

LITERATURE

HAMILTON BASSO, Novelist
of Connecticut

Proposers: Van Wyck Brooks
Malcolm Cowley
Franklin P. Adams

Hamilton Basso is the author of eight novels, the most recent of which is called The Green Room (suggested by the life of Edith Wharton). He is a very accomplished writer, an all-around man of letters who has also written a life of Beauregard and a book called Mainstream (types of American character), along with many reviews and travel-papers.

V. W. B.

Mr. Basso was born in New Orleans in 1904, and was educated at Tulane University. He has been at various times associate editor of The New Republic, Time, and The New Yorker magazines. In addition to the books named above he has also published the following novels: Relics and Angels (1929); Cinnamon Seed (1934); In their Own Image (1935); Courthouse Square (1936); Days Before Lent (1939); Wine of the Country (1941) and Sin in Capricorn (1942). In 1939 he won the Southern Authors Award.

ELIZABETH BISHOP, Poet
of New York

Proposers: John Hall Wheelock
Louise Bogan
Louis Untermeyer

Elizabeth Bishop is a young poet who has already made an important place for herself among contemporary poets, and her work appears in the chief anthologies. She has published one book, North and South, issued by Houghton Mifflin in 1946. Miss Bishop's work is not only distinguished, but highly original in point of view and method. I know of no one better entitled to membership in the National Institute than this talented young woman whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting.

J. H. W.

Elizabeth Bishop was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1911. She was educated at Vassar College, from which she was graduated in 1934. She has travelled extensively in Newfoundland, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, North Africa and Mexico. Her poems have appeared in New Directions, The New Yorker and the Partisan Review. In 1945 she won the Poetry Fellowship of $1,000 from Houghton Mifflin Co., who published her book of verse, North and South, the following year. She has also won the Bryn Mawr Fellowship for poetry and a grant in literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters (1951).

H. L. DAVIS, Novelist
of California

Proposers: Malcolm Cowley
Allan Nevins
Glenway Wescott

H. L. Davis is the most distinguished writer of the Pacific Northwest, which has not been represented in the literary section of the Institute. He was a sheep herder, an itinerant laborer, and a poet, before H. L. Mencken persuaded him to write prose. His books, published as novels, are in reality ballad cycles or collections of tall tales with a footloose hero. Colt-wild and loose-jointed, they catch the look of the Oregon countryside, the speech and laughter of the people, the color of what happened, and they also convey a sense of wonder, as if nobody before had seen his country, let alone finding words for it. He is still a poet, if in prose, and still itinerant.

M. C.

Mr. Davis was born in Yoncalla, Oregon, in 1896, and was educated in the public schools and at Stanford University. His works include: Honey in the Horn (1935), Beulah Land (1949) and Winds of Morning (1951).

He won the Levinson poetry prize given by Poetry Magazine in 1919; a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1932. His novel: Honey in the Horn, which was the Harper Prize Novel in 1935, won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction the following year.

ROBERT LOWELL, Poet
of Massachusetts

Proposers: Louise Bogan
Allan Nevins
William Carlos Williams

Robert Lowell, more than any other American poet of his generation, has added to recent poetry both original technical means and fresh spiritual attitudes. His technical equipment combines great ease in traditional forms together with frequent brilliant innovations; he has evolved several distinctive lyric rhythms and his skill with rhyme is formidable. Intellectually, he has developed, and is still developing, a wide and searching historical sense.

L. B.

Mr. Lowell was born in Boston in 1917. He was educated at Harvard and at Kenyon College, from which he was graduated in 1940. His works include the following volumes of verse: Land of Unlikeness (1944), Lord Weary's Castle (1946) and Poems 1939-1949 (1950).

In 1947 he received a Grant in Literature of the National Institute of Arts and Letters as well as the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. He was Consultant in Poetry at the Library of Congress, 1947-48, and won a Guggenheim Fellowship for the same period.

MUSIC

BOHUSLAV MARTINU
of New York

Proposers: Douglas Moore
Virgil Thomson
Otto Luening

Bohuslav Martinu is a composer of world-wide reputation who has written successfully in all the large forms. He is certainly one of the most distinguished of living composers.

D. M.

Mr. Martinu was born in Czechoslovakia in 1890. He began composing at the age of ten and has since written over a hundred works, the more famous of these for orchestra and chamber groups. After serving ten years with the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra in Prague he went to Paris in 1923, and remained there until the fall of France. He came to the United States in 1941 and has recently become an American citizen. In 1932 he won the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Prize for his String Sextet. His First Symphony was commissioned by the Koussevitzky Foundation in 1942, and he has since written four more symphonies. His works have had many performances by the leading orchestras of this country and Europe, and have been heard frequently over the radio networks.

CARL RUGGLES
of Vermont

Proposers: Henry Cowell
Charles E. Ives
Otto Luening

Carl Ruggles is one of America's great pioneers in chromatic dissonance, and a leading composer. He has never bowed to superficial popularity, but is one of the most exquisitely perfected in style of those we have produced in creative music.

H. C.

Carl Ruggles was born in Marion, Massachusetts in 1876. He studied with Claus, Spalding and Timner, and took some courses in music at Harvard University. He founded the Winona Symphony Orchestra in 1908, serving as its conductor, and since 1939 has been instructor at the seminar in modern composition at the University of Miami, Florida, which he inaugurated. Among his best known compositions are "Men and Angels," "Men and Mountains," "Portals," "Sun-Treader," and "Organum," for orchestra; "Vox Clamans in Deserto," for Chamber Orchestra; and "Evocations," 4 chants for Piano. His works have been performed by the Philharmonic Society and many other orchestras here and abroad. He represented the United States at the Venice Festival and the Barcelona Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

FINAL BALLOT
FOR ELECTION OF NEW MEMBERS

1954

DEPARTMENT OF ART: vote for 2 only	Yes	No
Russell Cowles		
George Grosz		
William Platt		
Eero Saarinen		

DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE: vote for 2 only		
Hamilton Basso		
Elizabeth Bishop		
H. L. Davis		
Robert Lowell		

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC: vote for 1 only		
Bohuslav Martinu		
Carl Ruggles		

Please do not vote affirmatively for more than two writers, two artists and one musician, to fill the 5 existing vacancies.

NATIONAL ROSENBERG DEFENCE COMMITTEE

c/o ARENA, 28-29 SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.2 TEMple Bar 7103

Secretary : Percy Belcher

Treasurer : Mrs. Leah Manning

Committee :
Miss Elizabeth A. Allen
Prof. J. D. Bernal, F.R.S.
Dudley Collard
J. G. Crowther
Rev. Stanley Evans
Prof. H. Levy, F.R.S.E.
Rev. Mercer Wilson
D. N. Pritt, Q.C.
Mrs. Dora Russell
Jack Stanley
Miss Monica Whately
L. C. White

Assistant Secretary
Mrs. R. Waterman,
242 Willesden Dane,
London, N.W.2.

June 12th 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

My Committee would greatly appreciate it if you would kindly send a message of greeting to us on the occasion of our

Commemoration Meeting
to honour the memories of Ethel and
Julius Rosenberg

which we are holding on Monday, June 21st, 7.30 p.m. at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC2, London.

The Chairman of the meeting will be the Rev.Stanley Evans, who played a leading role last year in the fight for clemency for the Rosenbergs, as did all the speakers who will be taking part in this meeting: Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., the famous barrister; Miss Monica Whately, a leading Catholic and fighter for the rights of women; Dr. Kaiser, a scientist who took part in the campaign in Manchester, one of our great cities; and Mrs. Mickey Doyle, a native of the U.S.A., who worked for the Rosenberg Committee there.

The meeting will also include songs by the Workers' Music Association and a recital of poems.

We should be very honoured to have your message, cabled to us if possible, or sent by airmail. I am so sorry to have left it so late, but I only just received your address.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

R Waterman
Assistant Secretary.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
31 Grace Court,
Brooklyn, New York City,
U.S.A.

27-8-21

Accept from myself and my wife Shirley Graham sincerest sympathy and collaboration in your commemoration of t[redacted] Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. May Justice yet regain its throne

W.E.B.Du BOIS

Du 2-3491

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your freinds and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Nenni

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Mr. Nenni c. March 4, 1954

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

May 28, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Dr. Hershel D. Meyer, author of THE LAST ILLUSION, which we are distributing nationally, informed us he had mailed a copy of his book to you some time ago. If you have had the opportunity to read it, would you undertake to give us a few sentences about the book which we could use in popularizing it. Such a statement would be most helpful.

We hope you will find it possible. With warmest regards,

Yours,
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

Joseph Felshin

Joseph Felshin, Pres.

JF:MB

June 17, 1954

Mr. Joseph Felshin
New Century Publishers
832 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Felshin:

Some time ago I sent a letter to Dr. Hershel D. Meyer on his book, "The Last Illusion".

I am enclosing a copy.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh
enc.

NEW Challenge
673 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 12, N. Y.
GRamercy 5-8282

December 8, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Ct.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We are now preparing the February issue of our magazine "New Challenge", which will feature Negro history, past and present. I am writing to ask you to contribute a piece to this issue.

Such a contribution, we feel, would add immeasurably to the educational value of this issue for our young readers. Our suggestion is for the article to be on love of country and its meaning for Negro and white youth today. The article should be a maximum of 900 words. The deadline is December 29.

In case you are not familiar with our magazine, two recent issues are sent under separate cover. Our audience is nation-wide, and we try to appeal to the average young person between the ages of 16-24.

Your consideration is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Weissman

Aaron Weissman
Editor

21-1-76

[New Jersey Conference for Jobs, Trade and Peace]

194 Hillside Ave.
Nutley 10 N.J.
Feb. 25, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26 St.
New York 10 N.Y.

I am working on a committee in New Jersey which is preparing a statewide conference on Peace, Trade, and Jobs - to be held late in April or early in May, in Newark. The place will be the Galilee Baptist Church, of which the Rev.H.D. Clark is minister. We hope the date will be April 24th.

We should be highly honored if you would consent to be our keynote speaker. If you are not able to come on April 24th, we could make the date May 8th, to suit your convenience.

The conference will open at about 11 A.M. with the keynote address and will continue through the afternoon, with panel discussions, resolutions, and the election of a continuations committee to plan future activity. A draft call will be ready within a few days, and I will send you a copy immediately.

The conference will be sponsored by a group of individuals from trade unions, churches, etc. Although we are not part of the American Peace Crusade, that organization has been very helpful with advice and suggestions.

The main theme of our conference will be our country's need for world trade - what it could mean toAmerican workers, farmers, small business people, young people, and especially to the Negro members of these groups.

We feel that your warmth and understanding could inspire us and help us on our way to the goal we are striving for. We shall hope for a favorable reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Eldridge

Dorothy Eldridge

March 1, 1954

Miss Dorothy Eldridge
194 Hillside Avenue
Nutley 10, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eldridge:

I can speak at your Peace Conference April 24th. My charge will be $100. I am going on vacation during the month of March.

Please let me know if this is satisfactory.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

194 Hillside Ave.
Nutley 10 N.J.
March 7, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 west 26th Street
New York 10 N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We are very happy that you are able to speak at our Peace Conference on April 24th. Your fee of $100 is satisfactory.

There is the barest possibility that we may be pressed by time to change the date to May 8th. Would this also be feasible for you? If not, we will continue our plans for April 24th, as your keynote address is of first importance to us.

If, however, both dates are possible for you, we should very much appreciate it if you could let us know and hold both open for one week. You would hear from me as to the final decision not later than March 15th.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy Eldridge

Dorothy Eldridge

March 8, 1954

Miss Dorothy Eldridge
194 Hillside Avenue
Nutley 10, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eldridge:

Dr. Du Bois is out of town and will be back the end of March.

However, since both days are open in his appointment book, he can speak for you either April 24th or May 8th.

Please let me know as soon as you can what the final definite date is so that I can write him the information.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

194 Hillside Ave.
Nutley 10 N.J.
March 14, 1954

Miss Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10 N.Y.

Dear Miss Hyman—

The final date for the New Jersey Conference for Jobs, Trade and Peace is Saturday, May 8th. We plan to have Dr. Du Bois give his address at eleven A.M.

We very much appreciate Dr. Du Bois' willingness to change the date from April 24th.

I shall be in touch with you again before the conference date.

Cordially yours,
Dorothy Eldridge

194 Hillside Ave.
Nutley 10 N.J.
March 15, 1954

Nutley 2-2464

Miss Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th St.
New York 10 N.Y.

Dear Miss Hyman,

Only yesterday I wrote you confirming May 8th as the final date for the New Jersey Conference for Jobs, Trade, and Peace. Today it has become evident that the activities planned by many trade union people in our state for that date would make it impossible for them to attend. For that reason it seems to us imperative that we again shift the date - this time to May 15th.

I hope you will be able to cancel my letter of yesterday, and

arrange for Dr. Du Bois to deliver the keynote address on Saturday, May 15th at eleven o'clock A.M.

We regret any inconvenience we may have caused you by changing our plans, but we know you understand the difficulties involved in arranging such a conference as ours.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Eldridge

March 18, 1954

Miss Dorothy Eldridge
194 Hillside Avenue
Nutley, 10, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eldridge:

Dr. Du Bois is still away on vacation.

However, in view of the fact that the date of May 15th is open in his appointment book, I feel confident in accepting the postponement of his speech at your conference to that date. I will write to him and let him know.

Hoping your work goes smoothly from now on, and wishing you the best,

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

March 29, 1954.

Miss Dorothy Eldridge
194 Hillside Avenue
Nutley, 10, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eldridge:

I have arrived home and your letters have been brought to my attention.

The date of May 15th for my lecture is acceptable to me.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

194 Hillside Ave,
Nutley 10 N.J.
May 9, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
23 West 26 St.
New York N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

We are looking forward to hearing your keynote address at our Conference on Jobs, Trade, and Peace on next Sturday, May 15th at 10:30 A.M.

Our program is quite well lined up now, and we hope to have a good attendance and to make a real contribution to peace. We feel that the peace sentiment of the people in our state and our country today is very strong and widespread, and is beginning to be considerably more articulated than it has been in the past period. We think, however, that there is still much lack of clarity and of organized expression. We hope that our conference and the activity that grows out of it can express the desires that are common to most of the people in our state, and at the same time add clarity of thought.

With this goal in mind, we plan that the general content of the discussion and resolutions shall emphasize and explore the possibilities of solving world tensions by negotiations and trade, and not dwell over-much on what we deem are and have been the wrong policies of our government. We feel that we can give both clarity and encouragement to the people around us by adopting this approach.

We feel sure that your opening address will help us to build this type of conference.

In order that we may prepare a press release, it would be most helpful if we might have a copy of your talk in advance. Would this be possible for you?

If you have any questions about the conference, please call or write to me. Or I could drop in to see you some evening. I go into New York one or two evenings a week.

Verycordially yours,

Dorothy Eldridge

Acting Secretary of The N.J. Conference for Jobs, Trade, and Peace

194 Hillside Ave.
Nutley 10 N.J.
May 10, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

It is necessary to inform you that our conference on Saturday, May 10th will be held at Wideaway Hall, 939 Broad Street, Newark, instead of the Salilee Baptist Church, as previously announced.

Factional dispute in connection with a foreclosed mortgage has made this step necessary. Reverend Clark, ministers of the church and one of our Sponsors, will be with us at Wideaway Hall, and will deliver the invocation, as planned.

We look forward to a fine conference.

Sincerely yours,
Dorothy Eldridge
Acting Secretary
N.J. Conference for Peace, Trade, and Jobs.

"From Truce to Peace"

May 13, 1954

Miss Dorothy Eldridge
194 Hillside Avenue
Nutley 10, New Jersey

My dear Miss Eldridge:

Enclosed is a copy of the speech which I shall make Saturday.

I will leave here at 10 o'clock in the morning on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and take a cab directly to Wideway Hall, 929 Broad Street, Newark.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Sponsors

Andrew A. Bato, East Orange
Santo Bevacqua, Newark
Dorothy Bregman, Newark
Dr. Ulysses Campbell, East Orange
Vincent Castiglione, Newark
Selma Chernoff, Toms River
Rev. Harold E. Clarke, Newark
Dorothy Eldridge, Nutley
Franklin Folsom, Roosevelt
Mr. and Mrs. O. P. Gellert, Englewood
Frances Leber, Toms River
Ruth Lerner, Newark
Dr. and Mrs. H. Lippman, Maplewood
Rev. J. C. Nelson, Newark
Isabel Pearlman, Maplewood
John Perry, Freehold
Joseph J. Purcell, Fort Lee
Mr. and Mrs. D. Tindall, East Orange
Dr. Leonard Tushnet, Maplewood
Katharine Van Orden, Verona
Jack Wysoker, New Brunswick
"Partial List"

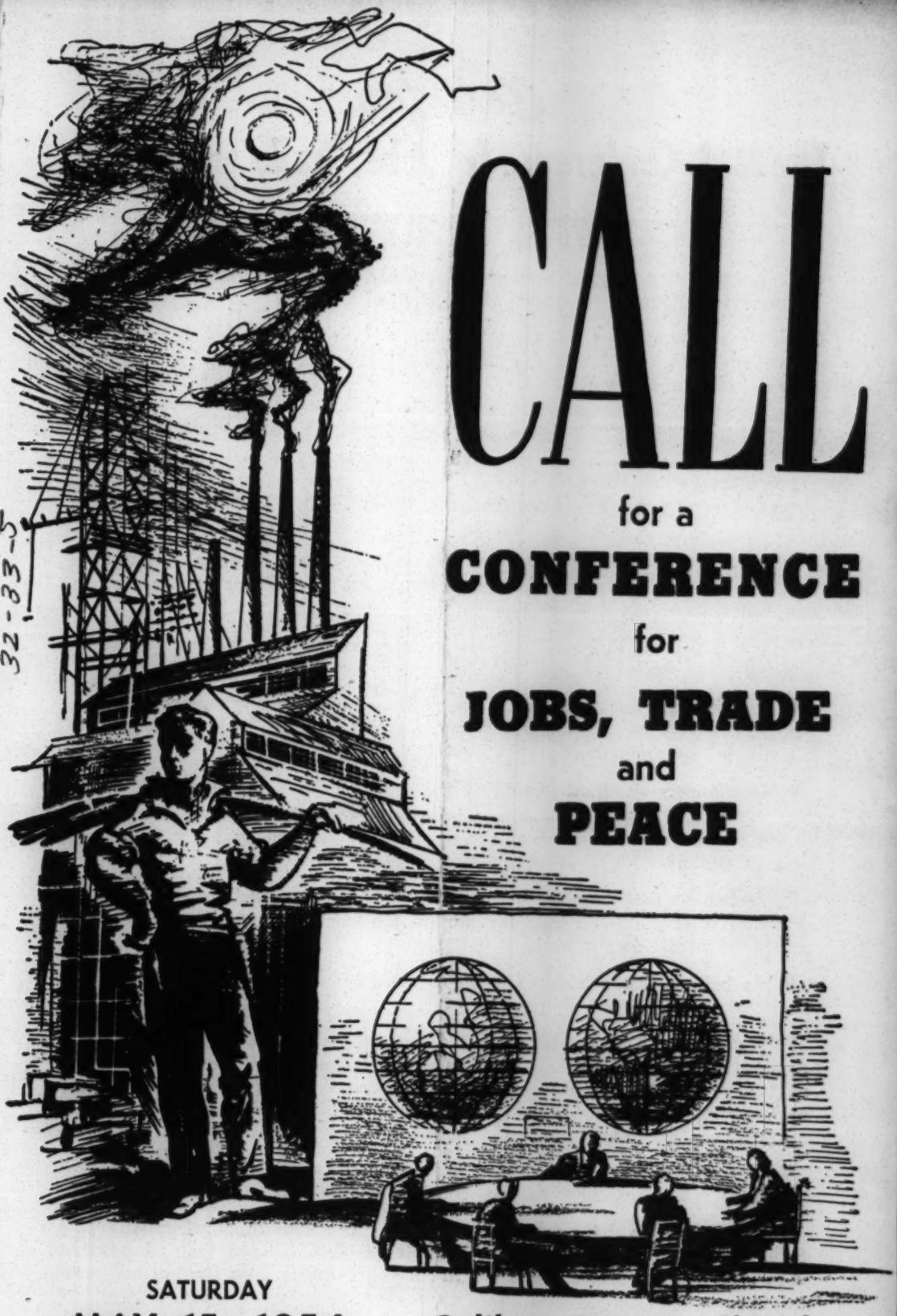
GALILEE BAPTIST CHURCH

148 CLINTON AVENUE, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

★

MAY 15th, 1954 10:00 A. M. TO 5:30 P. M.

REGISTRATION FEE:		
	ADULTS	$1.00
	STUDENTS	.25
CHICKEN DINNER:		
	ADULTS	$1.25
	STUDENTS	.75



CALL

for a

CONFERENCE

for

JOBS, TRADE

and

PEACE

32-83-5

SATURDAY

MAY 15, 1954

10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

Galilee Baptist Church

148 Clinton Avenue, Newark, N. J.

Call for

The N. J. Conference for Jobs, Trade and Peace

CAN WE have full employment, homes and schools, and hospitals for all, and peaceful relations with the rest of the world?

CAN WE cast off the great burden of more and more armaments and use our resources to supply the needs of our people?

CAN WE return to the Good Neighbor Policy of trade and friendship with all nations, under which our country prospered and won the respect and admiration of the world?

• • •

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, sponsors of the NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE FOR JOBS, TRADE AND PEACE, call upon all organizations and individuals to meet together to discuss these most urgent questions, and to arrive at practical measures that will help bring about JOBS—WORLD TRADE—PEACE.

• • •

● Today, over 150,000 New Jersey workers are unemployed. In the whole country more than four million men and women cannot find jobs. Every day more plants cut production. Take home pay goes down in industry after industry.

● Does this have to be so in America, the richest, most highly developed country in the world?

● Or is there another road, a road toward trade with the many nations that need the goods we can produce, a road toward factories going full blast with jobs for all, without discrimination?

● Must farmers be afraid of surplus crops? Or is there another road too? A road toward feeding the one third of our own people who are underfed, and toward a new life for those millions in under-developed countries who are always near starvation?

● We believe that these roads to jobs and security can all be opened if there is serious discussion—negotiations around the conference table—of the great problems that divide our world.

● We believe that a hundred years at the conference table would be better than one day of H-bomb warfare.

● Negotiations in Korea, though long drawn out, have stopped the killing there. Negotiations between the four great powers have begun in Berlin and have led to new possibilities for peace through a five power conference on the critical problems in Asia. Negotiations patiently pursued can bring results, and there is no other road to peace.

● Years of negotiations would be better than the death of one American boy in Indo-China or any other colonial country.

● Today we know that a world at peace is possible, with unlimited opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We believe that all patriotic Americans desire peace and the security it will bring to their families and their country.

● We ask you to meet with us to explore how we can reach these goals.

Program

- **10:00 A. M.** — REGISTRATION
- **10:30 A. M.** — OPENING SESSION
  Chairman: **Frances Leber**
  Invocation: **Rev. Harold E. Clark**
  Galilee Baptist Church—Newark
  Keynote Address: **Dr. W. E. B. DuBois**
- **12:00 Noon** — CHICKEN DINNER
  Honored Guests: **Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak,** Korean peace fighters threatened by deportation under the McCarran-Walter Act
- **1:30 — 3:30 P. M.** — DISCUSSION GROUPS
  Chairman: **Santo Bevacqua**

1. **WORLD TRADE—A ROAD TO JOBS AND PEACE**
   World trade—Providing millions of jobs for American workers
   What it would mean to:
   Workers
   Farmers
   The Negro people and other minorities
   Business people
   Prominent N. J. trade unionists to be announced
   Speaker: Prominent local trade union leader
   Reporter: Local trade union leader to be announced
2. YOUNG PEOPLE—THEIR STAKE IN PEACE
   Militarization and its effect on young people
   Education and jobs
   Chairman: To be announced
   Speaker: **Albert Kahn**
   Reporter: **Harriet Mann**
3. COLONIALISM—MOVEMENTS FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE IN AFRICA, ASIA, THE NEAR EAST, LATIN AMERICA
   The meaning of these movements to the people of the United States
   Chairman: **Dorothy Eldridge**
   Speaker: **Dr. Alpheus Hunton**
   Reporter: **Dr. Ulysses Campbell**
4. NEGOTIATIONS—AS A ROAD TO SECURITY AND PEACE
   The Geneva Conference—Korea and Indo-China
   The German Problem
   Atomic Energy
   Chairman: **Dorothy Bregman**
   Speaker: **William Mandel**
   Reporter: **Jack Wysoker**

- **4:00 — 5:30 P. M.** — CONCLUDING SESSION
  Speaker: **Franklin Folsom—"McCarthyism and Peace"**
  The Clarkettes—Musical Selections
  Reports from Discussion Groups
  Resolutions
  Morton Bloom—"The Tasks Ahead"

January 6, 1958

New Times
12 Kalashny Pereulok
Arbat, Moscow
U.S.S.R.

Gentlemen:

You had in a recent issue notice of a play, "Haiti" by William Du Bois.

I am not the author of this play. William Du Bois is a white man and was at one time and perhaps still is a contributor to The New York Times. I do not know his whereabouts at present.

Will you kindly correct the unfortunate mistake of advertising me as author of this play?

I saw the play myself some twenty years ago and thought it excellent.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-25

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 8-3855

April 13

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Please feel free to call on any of our helpers at any time for wrapping and mailing or for anything else that we might do. We shall be only too glad to be of some small assistance. Also, if you ever have need of any of our quite extensive newspaper clipping and magazine files, we would be very happy to have you make use of them.

As soon as we can get down to planning our next issue I shall be asking you for far greater help than anything we can do - if you are not too busy, I hope you will be able to write something for us before long.

With best wishes

Jarvis Smith

27-6-51

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 8-3855

April 22, 1954

. . . .

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We are now definitely planning to get out a special issue of our magazine on the Chinese People's Republic for early summer publication, and would be most grateful if you would write something for this issue.

What we would particularly like to have you do, if the idea appeals to you, would be a piece stressing the importance of a policy of normal relations and trade with People's China on the part of our government not only from the point of view of our own country's welfare and security, but for the cause of world peace. We shall have an article dealing in detail with all the vast potentialities of trade with China based on Chinese economic development and needs so you would not need to deal with specific details so much as over-all implications from a humanitarian viewpoint, and in relation to the Asian peoples in particular.

We would suggest an article of around a thousand words, and would like to have it in hand around the 20th of May if that is convenient for you.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,

Editor

27-2-16

209

April 27, 1954

MEMORANDUM TO JESSICA SMITH

I shall be very glad to write an article on "Recognition of People's China and Normal Relations and Trade Between China and the United States."

I will get it to you on or before the 20th of May.

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-27

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 8-3855

May 20

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you deeply for the beautiful article. In addition to its rich content, it has a poetic quality of which there is far too little in our magazine, which is usually far too pedestrian. We shall be very proud to publish it.

I am also deeply grateful to you for letting us have it in such good time, with all the other burdens that are put upon you these days. The special China issue is scheduled for July, but because we are a month late in publication due to our post office difficulties, weare preparing it simultaneously with our June issue, and it is a great help to have material on hand.

I shall send the galley proofs up to you for checking when they are ready.

Warmest thanks, again.

Jessica Smith

27-2-15

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 3-3835

August 3, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

On October 14th New World Review is giving a dinner at City Center Casino honoring Eslanda and Paul Robeson for their great contributions to peace and humanity and for the special association they have long had with the work of our magazine.

Such an occasion would not be complete without you, and we hope very much that you will consent to be one of those paying tribute on this occasion. Since many people want to participate in the program, our speakers list will be rather long, and we shall have to be content with brief tributes rather than longer addresses, so we would ask you only for a five minute speech.

When the program is complete, I shall be glad to go over it with you so you may decide what aspect you might wish to emphasize. But we would very much appreciate an early answer. I am trying to get away for a vacation by the end of next week, and we are anxious to complete the program as far as possible before I leave, so that we may get out the invitations in good time.

I do hope you will accept.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

27-5-12

August 3, 1954

Jessica Smith, Editor
New World Review
23 West 26 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Miss Smith:

I shall be very glad to speak five minutes at the October 14th dinner for the Robesons.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-23

NEW WORLD REVIEW

114 East Thirty-Second Street · New York 16 · Murray Hill 8-3855

August 17, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

We very much appreciate your agreement to participate in the occasion honoring the Robesons. Right now we are having difficulties with relation to the place that we had expected to have for the dinner. It is possible that we shall have to change the nature of the occasion and make it a meeting instead of a dinner.

In any case, we hope that we may count on your participation, and we shall let you know further details as soon as the matter is settled.

27-2-17

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 3-3855

September 28, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am enclosing the speaking schedule as we have worked it out for the dinner to Eslanda and Paul Robeson on October 14th.

You will see from the number of people on the program why it is necessary to limit the time of each speaker rigidly in order to end on time--since too late endings always spoil the mood of such occasions. We really feel very badly indeed about asking you to speak for only five minutes. But the only speaker to whom we are giving more, aside from the Robesons themselves, is Reverend Hughes, who is coming down from Boston especially for the dinner.

While it would be impossible to bring in every aspect of the Robesons' contributions to a decent America and to world peace, there are certain things we want to make sure will be mentioned. You, of course, will know best in what form you wish to make your own tribute. But since international understanding and peaceful co-existence and the Robesons' contribution to it will be the main theme, we wanted to ask you if you would in some way bring in the world peace movement (especially appropriate from you as a peace price winner) and perhaps Paul's relation to it as a member of the World Peace Council and Stalin International Peace Prize winner, as well as Eslanda's signal contributions to peace.

We will naturally hope that Mrs. Du Bois will accompany you and will sit on the dais. We shall deliver the tickets to you in good time. You have no doubt noticed that the place for the dinner has been changed to Hotel Manhattan Towers at Broadway and 76th Street.

Looking forward to having you with us,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith,
Editor

JS:A

PS: I am now preparing the material for Rockwell Kent to use in his introductions. Naturally, we know the main facts about you--but I would appreciate a memo on which of your books and organizational connections you would particularly like to have mentioned.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
27-5-20

[Encl.]

6:55 - Grace - Reverend William Howard Melish

7 P. M. - Dinner served

8:30	- 8:42	Earl Robinson and Metropolitan Music School Chorus Star Spangled Banner and opening song (12 minutes)
8:43	- 8:48	Jessica Smith, welcome to audience and introduction of Mr. Rockwell Kent as chairman (5 minutes)
8:48	- 8:53	Mr. Rockwell Kent (5 minutes)
8:53	- 8:58	Dr. Harry F. Ward (5 minutes)
9:00	- 9:03	Mrs. Victoria Garvin (3 minutes)
9:05	- 9:08	Mr. Ring Lardner, Jr. (3 minutes)
9:10	- 9:13	Mr. Louis Burnham (3 minutes)
9:15	- 9:18	Mrs. Katherine Van Orden (3 minutes)
9:20	- 9:23	Mr. Kumar Goshal (3 minutes)
9:25	- 9:28	Miss Dorothy Parker (3 minutes)
9:30	- 9:35	Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois (5 minutes)
9:37	- 9:47	Miss Hadyne Brewer, songs (10 minutes)
9:48	- 10:15	Mr. Rockwell Kent, collection (25 minutes)
10:15	- 10:25	The Rev. Kenneth Hughes (10 minutes)
10:27	- 10:32	Presentation from groups (5 minutes)
10:34	- 10:46	Paul Robeson (12 minutes)
10:48	- 11:00	Eslanda Robeson (12 minutes)

(Time allowed between speakers for applause and Chairman's introduction of following speaker)

27-5-21

[New World Review]

September 29, 1954

MEMORANDUM TO JESSICA SMITH:

This might be said in introducing me; certainly it should not be longer:

"Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Fellow of the American Association of the Advancement of Science; recipient of the International Peace Prize 1952; Writer.

I wonder if you would pardon me in saying that this is a terrible program and I do not see how it can be finished before 2 a.m. One thing you might do and that is not to let the chairman introduce the individual speakers. Let somebody use a loudspeaker and introduce each speaker by name and half-dozen words. If the chairman tries to introduce each speaker separately I do not think the program will ever end.

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West Twenty-Sixth Street • New York 10 • MUrray Hill 8-3855

October 15,1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

At least we did a little better than the two o'clock finish you so grimly predicted! That was because you and the other speakers were so wonderful about adhering to the terrible time limits we were forced to impose.

I want to thank you most warmly on behalf of us all for your own special and inspiring contribution to the program. We had hoped to have a recording of the whole evening, but Paul Robeson's recording machine broke down at the last moment, and it was too late to make new arrangements. We are therefore trying to get together as many of the speeches as possible, so that we may have some sort of permanent record for Eslanda and Paul Robeson, and would appreciate your letting us have your speech so that we may copy it.

With deep appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Smith

Jessica Smith

27-8-50

27-8-23

Telephone:
MUrray Hill 3-3855

SRT PUBLICATIONS, Inc. No 24113

Publishers of NEW WORLD REVIEW

23 West 26th St. New York 10, N. Y.

$ 5- Date 14/VIII/27

RECEIVED FROM Dr. W.E. Du Bois

ADDRESS [illegible]

ON ACCOUNT: $ CASH SALES: $ LITERATURE: $

MISC.: Telephone $ 5-

[illegible]

Cashier

309

[New York City Board of Elections]

Line 82—53—D.P. 142

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION, MEMBER OF STATE COMMITTEE

BOARD OF ELECTIONS IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

General Office, Room 408, Police Academy Building, Broome and Centre Streets, Manhattan

We, the undersigned, the members of the Board of Elections in The City of New York having canvassed the whole number of votes cast at the Primary Election held by the **AMERICAN LABOR PARTY** in said City, on the SEP 14 1954 day of....., 19....., according to the original statements of said votes filed with us in the manner directed by law, do hereby certify that

William E. Du Bois
31 Grace St. Bklyn, NY.

was duly elected a MEMBER of the STATE COMMITTEE from the 12th Congress ~~Assembly~~ District.

COUNTY OF KINGS

WITNESS our names and official seal, at The City of New York, State of New York, on this SEP 17 1954 day of ..... 19.....

BOARD OF ELECTIONS · IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK · EXCELSIOR

Attest: Angelo A. Tassonette

Chief Clerk.

Commissioners of Elections in The City of New York.

NYCC - Debs Society]

April 6 1954

Dear Mr. Dubois

As you are aware, the witch hunt in our country is threatening the colleges. To help fight this, city college, both day and evening is having an "academic Freedom Week." It is hoped that the civil liberties of our country will be reaffirmed, at the college.

The Eugene V. Debs Society, as one of the participating organizations in the Evening Session of the college. As a socialist organization we are opposed to american imperialism, and we are the only college club now taking such a stand. We believe that there is a strong relationship between the "cold war" and the threat to academic Freedom. We thus believe that you outstandingly qualified to present such a position for our club. We therefore respectfully ask if you would be able to speak on "The Cold War and the threat to academic Freedom, on April 14 or april 15 at 10 P.M. at caty college. If you are unable to come at those dates, could you please suggest another time? thank you for your curtesy. I am fraternally yours

Maurice Aaron Goldman for
the Eugene V. Debs Society

Yes - April 15

27-5-17

94-47-213 Lt
Queens Village 28
nyc

April 22, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois

I am sorry that I didn't write to you sooner, but the holidays and my 6 day work week in the Park Department tangled my time.

In accordance with our telephone talk last week, the plans are that I have you ~~will~~ speak on "academic freedom and the cold War," on Friday May 7, 9 P.M. I will meet you before then, at the Main Building 137 st and convent ave, on the first floor at Room 120, which is the Student Life office.

27-5-15

If there is any more information that you might need, please let me know. thanking you for your consideration and hoping that you are enjoying the holidays,

I am fraternally yours
Maurice Aaron Goldman
for the C.V. Debs Society

March 4 ~ 7 1 9 pm

April 27, 1954

Mr. Maurice Aaron Goldman
94-47-213 St.
Queens Village 28, New York

Dear Mr. Goldman:

I will speak for the Debs Society on Friday, May 7, at 9 P.M.

In accordance with your letter of April 22, we will meet at Room 120, Main Building, 137 Street and Convent Avenue beforehand.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-16

[incomplete]

May 4, 1954

Mr. Maurice A. Goldman,

Dear Sir:

I have promised to speak for the Debs S
Friday, May 7. I regret to say that the reports reaching
concerning this proposed lecture are so contradictory an
fusing that I am compelled to withdraw my committment
cell the talk. I am very sorry to cause you any disapp

Very sincerely,

Copy to Martha Farmer

27-5-14

[NYCC]

April 9, 1954

I have received from Maurice A. Goldman, writing for the Eugene V. Debs Society of your institution, an invitation to speak there on April ~~14~~ 15 to a student meeting on "Academic Freedom. I write to enquire if this meeting and this invitation have the sanction of the College authorities.

Very sincerely,

To the dean of C.C.

27-5-18

[NYCC]

The City College
CONVENT AVENUE AND 139TH STREET
NEW YORK 31, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF STUDENT LIFE
DIVISON OF STUDENT ACTIVITIES

April 12,1954

Dr.W.E.Burghardt Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

In reply to your letter of April 9th, the following may clarify the situation. Mr. Maurice Goldman is an officer of an Evening Division Socialist club, the Eugene V.Debs Society.

The student organizations of City College may invite speakers of their choice to address their club meetings, providing they conform to the regulations of the College and the Board of Higher Education. This in no way implies sponsorship of the speaker or meeting in question by the College or the Board of Higher Education.

I trust this information will be of value to you.

Very truly yours,
Martha L. Farmer
Martha L. Farmer
Advisor to Students

Copy to: Dean Peace

27-5-19

[New York City Police Dept]

Police

December 21, 1954

Lieutenant-in-Charge
84th Police Precinct
Brooklyn, New York

Sir:

On Monday night, December 27th, we are going to have some friends in at our residence, 31 Grace Court. There will probably be, therefore, a considerable demand for parking space between 8 p.m. and midnight. All the cars, however, will be gone soon after midnight.

I write to ask if such parking will be permissible, and if you will let the patrolman know of its temporary character.

I will phone you Monday morning.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-44

РЕДАКЦИЯ
ЖУРНАЛА
„НОВОСТИ"
NEWS
Москва,
ул. Горького, 18-б
телефон К 5-57-47

„20" February 1954 г.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
c/O Council of African Affairs,
53 West 125th Street,
New York 27, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

The Editorial Board is most obliged to you for your kind letter, which has helped to clarify the matter and remedy the mistake concerning the authorship of "Haiti."

Please accept our deepest apologies for the error committed in relation to yourself.

Most cordially yours,

E. Kosminsky

E. Kosminsky
Editor-in-Chief

27-8-22

234—2500

photostats? picture

TELEPHONE: BAYPORT 1-6666

OFFICE HOURS:
9:00 TO 12:00 — 1:00 TO 8:00 P. M.

DR. F. E. NORMAN
DENTIST
8756 BUFFALO AVENUE
CHICAGO 17, ILLINOIS

52

August 27, 1954

$50 check
endorsed

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Sir:

After conversing for some time with consul general of Great Britain, he suggested I write to New York. There is in New York City, Fraunces Tavern built before the American Revolutionary War. It is still standing at the corner of Pearl and Broad Streets and is used as a tavern.

When the British army invaded America at the beginning of the revolution, they captured Fraunces Tavern along with the rest of New York City. They used it as headquarters for their officers. Samuel Fraunces was a cook without a peer. He was born in the West Indies. The elite of New York wined and dined at this hostelry.

27-4-31

The British army officers occupied Fraunces Tavern for some six and a half years. Having received such splendid meals and excellent attention, they paid him for his services. I asked the consul if some of the English officers wrote about Fraunces inasmuch as he had given them such excellent service during all those six years. The counsul general said that books written by the English on our American Revolution were among the books contained in library of "The New York Historical Society" at 170 Central Park West. All the old editions of the newspapers of that day may also be found in that library.

I want to know if Samuel Fraunces was a Negro or one of African descent. However, he had some French blood. You will find this information among the volumes of the above library, and the old newspapers of that date are also there in the library.

Some of those English officers wrote about their stay at the tavern and I am sure described the personality of the owner. He was called "Black Sam" Fraunces. He bought the tavern from De Lancey-Robinson and Company in 1762. Possibly some of the daily newspapers gave a description of him in making this purchase of the De Lancey mansion.

Upon writing to "The New York Historical Society", I was informed that they did not have any professional re-

search workers on their staff who do outside work.

The library and museum of that Society are closed during the entire month of August, but re-open on September 1st. The Society stated I would find references concerning Fraunces Tavern in I. N. Phelps Stokes Inconography of Manhattan Island.

Reading James Weldon Johnson's "Black Manhattan" published in 1930, page 44, he speaks of Fraunces being colored or Negro, but he does not give the source of his information.

You will find enclosed a token payment for your services. Kindly find the references or source of information showing he was a Negro or of African descent, so I can make a photostat of the said information. This information is a must on my agenda.

If you will be so kind as to begin this research on September 1st, it will be very gratifying and you will be the most important man in the world to me. Please do not turn this matter over to some one else. I hope you will personally get this information for me. When finished, write me the balance due for your services.

Thanking you most cordially in advance, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Dr. F. E. Norman

Dr. F. E. Norman

27-4-32

September 10, 1954

Dr. F. E. Norman
8756 Buffalo Avenue
Chicago 17, Illinois

Dear Dr. Norman:

I have your letter of August 27th and the check enclosed.

My secretary, who has had experience in research, has spent a day in research on the subject of Samuel Fraunces. She will spend another day next week and then as soon as possible I will write you concerning results.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-33

October 1, 1954

Dr. F. E. Norman
8756 Buffalo Avenue
Chicago 17, Illinois

My dear Dr. Norman:

Enclosed is our final report on Samuel Fraunces:

Samuel Fraunces was born in 1722 in the West Indies, and came to New York before 1755. He was called "Black Sam" because of his swarthy skin which probably was the result of his Negro blood, although the Sons of the Revolution, who own the building where his restaurant was, prefer to think that his color was the result of suntan and not of Negro blood.

There is naturally no way of proving anything about his descent. The exact place of his birth is not mentioned.

The tavern which he owned was bought in 1762 for 2000 pounds. He had been an inn keeper since 1755 and took possession of the new property in 1763, calling it "Queens Head Tavern".

He came, probably as cook, on a ship and was not a slave and perhaps never had been. He was made a Freeman of the City of New York some time after his arrival. The "New York Age", a Negro paper, asserts that "upon landing here he settled in the Negro colony in the Wall Street District."

British officers patronized the tavern when they were in control of New York, and it was also patronized by George Washington, Governor Clinton, and other prominent Americans. Later Fraunces was steward to George Washington. During the Revolutionary War Washington's farewell to his officers took place at the tavern December 4, 1783, in the presence of 44 military leaders.

A picture of Fraunces published by the Sons of the Revolution is in the pamphlet enclosed. It shows a man who could easily be a mulatto.

Fraunces seems to have lost his tavern for a while but took possession again in 1770 and refitted it. He continued as landlord after the British army entered, and during the period of British occupation. He was thanked by Congress and rewarded 200 pounds for his kindness to American prisoners.

27-4-34

Nothing has been found with regard to what the British officers said concerning Fraunces and his tavern. That research would have to be pursued in England probably.

Fraunces' daughter, Phoebe, was housekeeper for Washington.

The tavern was sold in 1785 and in 1786 Fraunces became Steward to Washington on Cherry Street. Fraunces died apparently in 1797. He left a widow, Elizabeth Fraunces, three daughters and a son. Some of them are buried in Trinity churchyard.

The name is usually spelled "Fraunces" but prior to 1776 it was often written "Francis".

I am enclosing a pamphlet on the Fraunces tavern published by the Sons of the Revolution. They would rather have readers think that Fraunces had no Negro blood. Also, there is a four-page pamphlet, and in addition to that, quotations from various sources.

You will note in the pamphlet on page 18 that the original poem is changed from "roof of Black Sam" to "roof of Sam Francis," which spoils the rhyme!

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-35

TELEPHONE: BAYPORT 1-6666

OFFICE HOURS:
9:00 TO 12:00 — 1:00 TO 8:00 P. M.

DR. F. E. NORMAN
DENTIST
8756 BUFFALO AVENUE
CHICAGO 17, ILLINOIS

52

Oct. 5th 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois;

Most of information you sent me is alr ady in my posession. I thought you could probably find more information by living in New York than some one outside the City. You stated that some one in England could find what the British Officers said concerning Fraunces personally, as to color and African Decent.

Will you be so kind as to write to England and contact such persons, I will pay them for their services. You can have them write you directly as you have better contact there than I could possibly get. What ever their charges to you I will pay you. Write them at once please and send letter by air mail.

Mr. Roi Otley, one of the W.P.A. writers of the Writers Project of New York states this: In New York City guide series Page 68 (1939) Fraunces was a West Indian of French and Negro blood. Mr. Ottley now lives in Chicago, talking with him personally he said the city records of the Common Council of New York (City Council) has eight volumes of records from 1675-1831. They speak of Fraunces being a Negro. Also the book of New York History of Public Market, published in 1862, also newspapers of that date give accurate accounts of him.

Mr Roi Ottley wrote a book "Black Odyssey" in which he states as before that Fraunces was a Negro. Thats why I thought if you read some of the papers published at that time about his purchase of the DeLancey Mansion, that would probably give some description of him personally so you would see he was a Negro.

While you are writing and awaiting a reply from England, please look over these references that I have given.

Sincerely Yours

Dr. F. E. Norman

Dr. F. E. Norman

FEN:jj

WH 3 - Rhi
3600 Ex 2131
m. Katoomas
corr. City Council

TELEPHONE: BAYPORT 1-6666

OFFICE HOURS:
9:00 TO 12:00 — 1:00 TO 8:00 P. M.

DR. F. E. NORMAN
DENTIST
8756 BUFFALO AVENUE
CHICAGO 17, ILLINOIS

Dec 16-54

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 W. 26th St.
New York 10-N.Y.

My Dear Doctor:-

Just wondered if you wrote to London as to personal description of "Black Sam" Trounces. You recall I wrote you for this differiate information some time ago. Have you come accross anything further on this matter. Will appreciate whatever information you send me.

Sincerely yours,
Dr. F. E. Norman

27-8-27

MINNIE R. CARTER, Chairman
WILLIAM KERNER, Executive Director
BETTY WINTER, Secretary

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

January 23, 1954

Dear Friend:

We think you will be interested in the facts and figures in the attached article reprinted from The Dispatcher, official newspaper of the I L W U.

Since this article was printed, former President Herbert Hoover has been heard from on the same question: Shall we trade with China? He was quoted by Drew Pearson in the Oregon Daily Journal (December 29, 1953) as follows:

"The United States can't go on forever ignoring Communist China. We simply can't pretend that 400,000,000 people don't exist. I think eventually we'll have to work out some kind of arrangement whereby we can start up some trade with them. Of course we couldn't send any military items, but there are a lot of other goods we could trade....I believe that as business continues to fall off there'll be an increasing demand for some kind of trade with Red China."

Business is falling off. And trade with China is growing. Our nominal allies are trading with China, the Soviet Union and other socialist-inclined nations.

The Northern California Peace Council believes that trade between nations - on a basis of equality and respect - can be a bridge to peace. In such trade, peoples meet; they work out ways to get along with each other. They realize their similarities; their differences become subordinate.

Would you think about the questions raised by this article, and pass it on to your friends? And if you like, secure additional copies from the Peace Council.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Winter

Secretary.

Please send me..... copies. Enclosed is .....
Copies are 50 for $1.00; 100 for $1.50; 500 for $5.00.
Name.....Address.....

VOPWA-14

100

27-74-38

[Northern California Peace Council]

Duplicate of letter sent to 26 West 23rd St., N.Y.C.

January 25, 1954.

Dr. W. E. DuBois
31 Grace St.
Brooklyn
New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Northern California Peace Council wishes to honor Professor Victor Arnautoff, whose contributions to art and mankind are known to so many. A reception for him, and an exhibit of his oil paintings, water colors and lithographs is being held February 20.

Tributes from those who are aware of Mr. Arnautoff's importance in the movement toward peace are to be presented. We would be most happy if you, who have contributed so much to the culture of peace, could send greetings on this occasion. A tribute from you would have a special meaning. It should be addressed to:

The Northern California Peace Council
~~Attn: Irene Paul~~
935 Market St.
San Francisco, Calif.

The Peace Council feels especially grateful to Mr. Arnautoff because he designed their lovely and expressive Christmas cards.

Sincerely,

Irving Fromer (on IF.)
Irving Fromer
Graphic Arts Workshop

27-8-28

[Northern California Peace Council]

January 25, 1954

Dr. W. E. DuBois
26 West 23rd St.
New York City 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

The Northern California Peace Council wishes to honor Professor Victor Arnautoff, whose contributions to art and mankind are known to so many. A reception for him, and an exhibit of his oil paintings, water colors and lithographs is being held February 20.

Tributes from those who are aware of Mr. Arnautoff's importance in the movement toward peace are to be presented. We would be most happy if you, who have contributed so much to the culture of peace, could send greetings on this occasion. A tribute from you would have a special meaning. It should be addressed to:

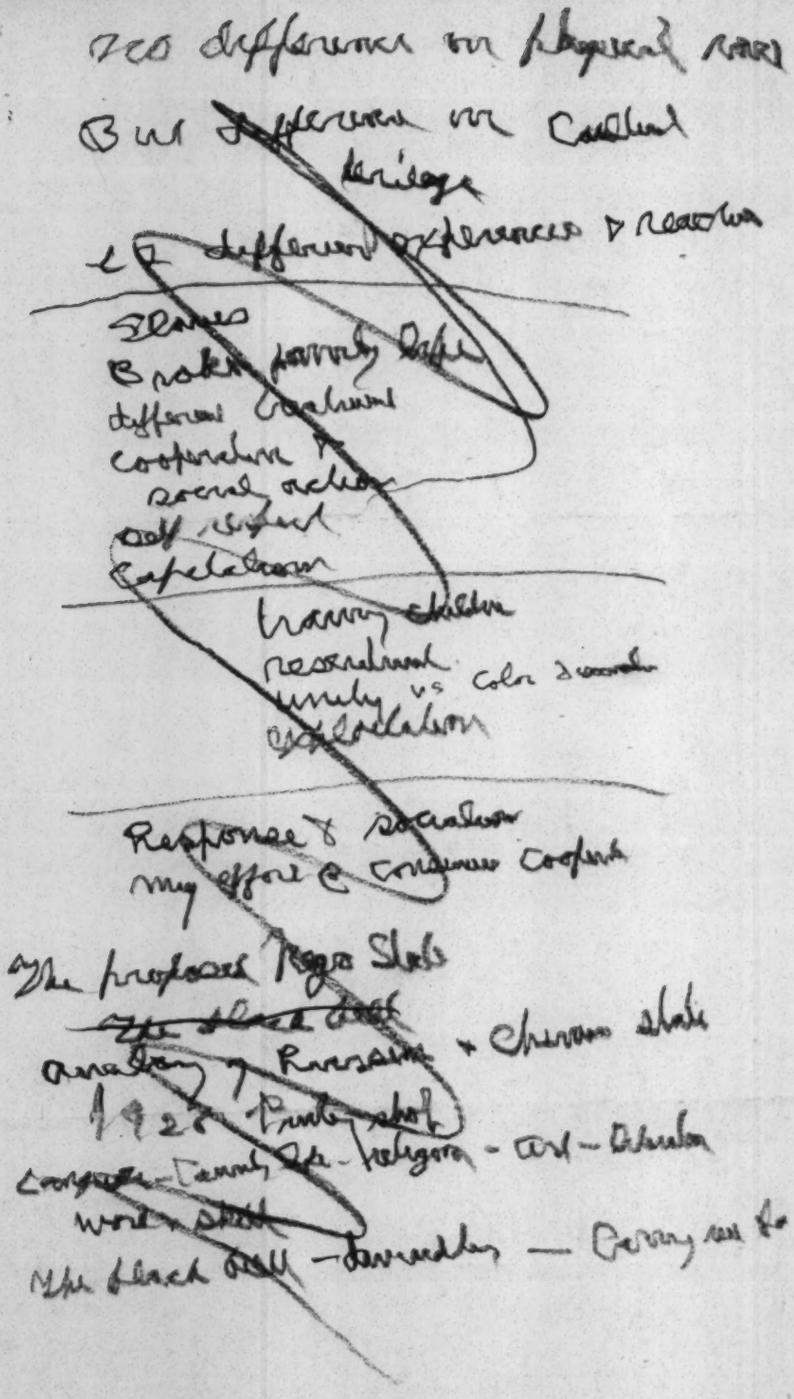
The Northern California Peace Council
Attn: Irene Paul
935 Market St.
San Francisco, Calif.

27-8-29

The Peace Council feels especially grateful to Mr. Arnautoff because he designed their lovely and expressive Christmas Cards.

Sincerely,

Irving Fromer (per I.P.)
Irving Fromer
Graphic Arts Workshop



February 5, 1954

Mr. Irving Fromer
Northern California Peace Council
935 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Att: Irene Paul

My dear Mr. Fromer:

I have your letters addressed to me at my home and office.

I am in a very difficult position. Frankly, I never heard of Professor Victor Arnautoff, nor of his work. This I am sure is my fault and misfortune. Nevertheless it is true, and I am rather set on not talking about things I do not know of.

With great regret, then, I must decline to make any comment on this exhibit.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-38

MINNIE R. CARTER, Chairman
WILLIAM KERNER, Executive Director
BETTY WINTER, Secretary

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

February 8, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois,
23 West 26th St.,
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. DuBois:

We have just received your letter addressed to the attention of Irene Paull. We understand your position since the letter to you obviously did not give details about Mr. Arnautoff.

We are inclosing a Christmas card which we used for our major campaign card at Christmas time urging President Eisenhower to solve differences troubling the world by means of negotiations. We used a sketch drawn for us by Mr. Arnautoff. Also, our campaign card at Christimas 1952 addressed to the White House urging peace in Korea was also drawn by Mr. Arnautoff.

27-8-31

Mr. Victor Arnautoff has done a remarkable oil of Harriet Tubman. In a recent exhibit of three Bay Area artists, his work was voted the best.

Professor Arnautoff was born in Czarist Russia and has lived and worked in Mexico and the United States for the past twenty-five years. Photographs of his paintings were recently sent to VOKS in Moscow and were commented on favorably by a group of Soviet artists.

Regretting that these details were very likely not mentioned, we remain

Sincerely yours for Peace,

Ann Yanish
Chairman Arrangement Comm.

P.S. Please remember me to Mrs. DuBois. As former Executive Secretary of the Alameda & Contra Costa Peace Committee it was my pleasure to have met both Mrs. DuBois and yourself Mrs. DuBois might recall that I told her my father resembled you greatly.

A.Y.

100

27-7a-36

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The White House

Washington, D. C.

209

[Northern California Peace Council]

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Everybody's life is at stake in an atomic war.

There must be a world-wide ban on the H-Bomb!

NAME

ADDRESS

Willie Affram Nyame
The Commonwealth Trust Ltd.
P.O. Box 22,
Winneba
Gold Coast
West Africa.

8th January 1954

Dear Sir,

This letter comes from an African whom you do not personally know and who does not know you either. Your services to mankind especially Negroes are known all over the world.

I got to know your address when I was reading through the your College Bulletin No. 77.

I am a young man of about 25 years old; I finished my Elementary

Education in the year 1943.
I also attended a two year Commercial school where Elementary Commercial subjects are taught; I am at present working with the above English firm as a wholesale Ledger clerk my salary is £3 per month.

I have one sister and two brothers I am the last born of my mother's children and the only educated among them. my father died in the year 1940.

I am at present taking overseas courses in some of the secondary subjects; my sole aim is to graduate in Economics in the near future.

Sir, I am burning with unusual desire to leave the shores of Leet a price for United States to drink from her fountain of knowledge

P.T.O

and then come back to help lift Africa but I have not the means; I am therefore writing this my maiden letter to ask you if you could find a scholarship in one of the private secondary schools for me ~~to~~ say at the end of this year. so that I may come and continue my secondary Education for say two years and then seek admission to a University. I may get about $150 ~~noble~~ at the end of this year.

Should you favour me with this my humble request I would try to do any available work at my leisure hours.

Hoping this my request may meet with your ~~Considerable~~ favourable consideration.

Greetings from. A frican

Thanks.

Yours obediently

~~W~~ A Nyame

N.B. May the Almighty give you long life and prosperity.

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

AEROGRAMME

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

JAN 19 1954

GA.

27-8-34

GOLD COAST

COCOA

INFANTILE

JOIN MA

Please Forward

William E. B. Du Bois Esq. Ph.

[redacted]

[redacted]

U. S. A

[redacted]

[redacted]

First fold here

Second fold here

Gummed edge

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape ofa letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends andin the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in C uba to free the victimes of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Ortiz

Your obedient servant

qW.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Mr. Ortiz, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

5170 S. Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois
17 October, 1954

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Virgil S. Powell and myself have collaborated in writing a historical novel which we call,A DAUGHTER OF THE JALOFFS.

Our story is pertaining to the ways of life as were practiced by the peoples in Africa and in the United States between the years of 1790 and 1937.

We have found your books very helpful and would appreciate permission to use direct quotations from your following books: THE NEGRO and BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW.

On separate sheets you will find pages from the manuscript including the quotations we wish to use. Also a stamped self addressed envelope is enclosed. Thank you for an early reply.

27-8-8

Yours truly,

Sara B. Ozella

Sara B. Ozella

RE:
A DAUGHTER OF THE JALOFFS

by
Virgil S. Powell

in collaboration with

Sara B. Ozella

[Enc.]

A Daughter of the Jaloffs

It was only a matter of minutes before all, except Urba, were on the march. The strong powerful chief watched until the last member of his once dynamic tribe disappeared into the thick jungle bush, then as if obtaining a sudden impulse he hastened to join them.

This broken leader must have pictured that he was driving his awe-stricken subjects into the interior of the dark continent for the last time. The outside world did lose contact with the once powerful Loffs forever!

* " Whole regions were depopulated, whole tribes disappeared."

Urba watched her father fade from sight, then with a tilt of her head she breathed a prayer before resigning herself to fate. Suddenly, her expression changed to that of listening, half-turning, she faced a spot where the bush had moved in an unfamiliar way. To the left, and a short distance from where she stood, crouched a white man completely hidden by the brush and dense vegetation. The man had been successful in creeping forward, due to the fact that he was located directly in back of the girl and on the opposite side of the tribual group.

27-8-9

The white man had remained in a flattened position straining every nerve in an effort to see or hear more of the stramge ceremony of the Loffs. Yes, he was sure that the tribe of natives on moving away had turned their backs upon some one. Could it have been an injured one left to die? The last swish-sound of the leave-takers had died. Whom did they leave? Not a sound! The intense hush was more than the white slaver could sustain. Timidly, nervously, yet cautiously he raised himself to a squatting position, then parted the leafy obstruction,

* THE NEGRO, by W.E.B. DuBois, Ch. 9 ,p. 156

A Daughter of the Jaloffs

Between the two much time was spent each day on drilling of the vowels and consonants. Charles wanted Urba's diction to be perfect, so he corrected her again and again, even in the presence of company.

Under such superior tutering, Urba was able to avoid the use of that Southern brogue which most of the other slaves used daily. Although her vacabulary remained limited for a long time, she was always demonstrating an air of unaffected assurance, which blended with her charm so well that the musical sing-song touch of her words, the type often found in the speech of the * " Zulu-Xosa Group" was gradually disa appearing. She was developing however, anq unusual tint in her accent which really sounded pleasing to the ear. Urba 's educational achievements were acquired easily due partly to her interest in learning and partly because she enjoyed the practice of having a new word ready to teach to the other slaves. The business of exchanging words with Urba in the role of teacher was a method frequently used among the slaves of the Big House.

27-8-10

Her tasks in and about the master's residence were light, thus her evenings furnished much time for visiting among the slaves of the field-hand quarters , where shea just loved to talk to the women and play with the children, especially the little babies. She was very versatile in learning their jokes and odd words of expression, and would often surprise her elders by making up jokes of her own. Therefore, it was Urba! She said this, or Urba did that was ever ringing from one end of the plantation to the other. All the slaves adored her and kept a close lookout for her protection.

* BLACK FOLK THEN AND NOW: by W.E.B. DuBois, Ch.6, p, 112

October 27, 1954

Miss Sara B. Ozella
5170 Parkway S.
Chicago, 15, Ill.

Dear Miss Ozella:

I should be very glad to have you quote the passages from my books, which you sent me.

Please give me credit and the publisher.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-8-11

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Padmore

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University,Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace,1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to George Padmore c/, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

Will order a copy of your Suppression of the Slave Trade from Social Science Press. Did you read Richard Wright's book on G.C.? Very good! Will you be able to visit G.C.? Nkrumah would like you and S. to do so. Let me know. D. was there this summer.

GEORGE PADMORE
22 CRANLEIGH HOUSE
CRANLEIGH STREET
LONDON N. W. 1.

December 3rd, 1954.

Dear and esteemed Dr,

Although you have not heard from me for quite a while, be assured that you are constantly in our thoughts. Hardly a day goes by unless your name comes up in some conversation with our young African friends who are frequent visitors to our apartment. You will be pleased to hear that in order to let the younger generation know of your contributions to Africa's freedom, I have been commissioned to do a book on the Pan-African Congress which I hope to have published by the middle of 1955. Dr Nkrumah is keen on it as he plans to convene a sixth Pan-African Congress on the Gold Coast as soon as independence is formally declared. We cannot do it before as we do not want to create undue alarm before we have full power in our hands and can work there despite last minute attempts by the imperialists to incite tribalism to disrupt the united national front. The recent victory of Dr Azikiwe's N.C.N.C. in Nigeria is a blow against tribalism and if he plans his hands correctly we hope to consolidate a united Nigerian front. It is a skilful game of manoeuvering and we cannot afford at this stage of the struggle to give the imperialists any excuse to intervene as in British Guiana. They are ready to pounce the first opportunity to give them. We are fully aware of what is going on between them and the Yanks. The editor of "United Asia" magazine has requested Mr Douglas Rogers, the secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and myself to prepare a special number of the journal on Africa in time for the coming Asian-African conference to take place in Indonesia next year. Cedric should have assisted, by he is away in China at the moment and time is short. Could you send us an article on Pan-Africanism, as "father" of this idea? We will greatly appreciate it. Rogers will be writing to you as he is in charge of

27-174-384

official correspondence on the subject and will also send you copies of a series of information pamphlets we are bringing out for the benefit of educating the British public on the various colonies.Our victory in Uganda is now assured. It will move forward as an African State and detached from any association with Kenya ,where the struggle goes on.If our people hold out for another year,the white will have to quit.It is a bloody battle but unavoidable.So was Haiti. Believe me dear Dr,no force on earth can now hold back the forward march of Africa.Without the outside support of the Tories here and the U.S.the writing would be clear for all to see,that Africa will soon take her place among the free nations.It is a great pity that the Afroamerican newspapers are not giving the struggle the publicity it deserves.Even the "Courier" and "Defender" that at one time carried my despatches are no longer interested.I presume they feel that the have nothing in Africa.How unlike the Jews in their support of Israel.

George Padmore

Dorothy joins in sending love to you and Shirley.Hope your health is good.

of information pamphlets we are bringing out for the benefit of educating the British public on the various colonies.Our victory in Uganda is now assured. It will move forward as an African State and detached from any association with Kenya ,where the struggle goes on.If our people hold out for another year,the white will have to quit.It is a bloody battle but unavoidable.So was Haiti. Believe me dear Dr,no force on earth can now hold back the forward march of Africa.Without the outside support of the Tories here and the U.S.the writing would be clear for all to see,that Africa will soon take her place among the free nations.It is a great pity that the Afroamerican newspapers are not giving the struggle the publicity it deserves.Even the "Courier" and "Defender" that at one time carried my despatches are no longer interested.I presume they feel that the have nothing in Africa.How unlike the Jews in their support of Isreael. Dorothy joins in sending love so [illegible] hope your health is [illegible]

George Padmore

PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON.N.W.1
12.45PM
3 DEC
1954
B

Dr W.E.B.Du Bois

23 rd West 26th Street

New York 10,

U.S.A.

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:

GEORGE PADMORE

CRANLEIGH HOUSE.

CRANLEIGH STREET.

LONDON. N.W.1

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open cut here

J7-179-38 B

December 10, 1954

Mr. George Padmore
22 Cranleigh House
Cranleigh Street
London N.W. 1
England

My dear Padmore:

I am sending you in a separate package two of the latest reprints of my books: "Souls of Black Folk" and "Suppression of the African Slave Trade". My secretary suspects that we have already sent you the "Souls of Black Folk", but I am not sure. If we have, hand this copy to some of the heathen.

I am very glad to hear about Africa. I understand the policy of you and Dr. Nkrumah, although I am a little afraid of it. The power of British and especially American capital when it once gets a foothold is tremendous. But of course I realize that once political power is in your hands that you can curb capital, providing your own bourgeoisie permits it. I am watching the struggle with great interest.

Naturally I did not like Richard Wright's book. Some of his descriptions were splendid but his logic is lousy. He starts out to save Africa from Communism and then makes an attack on British capitalism which is devastating. How he reconciles these two attitudes I cannot see.

I sincerely hope that a Sixth Pan-African Congress can be held soon. Of course, in all probability I will be unable to get a passport to attend, although I will try. Also, I will send you within a week or so a short statement concerning the Pan-African Movement which you can use as you wish.

Johnathan Cape is considering a novel by Shirley which has been turned down by all the leading American publishers with the note that it is a "fine novel, but --".

I have just finished an historical novel which will run to 2000 pages covering the history of the American Negro from 1876 to the present time. It may never get publication but I shall do my best.

If Roger writes

27-179-39

February 16, 1954

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor
New Times and Ethiopia News
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

27-170-7

My dear Miss Pankhurst:

I learned from the NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS that His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia is going to visit the United States in May.

I am aware and I know you are, that every effort will be made by the United States Government to see that His Majesty does not come into close contact with American Negroes or have any opportunity to consult with them. This had been the case in many instances. When, for instance, the Ethiopian delegation of prominent citizens visited the United States in the '20's they were so guarded and hemmed in that few of us got a chance to see them.

This is of course unfair. There are in the United States fifteen million persons of Negro descent, and some of us have long been interested in Africa, and Ethiopia as its greatest Negro representative. The Pan African Congresses which I inaugurated and which are to a large extent responsible for the present aspirations of Africans toward nationhood, included Ethiopia from the first. One of the delegates to the meeting in 1919 was the former physician of the Emperor Menelik.

In the present instance when the Emperor visits this country, there ought to be opportunity and occasion for some of us at least to meet him and make known to him our situation and objects.

There are two Negro Congressmen, there are a score or more members of the Legislature. There are several high-placed judges. The chances are that they will be entirely ignored unless the Emperor should express some wish to meet Negro Americans. In that case, there are two Negro Americans mentioned in the British "Who's Who", perhaps half a dozen in the International "Who's Who," and a dozen or more in "Who's Who in America." They ought to be among those invited to meet the Emperor. And on the other hand we ought to guide against the natural pushing forward of persons who would want to approach him for personal, unimportant reasons.

I venture to put this before you and ask you to bring this matter

87-174-8

to the attention of His Majesty. I realise that it is a delicate matter and that perhaps nothing can be done or could be attempted. But I would not feel that I had done my duty unless I brought the question up.

The present attitude in America is to make it impossible for American Negroes to express themselves concerning their situation unless they confine their remarks or writings to fulsome praise of the United States.

I hope I may hear from you on this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-17A-10

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:

"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND

Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

Your Ref......

Our Ref. ESP/MF.....

26th February, 1954.

W.E.B. Du Bois Esq.,
23, West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y,
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I will write to the Emperor ~~telling~~ mentioning to him ~~about~~ the matter you refer to, but perhaps I might mention that Ethiopia does not recognise the term "negro" as applied to the whole African people, and regards it as rather an Americanised version of the matter. The term African is greatly preferred and Ethiopia is very keen on her own name, Ethiopia, which dates back to before the Christian era, and is prized on that account and on account of Biblical references. In ancient times it was

applied to all people of dark colour, both Africans and even Indians by the Greeks and probably by others. This is of course only a small matter in a sense, though not to Ethiopians who are much impressed by the Biblical references to Ethiopia and certain claims based on them. I think myself that Mr. Lawson is not wrong in referring to the negroes of America as Afro-Americans, for I believe the term Negro can only apply to ~~a certain~~ one part of Africa and the Africans in America have come from many parts.

It is just like the term Coptic, which is applied generally by foreigners to the Ethiopian Church, ~~but~~ Coptic and Orthodox (not to do so) is not at all correct, the Ethiopian Church is now independent, and in any case, Alexandrine would have been a more correct term because the Copts are definitely a certain people who inhabit Egypt, and the term Coptic has nothing whatever to do with Ethiopia.

Africa has its many peoples, just as Europe and Asia have, and I would not suggest that any have the preference, but at the same time I think it wise to inform you that Ethiopia does not welcome the name Negro, not because she wishes to cast any slur on the Negro of America or of Africa, but because it does not seem to appear to be correct as applied to Ethiopia, and appears to be a foreign term given by the Americans and probably the British before them to all Africans whom they took to America.

It is just like Eritrea. The name was invented by the Italians, and though it persists at present it will probably die out and the old name Hamasein will be substituted. The people of what we used to call Persia now call their country Iran and this sort of change is bound to be made when peoples become free of the countries which, for a time in their history, dominated them. European domination of all these peoples will, in time to come, be realised to have been but a brief incident in

their long, long history.

Having concluded these remarks, I promise you that I will put the matter to His Imperial Majesty, and I am sure he will do what he can to meet the desire of the Afro-Americans, or Negroes, if you prefer to call them so.

You will remember that Ras Imru was very helpful in expressing his disapproval of the colour bar, and so far as the hospitality accorded to the Emperor will allow him to be free to dispose of his time, I am sure he will do his best in the same direction. Of course it may not be quite so easy as would be the case were he going to America just as a tourist and not as the guest of the President, but if he has any freedom of movement at all and if he is there long enough to make arrangements for himself, I am sure he will act on the lines you desire.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

[INCOMPLETE]

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Miss Pankhurst

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the W orld Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

Du Bois TV PANKHURST

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois To J D BERNAL, MARCH 4, 1954 FOR COMPLETE TEXT.

27-17A-9

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

15th March, 1954.

W.E.B. Du Bois Esq.,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.,
U. S. A.

Your Ref......
Our Ref. ....ESP/MF.....

Dear Mr. Du Bois,

I have just received your letter dated March 10th. I share your anxiety, and in the course of a few days will decide what to do and to whom to write.

I would add, however, that in view of the present situation in Kenya I feel that we British are not really in a very good position at the moment for criticizying other people's governments, as we have such a mess-up in a territory for which

we are responsible!!! See Kenya; the History of Two Nations shortly to be published.

I was very much struck by the fact that the great Einstein, having escaped persecution in Germany, is now being attacked by McCarthy for his opposition to Franco who was financed by the odious Mussolini in his rise to power.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

March 31, 1954

Mrs. E. Sylvia Pankhurst
New Times and Ethiopia News
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

My dear Mrs. Pankhurst:

I thank you for your letters of February 26th and March 15th. I have been out of my office for three weeks on vacation in the Caribbean.

The adoption of the name "Negro" as a group designation by American Negroes was a result of long controversy and misunderstanding. We know that it is not, of course, the logical name for the darker Africans or even for Americans of African descent, but in order to clarify our statements and be able to discuss these groups without misunderstanding it was necessary to agree upon some name for the people who now number over fifteen million in this country.

In the earliest days they called themselves Africans, but of course their children and grandchildren were not Africans. They used the word "colored", but that referred mainly to mixed bloods and was not applicable to those of unmixed descent. Hyphenated words like "Afro-American" are awkward.

Then there was another reason for adopting the word "Negro." Analogous to the use of the word "Quaker" in England, "Negro and "nigger" were used in America as terms of contempt. The word "Negro" was not capitalized. We therefore determined to make it respectable, and today all official publications and nearly all authors capitalize the word, and when it is used in America the meaning is perfectly clear.

On the other hand it is quite understandable that the word which came into use in America and in connection with slavery would not be suitable for Africans of today and we naturally have no desire to insist upon or expect its use. The one point that we want to emphasize is that the darker peoples of Africa and the Americas who are descended from African slaves belong to a group which is not only unified by descent but by its relation

287-174-14

to the white European world; that on that account it has common problems and should try to come into close touch, understanding and cooperation.

Names, of course, are important but seldom logical or historically accurate. Their use is a matter of convenience and precision, and only by recognizing this can we make ourselves clear in argument and exposition.

I am very grateful for your willingness to bring the existence of our fifteen million people to the attention of the Emperor of Abyssinia and also for your offer to do something to help the American people in their present oppression by the Smith Act.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-178-15

27-9-22

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

Your Ref......
Our Ref. .....ESP/MF.....

5th April, 1954.

Smith Act

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Ph.D.,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. DuBois,

Concerning your enquiry about the visit to the United States of the Emperor of Ethiopia, I observe that Mr. Lawson of the United African Nationalist Movement is arranging a dinner for the Emperor at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York.

As regards the other matter you mention, would it be possible for you to let me have a list of the victims of the Smith Act. This would be helpful in that connection.

I think you also have some printed literature about it, which I could show to various people to obtain their co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E.SYLVIA PANKHURST.

27-9-23

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

All Communications to:
"WEST DENE"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone:
BUCkhurst 2463

Your Ref......

Our Ref. ESP/MF.

10th September, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Are you able to help in the following case ?

Ngunbu Njururi, who is a Kikuyu. Law student in London. Had been promised a scholarship to an American College on payment of £100 and his fare to the United States. Subsequently his father's property was confiscated in the course of communal punishment covering a whole area; there was no charge against his father. His mother and grandmother were

violently handled by the police, as a result of which they died. His sister was imprisoned for a time.

Is there anyone in the United States whom you know, who would be willing to assist this youth in the present sad circumstances?

Your kind help would be very much appreciated.

I came to know of Ngunbu Njururi through a friend with whom he had stayed, and who has a high opinion of his studious character and general morale. He is of course very sad but showing great courage and determination to continue his studies as far as possible

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

E.SYLVIA PANKHURST.

September 29, 1954

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst
New Times and Ethiopia News
"West Done"
3 Charteris Road
Woodford Green
Essex, England

My dear Miss Pankhurst:

I have your letter of September 10th. During the last five years I suppose I have had a dozen or more applications from African students or their friends, to help them. I have had to reply to them as I am replying to you, that I am quite helpless.

There was a time when my recommendation would have had a good chance to get money for reliable persons. This has not been true since my activity in the Peace Movement led to my indictment as "representative of a foreign agent." The case was thrown out of court. Nevertheless, since that it has been impossible for me to get any major work published, or to exercise any influence upon the American philanthropic funds.

I do not think that many of the persons in Europe interested in good causes know under what reign of terror we now live in the United States. No citizen can get a passport for travel abroad unless in the first place he promises to say nothing and not to take part in any activity which the present government of the United States does not want said or done.

Most of the philanthropic activities of America today are so integrated that they give only to causes which are approved. If, therefore, I should ask any organization for help in a case like this it would do more harm than good.

I am sending herewith my last book, which has been kept out of circulation and publicity as much as possible but which is the cause of my present disabilities. But perhaps you have already seen it. If so, you may pass it on.

I may, however, suggest this: a letter from you or from the student sent directly to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Avenue, New York City, N.Y.; or to President Bond of Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania, might prove efficacious.

Also, President Charles Johnson of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, could secure help if he would.

In none of these cases would it be wise to mention my name.

I hope this may be of some service.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-9-25

Louise T. Patterson
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

July 21, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

You no doubt were shocked to learn of the imprisonment of my husband, William Patterson, on a contempt of court charge, and that he has been denied bail or a stay of execution pending appeal of his case. The enclosed fact sheet will inform you of the facts in the case and their serious implications.

We feel that a national campaign can and should be waged around his case and I am writing to ask if you will be one to help initiate a National Committee to Defend the Civil Rights of William L. Patterson. It will be the purpose of this committee to make the facts and the issues in the case known to thousands throughout the nation so that we can win, first bail, and then full freedom for "Pat", as well as to put the brakes on the government's attempts to punish those who refuse to turn "informer."

I trust that you will find it possible to be an initiator of this Committee, but will appreciate whatever you can do to help. I am enclosing an envelope for your reply which, I hope, because of the need to develop this campaign speedily, will be by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Louise T. Patterson

27-9-15

July 23, 1954

Mrs. Louise T. Patterson
409 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Patterson:

I am convinced that my name at the head of any committee would not help its objects today.

On the other hand, if you think that having my name as a member of a committee to defend your husband would help, I should be very glad to let you use it.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York, N. Y.
August 20, 1954

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois,

We should be very happy to have you as our guests at the Testimonial Supper to be given for Pat on next Thursday, August 26, at Small's Paradise. The enclosed invitation gives you the details.

If you can come will you kindly call Watkins 4-6856, before Thursday so that reservations can be made for you. We do hope that you can.

Again may I thank you for your support to his defense fight. I have taken your regards to Pat when I visit him as well as your support of the defense committee. He has asked me to thank you. He looks well.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Louise Patterson

45-9-41

August 24, 1954

Mrs. Louise Patterson
409 Edgecombe Av.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Patterson:

I am very sorry not to be able to come to the dinner for your husband, but I find it unwise at my age to be out late at night, and if I attended this dinner in Harlem I could not get to bed in Brooklyn before two o'clock, which would ruin a week's work. I do not think I ought to do it.

I enclose a message which you may read if you wish, or not.

Shirley is in an even worse quandary, having one book just going to galley proof on which some work must be done by Friday, and another book which she must begin before the contract expires.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh
enc.

W.E.B. Du Bois

August 24, 1954

TO WILLIAM PATTERSON

I regret to be unable to attend this dinner tonight.

I send greetings to those present and especially to William Patterson and his wife on this birthday.

It is in a sense a great honor for a man to have the opportunity to show his courage in defending the Right not simply by talking but by suffering.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

LOUISE THOMPSON PATTERSON

Sept. 25, 1954

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois,

We know that you and all of William Patterson's friends were saddened 3 months ago when he was rushed off to prison for refusing to betray his responsibilities to you and to all the American people.

Now, on Sept. 28, the prison doors will be open and our beloved "Pat" will be returning to us and to the increasingly crucial civil liberties struggle. We know that you and other friends will want to greet him right away, and that Pat will be eager to see and talk with those whose fellowship he has been denied over the entire summer.

27-9-17

We are, therefore, asking you to join us in an intimate "welcome home" to Pat on Sat., Oct. 2, 9o'clock, in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Hershel Meyer, 444 Central Park West, Apt. 17B (corner 104th St.). This will be an opportunity, too, to let Pat know that despite the continuing efforts of the government to persecute him and his organization, his friends are even more dedicated in their support.

We will appreciate your letting us know if you can come by calling Au. 3-4825 or Ki. 7-6438.

Sincerely,

Anjie Dickerson

Louise Patterson

September 29, 1954

Mrs. Louise Thompson Patterson
409 Edgecombe Av.
New York 23, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Patterson and Dickerson:

Shirley and I join with you in welcoming Mr. Patterson back from his unjust imprisonment.

I wish I could join with you Saturday, October 2nd, but I do not think it would be wise to go out.

Will you kindly greet Mr. Patterson and wish him good luck for the future on the part of both of us.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

April 12, 1954

Dr. Morris Pearlmutter
54 East 61 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Pearlmutter:

In talking with Dr. Barsky he referred me to you.

My complaint is Old Age. Not a severe case, but I feel that I need advice. I was 86 February 23rd of this year. I have usually been in good health, and from 1918 when I had a kidney operation to 1946 I took annual examinations at the Life Extension Examiners, but finally gave up because they were not equipped to give me much advice.

This year I have had something that might be a warning. I had a sudden pain in my left side which I thought was rheumatism but it proved to be some difficulty with the colon. My regular physician, Dr. Richard Carey, 147 W. 116 St., advised me to have Xrays. I had Xrays taken by Dr. George D. Cannon, 216 West 139 Street, which showed a number of little pockets in the colon. There was no evidence of any malignancy, my physician said, but warned me of possibilities.

I think perhaps I ought to have further examination and advice. Could I have an appointment with you? I shall call you up later in the week.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman

JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

- Morton Plaza
- 156 Wellington Hill Street
- Dorchester 26, Mass.

January 4, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

We were very pleased to hear from you. However, there is a change in the hour which we hope will not inconvenience you. Our forum is always held Sunday mornings at eleven and we decided it was best not to interrupt this routine. The forum is growing and more people are getting the forum habit.

We are looking forward to seeing you January 31st, Sunday morning at 11:00 otlock. It is necessary to have the topic of your lecture and if possible could you send it to me soon.

Will you advise me what train you will arrive on, so that we can meet you at the station.

Sincerely yours,

Rachel Buckman

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Corr. Sec.

33 Greenock St.
Dorchester

Telephone --Ta5-6727

27-5-45

January 11, 1954

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Peoples Victory Forum
53 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

The hour of eleven Sunday morning, January 31st is quite agreeable so far as I am concerned.

Suppose I take for my subject: THE FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

January 16, 1954.

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

Will you please let me know immediately just where your meeting is going to take place?

I usually stop at the Copley Plaza hotel. Will this be convenient to get to and from the meeting place? If not, what hotel is nearer?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman

JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

- Morton Plaza
- 156 Wellington Hill Street
- Dorchester 26, Mass.

32

January 18 , 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The Peoples Forum is held at the Morton Plaza, 156 Wellington Hill St., in Dorchester. The entrance is on Greendale Rd.

The Copley Plaza Hotel is easy enough to get to. My husband will call for you at the hotel Sunday morning at about 10:00 o'clock, and bring you out here by auto. However, I am assuming that you will be there at that time , perhaps you will be just coming in to Boston that morning. Please do let me know of your arrival, when and where.

When I first wrote to you, I said there might be a church meeting or informal gathering with you but would keep you informed. At present, it will be an informal gathering at a tea in the afternoon between 3:00 and 5:00 o'clock. I hope this meets with your approval. Some member of the committee will write to you further on this, but I was told to ask you if you could talk at this tea about Africa and/or the history of Negro education in this country. The people invited will be a cross-section of the community.

I am enclosing my telephone number in case when you get here our signals get crossed though I don't anticipate anything like that.

We are looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours
Rachel Buckman
Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Corr. Sec.

TA5- 6727
33 Greenock St. Dor.

27-5-43

January 19, 1954.

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

I shall arrive in Boston Saturday night, January 30th and plan to stop at the Copley Plaza Hotel. I will telephone you when I get there, and shall be very glad to have your husband call for me at the hotel Sunday morning at 10:00 o'clock.

With regard to that tea, I have to protect myself against double engagements. If there is to be a tea with speaking, then I shall have to charge an extra $25. Unless I do this one engagement is apt to blossom into two, three or four.

If the second meeting is simply informal, with no speaking on my part whatsoever, I shall be glad to attend providing I can catch a train to New York which will not get me here too late.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman
JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

- Morton Plaza
- 156 Wellington Hill Street
- Dorchester 26, Mass.

January 25, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
23 West 26th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Dubois:

The tea I mentioned has not materialized for wont of a proper place to hold it and some other difficulties.

Also, I don't think I mentioned anything about the length of time for your talk. We begin promptly at 11:00 and usually the speaker takes an hour. This is followed by questions for about half an hour.

It occurs to me that 10:00 o'clock may be a little early to call for you, since it is only a 25 minute ride to the hall. Let's make it about 10:20 in the morning.

Yours very truly,
Rachel Buckman
Mrs. Rachel Buckman

33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

27-5-42

January 26, 1954

Mrs. Rachel Buckman
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock St.
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Buckman:

I never speak an hour. That is too much for any audience to listen to and I am not an entertainer.

You will probably have some preliminary exercises, and then I shall speak between twenty minutes and half an hour, and after that answer questions as long as anybody has any intelligent questions to ask.

I shall be at the hotel all morning and will be ready at any time you call.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PEOPLES *Victory* FORUM

S. WESTELMAN, Chairman
JACK GLAZER, Exec. Sec'y
36 Deckard Street
Roxbury 21, Mass.

● Morton Plaza
● 156 Wellington Hill Street
● Dorchester 26, Mass.

October 14, 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York, 3, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Once again you are invited to come and speak before our Forum at a date convenient to you in February. Will you please let me know when that date is and also the title, if possible, of that lecture.

As usual, your expenses and a fee will be taken care of by the Forum.

Yours truly,

Mrs. R. Buckman
R. BUCKMAN, SEC

33 Greenock Street
Dorchester, Mass.

27-4-73

October 28, 1954

Mr. R. Buckman, Secretary
Peoples Victory Forum
33 Greenock Street
Dorchester, Mass.

Dear Mr. Buckman:

I have your letter of October 14th.

I am not quite sure whether I shall be lecturing next year and therefore cannot make a definite date for you.

However, if you will write me early in February I should be glad to let you know.

I appreciate your kind offer.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-4-14

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SAN FRANCISCO

PEOPLE'S WORLD
590 FOLSOM ST. • SAN FRANCISCO 5

April 13, 1954

W.E.B. Du Bois
23 W. 26th street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We certainly are sorry (and more than a bit red-faced) at the slip-up about the production of "Haiti" in Moscow. The story came on such good authority - Mr. Parker is an excellent and very reliable correspondent - that it did not occur to us to double check.

We extend our apologies to you. As to further amends, it was not clear whether you desired publication of your note, which we would be happy to publish to set the record straight. Any other form of correction would be our responsibility, of course, but we would be guided by any suggestion you might make, or any wish you express.

Respectfully yours,

Al Richmond

Al Richmond

27-9-12

April 8, 1954

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois send their deep condolences to Mrs. William Pickens and her family on the occasion of the death of William Pickens.

Mrs. William Pickens
260 West 139 Street
New York, N.Y.

[Pioneer Youth League]

c/O 3, Evans Street,
Georgetown 17.
British Guiana.
21st Jan. 1954.

Dr. W. Dubois,
c/o Masses & Mainstream
New York, U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

As Secretary of the now outlawed Pioneer Youth League I am to ask that you favour the Guianese Youth with a message on the occasion on February 21st, the day of Youth and Students against Colonialism.

This day is of special significance to the young people of Guiana whose elected Government was deposed by Imperialist Britain.

We look forward to an early reply.

Yours respectfully,

B.H. Benn

27-1-58

First fold here

51-5829

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTE

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOS
THIS LETTER WILL BE SEN
BY ORDINARY MAIL.

Dr W.E. Dubois
% Mesdes + Mamstreet
832 Broadway New York
U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address:-

To open cut here

Courier
America's BEST WEEKLY

ABC

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

January 19, 1954

Dear Courier Reader:

In The Courier this week part of a letter which I have written to President Eisenhower is reproduced; however, a copy of the entire letter is enclosed.

I have written to the President to appeal to him to act to be sure that three Negro soldiers have received a fair trial. Two of these men have been convicted and sentenced to die. The third has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

The facts regarding the case of these men, which are in my possession, compel me to doubt seriously that they have received a fair trial.

I have written to the President because I believe him to be fair and I know he would not want any man's life taken unjustly.

Are you willing to do as much as I have to see that justice is served? Will you appeal to the President's sense of justice?

Will you, in order to save two human lives, wire or write the President and ask him to set up a special body to investigate all the facts surrounding the trial of these men before they are executed?

TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE!

Burns and Dennis are scheduled to be executed on January 28 (Guam Time) which is January 27 (U.S. Time).

Whatever you do, I am respectfully urging that you act NOW! TODAY!

Sincerely,

Mrs. Robert L. Vann

(Mrs.) Robert L. Vann,
President and Publisher
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUB.CO.

MRLV:mm -- enc.

[Enc.]

January 10, 1954

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

This letter is written to ask you to intervene to see that justice is done in the so-called Farnsworth case, legally denoted as Burns, Robert W., and Dennis, Herman P. v. Robert Lovett et al.

This case involves three Negro soldiers---Pvt. Calvin Dennis, Pvt. Herman Dennis and Sgt. Robert Burns--who were arrested on the Island of Guam in January, 1949, and charged with the rape-murder of a white salesgirl known as Ruth Farnsworth.

Two of these men, Herman Dennis (no relation to Calvin) and Robert Burns, have been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged by a court martial. The third, Calvin Dennis, has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

I do not know whether these men are guilty. If they are guilty they deserve the punishment meted to them.

I do know that there is serious reason to doubt their guilt and to question the methods used to implicate them in the crime and to find them guilty.

If one-half of what I have been told about this case is true, a crime in the name of the United States would be committed if these men were executed.

You will recall that a former President, Adams, pleading a case, asserted that it were better that twenty guilty men should escape justice than that one innocent man should die for a crime he did not commit.

It is in the spirit of this historic concept that I am writing to you and asking you to intercede in the Farnsworth case.

I am not asking you to commute the sentence. If these men are guilty, they deserve the sentence given them.

I am respectfully asking you to take steps to ascertain beyond any doubt that these men received a fair trial. I urge you to stay the executions until a proper body, named by you, can make an ob-- jective investigation of this case and report to you.

If such a commission were to find these men did have a fair trial and were protected by all the safeguards guaranteed by our Constitution, then let justice, as determined by the military court be done.

If, on the other hand, these men are the victims of circumstances, and of the ambition of certain officers to "solve" the crime, I also urge that justice be done and the lives of the men be spared.

Your days are busy ones, Mr. President, and I am reluctant to intrude upon them--but what is more important than human life?

Yours very respectfully,

S/ Mrs. Robert L. Vann
President and Publisher
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUB. CO.

ja

Pittsburgh Courier

"Serving Greater New York"

NEW YORK EDITION of Pittsburgh Courier

2091 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MOnument 2-4550-1

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
New York Editor

January 20, 1954

To All My Friends:

After carefully reading the inclosed matter, I hope you will take time out to telegraph (or send a letter special delivery) to President Eisenhower backing up our request for delay in the execution of Dennis and Burns.

This has to be done IMMEDIATELY!

You can well understand the necessity for SPEED

Can I count on you to do your bit?

I feel sure that I can.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
New York Editor

Member of The Audit Bureau of Circulations

Mrs. Vann, Nunn In White House Plea for Pair

By WILLIAM G. NUNN
(Courier Managing Editor)

WASHINGTON—(Wednesday, Jan. 13)—"What is more important than human life?" Nothing!

That's the way the Courier feels . . . and that is why Mrs. Robert L. Vann, Courier publisher, and the writer spent two hours and fifteen minutes in the White House this morning.

The Courier is seeking to have the White House delay the executions of two Negro soldiers . . . until there can be absolutely no doubt as to their guilt.

The case in which the soldiers are involved is an old one . . . dating back to December, 1948. The crime for which they were convicted is the rape-murder of a white saleslgirl on the Island of Guam (in the Pacific).

The men involved in the crime are Sgt. Robert Burns . . . Pvt. Herman Dennis and Pvt. Calvin Dennis.

* * *

BURNS AND Herman Dennis must die on the gallows at Guam on Jan. 28, unless the White House heeds our request.

Private Calvin Dennis (no relation to Herman) is now serving life imprisonment at Lewisburg, Pa.

Are Burns, Dennis and Dennis guilty of the rape-murder of Ruth Farnsworth?

The Courier has no way of knowing.

But we do know that Thurgood Marshall, who interviewed the boys in 1949 . . . long before the NAACP entered the case . . . has expressed grave doubts as to their guilt.

Are Burns, Dennis and Dennis guilty?

We don't know! But we do know that when the case reached the U. S. Supreme Court, where a petition for habeas corpus was denied, Justices Douglas, Black and Frankfurter wrote very strong dissenting opinions . . . and that Justice Frankfurter stated the case had not received due consideration.

Are Burns, Dennis and Dennis guilty?

Again we say: "We don't know!"

* * *

BUT WE can tell you that there is a ground-swell of opinion that at the time of the trial there was a determination that the crime had to be "solved."

Our White House Conference followed by three days a letter written to President Eisenhower, in which this newspaper stated its position as follows:

"We do not know whether these men are guilty. If they are guilty, they deserve the pupishment meted to them.

"We do know that there is serious reason to doubt their guilt and to question the methods used to implicate them in the crime and to find them guilty.

"If one-half of what we have been told about this case is true, a crime in the name of the United States would be committed if these men were executed.

"You will recall that a former President, Adams, pleading a case, asserted that it were better that twenty men should escape justice, than that one innocent man should die for a crime he did not commit.

"It is in the spirit of this historic concept," the letter continued, "that we are writing you to intercede in the Farnsworth case."

The Courier asked President Eisenhower to appoint a "Court of Last Resort" in the following paragraphs:

"We are not asking you to commute the sentence. If these men are guilty, they deserve the sentence given them.

"We are respectfully asking you to take steps to ascertain . . . BEYOND ANY DOUBT . . . that these men received a fair trial. We urge you to stay the executions until a proper body, named by you, can make an objective investigation of this case and report to you.

"If such a commission were to find these men did have a fair trial and were protected by all the safeguards guaranteed by our Constitution, then let justice, as determined by the military court, be done.

"If, on the other hand, these men are the victims of circumstances, and of the ambition of certain officers to 'solve' the crime, we also urge that justice be done and the lives of these men be spared.

"Your days are busy ones, Mr. President," the letter concludes, "and we are reluctant to intrude upon them . . . BUT WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN HUMAN LIFE?"

That was the Courier's position in its letter to the President . . . and that was the position we stressed when we called at the White House.

We pointed out the need of a qualified Negro to become a part of the investigation. We admitted that the facts brought out during our lengthy conference were true and valid.

* * *

WE LISTENED attentively as Government legal experts pointed out how concerned the White House was with this case.

We learned that an impartial investigation had been conducted by the Department of Justice.

But we patiently insisted that the human angle might have become lost in the web of legal machinery which dealt only with the cold facts!

We asked about the background of the convicted men?

We inquired as to why they had been denied counsel of their own choice?

We wanted to know why the people of the State of Washington (white people who did not know Burns) had become interested to the point of official White House inquiries.

And we were given final assurance . . . that the entire matter would be carefully reviewed ONCE MORE . . . and that every effort would be made to give our request ACTION.

* * *

TIME HAS become a prime factor in this case!

The "Zero Hour" for Burns and Dennis is just beyond the horizon.

Is there time for the full weight of public opinion to make itself felt?

The Courier feels that there should be further investigation. The Courier feels that the Voice of Negro America can make itself heard . . . and that if your voice is loud enough, then Burns and Dennis will not die on Jan. 28.

We know President Eisenhower is concerned about this case.

And we believe he would welcome your earnest pleas, that the executions be delayed. This is the FIRST STEP!

THE EXECUTIONS MUST BE DELAYED.

If you believe this to be true, express your feelings by addressing telegrams and letters to President Eisenhower, The White House, Washington, D. C., asking that the executions be delayed until a Court of Last Resort can weigh all the evidence.

Let's get itno the fight. Only President Eisenhower can halt the executions.

— BIGGEST and the BEST

Courier
AMERICA'S GREAT WEEKLY
SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1954
Published by The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co., Inc. Main Office: 2628 Centre Avenue at Francis St., Pittsburgh 19, Pa. Telephone: MAyflower 1-1401

April 6, 1954

Mr. Lou Polan
45 West 69 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Polan:

I am very much ashamed of having kept this book so long. I and my wife got very hard pressed and then, being at about the end of our strength, went off on a three weeks' vacation, forgetting to return the book before we went.

I thank you very much for letting me see it.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-14

To meet Mrs. E. Dembinska 27-9-8
Viceminister of Education

The Permanent Representative of the Polish People's Republic
to the United Nations
and
Madame Henryk Birecki
request the pleasure of the company of

M. Prof. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois

at a dinner
on Friday, 26 March, 1954 8 o'clock
at 988 Fifth Avenue (4th Floor).

R.S.V.P.
Rh 4-2506

informal

March 2, 1954

The Consul General of the Polish People's Republic
and Madam Kazimierz Biernacki
151 East 67 Street
New York City

Dear Sir and Madam:

Mrs. Du Bois and I are distressed to learn that the Polish Consulate is going to be closed, and presumably you will be leaving soon for home.

We have enjoyed knowing you very much and hope that we shall see you again before you actually leave. We are going to be away on vacation during March, but shall be at home at the above address after the first of April.

With best hopes for your future, we beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

March 31, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Henryk Birecki
988 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

My wife and I regret very much that we could not attend the dinner March 26th.

We were absent on vacation in the Caribbean.

It would have been a great pleasure to meet Mrs. Dembinska.

We remember with great pleasure our previous meeting with you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-07

27-9-5

Dr. Stanislaw Skrzeszewski
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Chairman of the Delegation of the Polish People's Republic
to the General Assembly of the United Nations
requests the pleasure of the company of
Mr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois
at a reception
at the Hotel Plaza Terrace Room
on Wednesday, the thirteenth of October
Nineteen hundred and fifty-four
from 6.30 to 8.30 o'clock

R. S. V. P.
Rh 4-2508

Informal

October 8, 1954

Dr. Stanistaw Skrzeszewski, Chairman
Polish Delegation to the United Nations
151 East 67 Street
New York, New York

Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois regret exceedingly their inability to accept the invitation of Dr. Stanistaw Skrzeszewski to attend the reception Wednesday, October 13th.

They deeply appreciate the invitation.

Soviet Union

January 4, 1954

Editor of Pravda
Moscow, Soviet Union

My dear Sir:

I want to thank you for your kind notice in your issue of December 5, 1953 concerning the play "Haiti".

I regret to say, however, that I am not the author of this play. The author is William Du Bois, who is a white man who writes usually for the New York Times.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-85

Progressive Party
National Committee Meeting
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

Proposed Agenda

SATURDAY -- 10 A.M.

I. National Secretary's Report.

II. Pre-Campaign Activity.

(A) National Legislative Program.

1. Peace and foreign policy
2. Civil Rights
3. Economic issues
   (a) Labor
   (b) Farm
   (c) Public Works
   (d) Social Security and Taxes.
4. Restore Bill of Rights and end McCarthyism.

(B) Implementation of Program.
(Suggested Actions)

1. Anti-McCarthy meetings.
2. Washington Legislative Lobby.
3. State conferences on legislative issues.
4. Campaigns on specific issues.

III. Finances and Budget.

Recess at 6:00 PM.

SUNDAY - 10 A.M.

IV. Revision and adoption of Electoral Policy Statement on national, state and local elections.

(A) Stimulating participation of workers and farmers in 1954 election campaigns.

(B) Negro and minority representation.

(C) Organizing to implement electoral policy.

V. National Guardian and Freedom.

VI. Other Business.

Adjourn at 6:00 PM.

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Minutes of Meeting of National Committee

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City

11:00 A.M.
January 16-17, 1954

PRESENT:

Henry H. Abrams, N.Y.
John Abt, N.Y.
I. Albert, Maine
Mrs. I. Albert, Maine
C. B. Baldwin, Conn.
Milton Bates, Md.
Lillian Baldwin, Conn.
Henry Beitscher, Pa.
Jack Berman, Calif.
Lila Berman, Calif.
Morton Bloom, N.J.
Jean Borden, Pa.
Boris Brail, Ill.
Philip Brail, Ill.
Rose Brook, Pa.
Thomas Cerasati, Vermont
Virginia Cerasati, Vermont
Lynn Childs, Calif.
Charles Coe, N.Y.
Frank Coe, N.Y.
Charles Collins, N.Y.
Thelma Dale, N.Y.
John L. Darr, Jr., N.Y.
Hugh DeLacy, Ohio
James DeWitt, Wisc.
Henry Doliner, N.Y.
W.E.B.DuBois, N.Y.
Gertrude Evans, D.C.
Morris Golden, N.Y.
John Gray, N.Y.
Alec Jones, N.Y.
Irving L. Jones, Mass.
M. W. Jones, Md.
Mildred Kaufman, N.Y.
Alfred Kuchler, N.Y.
Alice Liveright, Pa.
Helen MacMartin, Vt.
John Marsalka, Conn.
Clifford McAvoy
Muriel McAvoy, N.Y.
John T. McManus, N.Y.
Lillian Millman, Pa.
Hugh Mulzac, N.Y.
George Murphy, N.Y.
Arthur Narins, Pa.
Lillian Narins, Pa.
Walter O'Brien, Mass.
Jessie L. O'Connor, R.I.
Victor Perlo, N.Y.
Tabitha Petran, N.Y.
Joe Petraus, Ohio
Victor Rabinowitz, N.Y.
Eslanda Robeson, Conn.
Paul Robeson, Conn.
Helen Rosen, N.Y.
Paul Ross, N.Y.
Don Rothenberg, Ohio
Dick Sasuly, N.Y.
Kent A. Smitherman, N.J.
Alice Schwartz, Pa.
Edward M. Schwartz, Pa.
John Scudder, N.Y.
Arthur Stein, N.Y.
Don Stephens, Del.
Mrs. I. Stephens, Del.
Leon Straus, N.Y.
Pauline Taylor, Ohio
Arthur Travis, N.J.
Paul Trilling, N.Y.
Tony Tully, N.Y.
Mrs. E. H. Tyndale, N.Y.
Katharine Van Orden, N.J.
Rose Volkman, Del.
Stephen J. White, N.Y.
Jim Wishart, N.Y.
Alexander Wright, Pa.
Archie Wright, N.Y.
Bertha C. Zoda, N.J.
Anne F. Zucker, Pa.

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PRESIDING:

Saturday session -- Hugh DeLacy
Sunday session -- Alice Liveright

MORE - - - -

Saturday Session

SECRETARY'S REPORT: Mr. Baldwin made a report to the Committee, presenting the political picture in the country and describing the role of the Progressive Party, copy of which is attached. Upon the conclusion of the report, motion was made and carried that the report be printed and distributed, not only within but also outside of the ranks of the Progressive Party. Adoption of the report was postponed until Sunday.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM: A proposed Legislative Program for 1954 was presented which also included an Action Program. It was explained that this document was not intended to deal with all the issues and for that reason it re-affirmed the 1952 Platform, which is a complete document, and presented a minimum program around which to mobilize the people in 1954. A discussion from the floor then followed. After suggesting several changes, motion was made and carried to adopt that part of the document referring to the program only. Discussion on the action program was deferred.

GUEST SPEAKERS: The afternoon session was opened by short informative analyses by Archie Wright on the farm question, by James Wishart on the economic issues, and by Victor Perlo on foreign trade and jobs.

ACTION ON LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM: A full discussion took place in which the delegates related their experiences in bringing the issues to the people in their communities, and the most effective method of influencing the Congress as well as state and local legislative bodies on the issues. It was agreed by all that an immediate effort be made to interest broad sponsors in any activities initiated locally, but that too much time should not be spent waiting for this to materialize. The main job of the Progressive Party is to start people moving.

Upon the conclusion of the discussion, motion was made and carried to adopt the Legislative Program and the Action Program contained therein, with changes suggested by the delegates. Copy of the adopted Program is attached.

FINANCES: Mrs. Van Orden, Treasurer, presented the financial statement for 1953, which included a total income of $19,362 and expenditures in amount of $19,539. She also presented a proposed budget for the national office amounting to $20,184 for the entire year of 1954. To cover this, suggested quotas were established for the state organizations -- copy attached. Mrs. Van Orden asked that those present study the quotas overnight and come to Sunday's meeting prepared to make specific commitments.

PAUL ROBESON: Mr. Robeson, National Co-Chairman of the party, closed the day's session by urging that we find new ways of working among people -- that many groups of people heretofore silent are expressing themselves on issues that are of concern to the Progressive Party. He pointed out that the Progressive Party represents a party of many different people, and each can carry forward the program in his particular group -- a mill worker to the workers, a farmer to other farmers, etc. Mr. Robeson also expressed his confidence that the Progressive Party would grow stronger during the year and emphasized its great importance in the fight for a progressive America.

Sunday Session

GUEST SPEAKERS: The second day's session was opened by short informative addresses by Charles Coe on the farm problem, and by Victor Rabinowitz and Frank Coe on McCarthyism.

MORE - - - - - -

27-7-28

FINANCES: The proposed state quotas were accepted by representatives of the following states who were present: Southern California, Northern California, New Jersey, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Rhode Island. Representatives for the following states stated that the quotas would be discussed at state meetings and approval given at a later date: New York, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois and the District of Columbia.

Mr. Charles Collins of the Liberty Book Club submitted a proposal to help in fund raising in the various states. The proposal was that the Progressive Party organizations solicit membership in the Liberty BookClub, the first $2 of the book membership to be retained by the PP organization. Mr. Collins stated he was available to travel to the nearby states to discuss this further. He will be glad to correspond with distant states to work out a more detailed arrangement.

ELECTORAL POLICY STATEMENT: A proposed statement on electoral policy was read. This was followed by a thorough discussion of electoral policy, in which representatives of all states present participated and included the reading of communications from Mr. Reuben Borough and others. Copy of the statement as finally adopted is attached.

FREEDOM: Mr. Burnham explained that one of the vehicles through which the Progressive Party could help in the movement for Negro representation would be through the publication, FREEDOM. During the year, a special issue on the question of Negro representation dealing with the development in the south and other communities will be issued. In all other issues, concentration will be on Negro representation. Mr. Burnham urged that the National Committee go on record in support of the efforts of FREEDOM on this issue and call upon the state organizations to use FREEDOM as a main weapon in its fight for Negro representation. He further stated that special arrangements could be made for bundle orders, subscriptions, etc. that would be beneficial to both the Progressive Party and FREEDOM.

VINCENT HALLINAN: Mr. McManus recommended that the National Committee send a message of respect and continued friendship to Mr. Hallinan. Miss Childs also urged that a message of greeting be sent to Mrs. Hallinan and the children as well as to Mr. Hallinan for their courage and principled stand. She stated that she had a message from Mr. Hallinan to deliver to the National Committee -- that his removal from the political scene was a temporary one and that he would be back stronger than ever. Mrs. Robeson urged that personal letters also be sent to Mr. Hallinan at McNeill Island and to Mrs. Hallinan at Ross, California.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN: Mr. McManus pointed out that the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was the only paper which provided information to the progressive movement and stressed the importance of enlarging its readership. He proposed that the Progressive Party organizations make an effort to get subscribers at the regular rate of $3 per year -- one-half of this amount to be retained in the local Progressive Party organization.

SECRETARY'S REPORT: Motion was made and carried to adopt the report of the Secretary as presented.

Adjourned 6:00 PM.

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27-7-21

Progressive Party
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

SUGGESTED QUOTAS FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

	1953 quota	1953 Total Payments	Suggested 1954 Quota
California, south	$ 150	1189.45	150
California, north	75	575.00	75
Connecticut	50	50.00	50
Delaware	10	210.20	10
District of Columbia	75	800.00	75
Illinois	100	575.00	100
Indiana	25	100.00	25
Maine	5	92.50	5
Maryland	35	405.00	50
Massachusetts	100	690.00	100
Michigan	50	20.00	50
Minnesota	50	383.00	50
Montana	10	46.00	10
New Hampshire	5	20.00	5
New Jersey	100	1700.00	150
New Mexico	10	25.00	5
New York	--	150.00	1000
Ohio	75	135.00	75
Oregon	35	325.00	35
Pennsylvania	100	903.00	100
Rhode Island	--	--	*
Vermont	5	15.00	5
Washington	50	205.00	50
Wisconsin	25	45.00	25
		$ 8639.15	2200

$ 26,400 for 12 months

* Rhode Island agreed to accept a quota for 1954; the amount will be determined by the state organization.

27-7-37

Progressive Party
National Committee Meeting
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

Financial Statement -- January 1 to December 31, 1953

INCOME

Contributions from state organizations	$ 8,639.15
Contributions from individuals (over $100)	7,850.00
Contributions from individuals (less than $100)	512.00
Return of and interest on deposits	647.79
Sale of Furniture	471.00
Loans	500.00
Literature	16.00
Reimbursement for Travel	727.00
Total Income	$ 19,362.94

EXPENDITURES

Printing & Supplies	208.17
Publications & Subscriptions	46.85
Electricity & Maintenance	147.90
Postage	187.33
Rent	2,061.32
Payments on 1952 bills	559.00
Telephone & Telegraph	442.58
Taxes	5,132.65
Salary & Expense	9,282.62
Travel	690.69
Loans	650.00
Miscellaneous	129.69
Total Expenditures	$ 19,539.00

Progressive Party
National Committee Meeting
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

STATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL OFFICE January 1 - Dec. 31, 1953

California, south	$ 1,189.45
California, north	525.
Connecticut	50.
Delaware	210.20
District of Columbia	800.
Illinois	575.
Indiana	100.
Maine	92.50
Maryland	405.
Massachusetts	690.
Michigan	20.
Minnesota	383.
Montana	46.
New Hampshire	20.
New Jersey	1,700.
New York	150.
New Mexico	25.
Ohio	135.
Oregon	325.
Pennsylvania	903.
Vermont	15.
Washington	205.
Wisconsin	45.
TOTAL - 21 states and D.C.	$ 8,639.15

STATES THAT HAVE NOT CONTRIBUTED DURING 1953

Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
Colorado
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Mississippi
Missouri
Nebraska
Nevada
North Carolina
North Dakota
Oklahoma
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Virginia
West Virginia
Wyoming

TOTAL - 27 states

Progressive Party
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

SUGGESTED MONTHLY BUDGET FOR NATIONAL OFFICE FOR 1954

Salary & Expense		
C.B.Baldwin	$115 per week	$ 498.33
Thelma Dale	57.50 per week (½ time)	249.16
Vi Lonski	75. per week	325.00
Travel		75.00
Rent		90.00
Telephone & Telegraph		50.00
Postage		30.00
Publications & Legislative Bulletin		200.00
Electricity		5.00
Payment on old debts		50.00
Contingencies		50.00
1953 taxes		60.00
		$ 1,682.49

Total for 12 months - $ 20,189.88

Progressive Party
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Massachusetts	100	690.00	100
Michigan	50	20.00	50
Minnesota	50	383.00	50
Montana	10	46.00	10
New Hampshire	5	20.00	5
New Jersey	100	1700.00	150
New Mexico	10	25.00	5
New York	--	150.00	1000
Ohio	75	135.00	75
Oregon	35	325.00	35
Pennsylvania	100	903.00	100
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		$ 8639.15	2200

$26,400 for 12 months

Progressive Party
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Statement of the National Committee
on
The Outlook For The 1954 Congressional Elections And
The Role of the Progressive Party

Any discussion of the 1954 elections and the electoral policies of the Progressive Party must start with an assessment of the political climate in which the election campaign will take place. Developments in recent months have resulted in significant changes in the political situation that prevailed during the first six months of the Eisenhower Administration.

(1) The truce in Korea was a major victory for the peace forces of this country and the world. The full consequences of that victory are only beginning to make themselves felt. The termination of hostilities and the Soviet announcement of its possession of the hydrogen bomb have given rise to widespread discussion and critical re-examination of American foreign policy, and to a growing demand, in this country as well as throughout the world, for the settlement of differences with the Soviet Union by negotiation. The pressures thus exerted on the Eisenhower Administration, while as yet insufficient to compel any basic change in the cold war policy, have led to the forthcoming Berlin conference and to the resumption of Big Power discussions of the problem of atomic weapons.

(2) The first six months of Republican rule was a period of political passivity, marked by a "wait and see" attitude. However, the reactionary record of the 83rd Congress, the growing menace of McCarthyism, and the hardships resulting from the onset of an economic recession have aroused a rising tide of popular opposition. This opposition was first reflected in the attacks which the leaders of all sections of the labor

MORE - - - -

movement and representatives of the Negro people levelled against the Republicans, the resignation of Martin Durkin as Secretary of Labor, and the militant demand of the farmers for relief from the effects of the deepening crisis in agriculture. The extent of the people's opposition to Republican reaction was made plain by the over-all results of the 1953 elections which, as all observers agree, demonstrate the demands of the people for a program and candidates of the New Deal type and point to the possibility of a major Republican defeat in 1954.

(3) As the 1953 elections in New York and elsewhere demonstrated, the growing strength of the movement for Negro representation has created the conditions for the election of additional Negroes at every level of office, including the Congressional.

(4) The response of the Eisenhower Administration to the electoral setback of 1953, the failure of its foreign policy and the spectre of an economic depression has been to step up its program of repression and fully embrace McCarthyism in an effort to intimidate and silence all opposition. At the same time, under cover of the anti-Communist "crusade", it is planning to push through the reactionary measures against labor, the farmers and the Negro people foreshadowed in the President's messages to the new session of Congress.

(5) The Democratic Party leadership has failed to respond to the mandate of the 1953 election returns, to counter the Administration's reactionary legislative program with a positive program of its own, or even to make any effective defense against Brownell's McCarthyite smear of the Truman regime.

(6) On the one hand, therefore, it is clear that the issues in the

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new Congress and the 1954 election campaign will be fought out under conditions of heightened political consciousness and readiness for political activity on the part of labor, the farmers and the Negro people. On the other hand, unless these popular forces are organized for independent political action and compel the Democrats to fight for a progressive program, reaction will make further advances in Congress, the trend of the 1953 elections will be reversed, the Republicans will win in 1954, and the threat to American liberty and world peace will enter a new and more dangerously advanced stage.

Against this background, it is possible to define the objectives of the Progressive Party in the 1954 elections. As the foregoing analysis makes clear, our over-all objective is to help give form and direction to and to provide one means for the expression of independent political activity in support of a program which meets the demands of the people for peace, security and freedom. More specifically, our objectives are:

(a) To clarify the issues of the campaign, project a minimum program, and do everything possible to unite workers, farmers and the Negro people for independent political action (within or outside of the old parties) around candidates who support that program. The elements of such a minimum program are:

(1) For the settlement of all outstanding differences with the Soviet Union by conference and negotiation entered into in a good-faith effort to reach agreement.

(2) Opposition to McCarthyism.

(3) For legislation to provide jobs and security to workers and farmers in a peacetime economy.

(4) For enactment of a Federal FEPC.

MORE - - - - -

(b) To defeat the leading warmongers and McCarthyites who are up for reelection.

(c) To increase the representation of Negroes and other minority groups in Congress and other public offices.

(d) To secure commitments from major party candidates upon the minimum program outlined above, and to elect a bloc of Congressmen committed to that program.

(e) To use the election campaign itself as a vehicle for bringing our program to the people and urging the necessity for organizing a broad third party movement, based on labor, working farmers and the Negro people.

The methods for the accomplishment of these objectives will necessarily vary from state to state, and from district to district, depending upon the character of the old party candidates, the role of labor, farmers, the Negro people and other minority groups, the strength of the Progressive Party, and state election laws.

The only generalization that it is possible to make is that the Progressive Party's contribution to the campaign will, in the first instance be determined by its ability to launch an effective and sustained campaign around the major issues arising out of the international situation and in Congress in the coming months. Beyond that, there can be no substitute for a concrete district by district examination of conditions, and the formulation of a policy based upon the specific facts of each situation. The following points are, therefore, made only as guides to such an examination:

(A) The importance of pre-primary and primary campaigns in the old parties must not be overlooked. Every effort should be made to stimulate and encourage united action by labor, farmers and the Negro

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people to enter or support candidates in the primaries who subscribe to a minimum program of the type outlined above. Further, action should be initiated now to commit incumbents and prospective candidates to this minimum program. In this connection, Progressive Party leaders should meet with incumbents and prospective candidates for a discussion of program and the conditions under which our party will give them support.

(B) The Progressive Party should take the initiative for the organization or reactivization of nonpartisan committees for nomination by the old parties of Negroes and representatives of other minority groups.

(C) Efforts should be undertaken now to organize independent committees for the defeat of pro-war, McCarthyite incumbents. Such committees should not limit themselves to propaganda, but should attempt to create the political conditions which will insure the defeat of these incumbents (1) by organizing opposition in the primary, and (2) by working for the selection of a candidate who can defeat the incumbent in the elections.

(D) Consideration should be given to running broadly based independent candidates where it is already apparent that no acceptable old party candidate will be in the race, or in the event that an acceptable candidacy does not materialize.

(E) The results that flow from the foregoing tactics will largely determine the areas in which it becomes desirable to run Progressive Party candidates. Under no circumstances can the Progressive Party give unqualified support to a Congressional candidate who is not committed to the minimum program outlined above. On the other hand, the Progressive Party

will not have the forces or resources to run candidates in anything approaching all of the contests where there is no acceptable alternative. Progressive Party candidates must, therefore, be limited to areas and offices carefully selected for concentration. The need for such a limited corps of Progressive Party candidates is, however, imperative to our functioning as a political party. Petition campaigns to put Progressive Party candidates on the ballot, canvassing and literature on their behalf, and the personal campaigning of the candidate, provide the best means of getting our program to the people and of vitalizing our organization. Moreover, the presence of Progressive Party candidates on the ballot is essential to give impetus and example, both in our own ranks and in broader circles, to the movement for a mass third party.

In preparation for the 1954 election campaign, the National Committee urges each state organization to meet at once, (1) to plan a program of activities around the immediate issues, as outlined in the National Committee statement on National Legislative Action, and (2) to formulate a tentative electoral policy for 1954, based on an examination of the situation in the states and the policies contained in this statement.

The National Committee authorizes the Chairman, in consultation with the state organizations, to appoint a Congressional Campaign Committee to advise with the state organizations on their 1954 electoral plans and policies. State electoral programs should not be finally adopted until after their submission to and an opportunity for consultation with the Congressional Campaign Committee.

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Progressive Party
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(1) The truce in Korea was a major victory for the peace forces of this country and the world. The full consequences of that victory are only beginning to make themselves felt. The termination of hostilities and the Soviet announcement of its possession of the hydrogen bomb have given rise to widespread discussion and critical re-examination of American foreign policy, and to a growing demand, in this country as well as throughout the world, for the settlement of differences with the Soviet Union by negotiation. The pressures thus exerted on the Eisenhower Administration, while as yet insufficient to compel any basic change in the cold war policy, have led to the forthcoming Berlin conference and to the resumption of Big Power discussions of the problem of atomic weapons.

(2) The first six months of Republican rule was a period of political passivity, marked by a "wait and see" attitude. However, the reactionary record of the 83rd Congress, the growing menace of McCarthyism, and the hardships resulting from the onset of an economic recession have aroused a rising tide of popular opposition. This opposition was first reflected in the attacks which the leaders of all sections of the labor movement and representatives of the Negro people levelled against the Republicans, the resignation of Martin Durkin as Secretary of Labor, and the militant demand of the farmers for relief from the effects of the deepening crisis in agriculture. The extent of the people's opposition to Republican reaction was made plain by the over-all results of the 1953 elections which, as all observers agree, demonstrate the demands of the people for a program and candidates of the New Deal type and point to the possibility of a major Republican defeat in 1954.

(3) As the 1953 elections in New York and elsewhere demonstrated, the growing strength of the movement for Negro representation has created the conditions for the election of additional Negroes at every level of office, including the Congressional.

(4) The response of the Eisenhower Administration to the electoral setback of 1953, the failure of its foreign policy and the spectre of an economic depression has been to step up its program of repression and fully embrace McCarthyism in an effort to intimidate and silence all opposition. At the same time, under cover of the anti-Communist "crusade", it is planning to push through the reactionary measures against labor, the farmers and the Negro people foreshadowed in the President's messages to the new session of Congress.

(5) The Democratic Party leadership has failed to respond to the mandate of the 1953 election returns, to counter the Administration's reactionary legislative program with a positive program of its own, or even to make any effective defense against Brownell's McCarthyite smear of the Truman regime.

(6) On the one hand, therefore, it is clear that the issues in the new Congress and the 1954 election campaign will be fought out under conditions of heightened political consciousness and readiness for political activity on

MORE - - -

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the part of labor, the farmers and the Negro people. On the other hand, unless those popular forces are organized for independent political action and compel the Democrats to fight for a progressive program, reaction will make further advances in Congress, the trend of the 1953 elections will be reversed, reaction will win in 1954, and the threat to American liberty and world peace will enter a new and more dangerously advanced stage.

Against this background, it is possible to define the objectives of the Progressive Party in the 1954 elections. As the foregoing analysis makes clear, our over-all objective is to help give form and direction to and to provide one means for the expression of independent political activity in support of a program which meets the demands of the people for peace, security and freedom. More specifically, our objectives are:

(a) To clarify the issues of the campaign, project a minimum program, and do everything possible to unite workers, farmers and the Negro people for independent political action (within or outside of the old parties) around candidates who support that program. The elements of such a minimum program are:

(1) For the settlement of all outstanding differences with the Soviet Union by conference and negotiation entered into in a good-faith effort to reach agreement.

(2) For legislation to provide jobs and security to workers and farmers in a peacetime economy.

(3) Opposition to McCarthyism.

(4) For enactment of a Federal FEPC.

(b) To defeat the leading warmongers and McCarthyites who are up for reelection.

(c) To increase the representation of Negroes and other minority groups in Congress and other public offices.

(d) To secure commitments from major party candidates upon the minimum program outlined above, and to elect a bloc of congressmen committed to that program.

(e) To use the election campaign itself as a vehicle for bringing our program to the people and urging the necessity for organizing a broad third party movement, based on labor, working farmers and the Negro people.

The methods for the accomplishment of these objectives will necessarily vary from state to state, and from district to district, depending upon the character of the old party candidates, the role of labor, farmers, the Negro people and other minority groups, the strength of the Progressive Party, and state election laws.

The only generalization that it is possible to make is that the Progressive Party's contribution to the campaign will, in the first instance be determined by its ability to launch an effective and sustained campaign around the major issues arising out of the international situation and in Congress in the coming months. Beyond that, there can be no substitute for a concrete district by district examination of conditions, and the formulation of a policy based upon the specific facts of each situation. The following points are, therefore, made only as guides to such an examination:

(A) The importance of pre-primary and primary campaigns in the old parties must not be overlooked. Every effort should be made to stimulate and encourage united action by labor, farmers and the Negro people to enter or support candidates in the primaries who subscribe to a minimum program of the type outlined above. Further, action should be initiated now

MORE - - - - -

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to commit incumbents and prospective candidates to this minimum program. In this connection, Progressive Party leaders should meet with incumbents and prospective candidates for a discussion of program and the conditions under which our party will give them support.

(B) The Progressive Party should take the initiative for the organization or reactivization of nonpartisan committees for nomination by the old parties of Negroes and representatives of other minority groups.

(C) Efforts should be undertaken now to organize independent committees for the defeat of pro-war, McCarthyite incumbents. Such committees should not limit themselves to propaganda, but should attempt to create the political conditions which will insure the defeat of these incumbents, (1) by organizing opposition in the primary, and (2) by working for the selection of a candidate who can defeat the incumbent in the elections.

(D) Consideration should be given to running broadly based independent candidates where it is already apparent that no acceptable old party candidate will be in the race, or in the event that an acceptable candidacy does not materialize.

(E) The results that flow from the foregoing tactics will largely determine the areas in which it becomes desirable to run Progressive Party candidates. Under no circumstances can the Progressive Party give unqualified support to a Congressional candidate who is not committed to the minimum program outlined above. On the other hand, the Progressive Party will not have the forces or resources to run candidates in anything approaching all of the contests where there is no acceptable alternative. Progressive Party candidates must, therefore, be limited to areas and offices carefully selected for concentration. The need for such a limited corps of Progressive Party candidates is, however, imperative to our functioning as a political party. Petition campaigns to put Progressive Party candidates on the ballot, canvassing and literature on their behalf, and the personal campaigning of the candidate, provide the best means of getting our program to the people and of vitalizing our organization. Moreover, the presence of Progressive Party candidates on the ballot is essential to give impetus and example, both in our own ranks and in broader circles, to the movement for a mass third party.

27-7-3C

In preparation for the 1954 election campaign, the National Committee urges each state organization to meet at once, (1) to plan a program of activities around the immediate issues, as outlined in the National Committee statement on National Legislative Action, (2) to formulate a tentative electoral policy for 1954, based on an examination of the situation in the states and the policies contained in this statement, and (3) to plan and help initiate intensive drives for voter registration in Negro, minority group, and working class communities. (A detailed memorandum on registration will follow.)

The National Committee authorizes the Chairman, in consultation with the state organizations, to appoint a Congressional Campaign Committee to advise with the state organizations on their 1954 electoral plans and policies. State electoral programs should not be finally adopted until after their submission to and an opportunity for consultation with the Congressional Campaign Committee.

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Progressive Party
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Dernish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1954

In his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower declared that it is the purpose of his Administration "to advance the security, prosperity and well-being of the American people."

However, the program which the President has offered to Congress and the nation, when stripped of its demagogic generalities, ignores the pressing needs of the people and proposes, instead, to strip them of most of the remaining gains won under the New Deal, impose further police state restrictions on their freedom, and increase international tensions and the danger of war.

The Democratic Party leadership, sedulously adhering to the role of a "loyal opposition," has failed to challenge these policies of Republican reaction or to provide leadership in the fight against a program written by and for Big Business.

The people themselves must, therefore, take the initiative by organized action in the coming months to defend their jobs, security and freedom, and to guarantee that peace shall be preserved.

The Progressive Party offers this program as one around which workers, farmers, the Negro people and all progressive Americans can unite in defense of their common interests. We re-affirm the platform adopted at our 1952 National Convention as a full statement of the measures required to place the nation firmly on the path of peace, progress and prosperity. In what follows, we confine ourselves to those measures immediately required to meet the people's urgent needs in 1954.

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I. FOR PEACE BY NEGOTIATION.

The President's message to Congress ignores the hopes the whole world shares that the major issues causing world tension will be resolved by negotiation at the forthcoming foreign ministers meeting in Berlin, the Korean peace conference, and the four-power talks on atomic energy. Instead, Secretary Dulles has announced that American foreign policy is based on the decision "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing." In amplifying this statement, President Eisenhower added that the more destructive weapons become, "the more value you placed on surprise in war." Thus, on the eve of crucial negotiations on which the peace of the world may depend, the Administration declares that its basic policy is that of a surprise atomic attack to be launched in violation of the Constitution empowering the Congress alone to declare war.

The Progressive Party, in agreement the vast majority of the people of America and the world, declares that conference and negotiation for the settlement of differences, and not the threat of atomic destruction, is the only path to peace. We, therefore, call for the following:

(a) Berlin Conference. The foreign ministers Conference must be held as planned and entered into in a good-faith effort to reach agreement. A settlement of the German question requires the abandonment of the American plan, opposed by a great majority of the people of Western Europe, to remilitarize Western Germany. We call, instead, for an agreement to re-unite Germany as a democratic and peaceful nation. We further urge that the United States agree to enlarge the foreign ministers

conference by the inclusion of the Peoples Republic of China, for a discussion of measures to lessen international tensions in other areas of conflict.

(B) Korean Peace Conference. We call for immediate resumption of negotiations to arrange for a Korean peace conference. We support Madam Pandit's request that the United Nations reconvene and urge it ti taje steps that will assure that the conference will be held and a peace treaty concluded.

(C) Disarmament. We urge the United States representatives at the forthcoming four power meetings on atomic energy to propose immediate steps for progressive, universal disarmament, including an agreement to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. Within such a framework, the President's proposal for an international pool of fissionable materials offers a fruitful basis for promoting the peacetime use of atomic energy.

(D) Congressional Joint Resolution. In view of the Dulles-Eisenhower announcement of the decision to rely on a surprise atomic attack and the precedent of American armed intervention in Korea without the consent of Congress , we urge adoption of a joint resolution by Congress re-affirming its exclusive constitutional power to declare war and denying to the executive the right to order an armed attack against any foreign nation without a prior declaration of war.

II. FOR JOBS AND SECURITY IN A PEACETIME ECONOMY.

The shadow of an economic recession is spreading over America. The deepening crisis in agriculture which has cut farmers' net income by one-third since 1947 has been followed by a decline in industrial production since the spring of 1953. Steel is running at 75 percent of capacity; auto

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production has sagged to two-thirds of its peak and the sales of consumer goods are declining. Unemployment, as accurately measured by the CIO, stands at 3,250,000, and new layoffs are mounting by tens of thousands each week. Big business continues to reap fabulous profits from the billions spent on arms. But inflationary prices, heavy taxes and the choking off of foreign trade with one-third of the world's population have combined to eat up the savings and slash the current incomes of the 40 million families who make up the nation.

We do not pretend to foresee the length or severity of the recession. We do know that it is here and that there is little comfort to be found in the cheerful prediction of Administration economists that it will be of the "orthodox" variety.

The Eisenhower Administration plans to meet the crisis resulting from a monstrous accumulation of wealth in the hands of Big Business by giving Big Business added billions of the people's resources. The Administration offers:

-- Continued spending of tens of billions of dollars annually for war.

-- Tax relief for big incomes and big corporations and the threat of a sales tax on consumers.

-- Further transfer of public power and public resources to the hands of private corporations and utilities.

-- Abandonment of parity price protection for working farmers, for the benefit of food processors and corporate farms.

-- Further repressive measures against labor to weaken its power to fight for wage increases and resist wage cuts.

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-- A minor concession to the people's demand for security by an inadequate increase in old age benefit payments.

The enactment of such a program would unleash tides of depression even more catastrophic than those of 1929.

The Progressive Party declares that there is an alternative program which if fought for, can be won. It is a program of jobs and security for American workers and farmers in a world at peace.

We call for immediate action on the following measures:

(A) Defend the Rights of the Workers.

(1) Defeat the Eisenhower strike-breaking proposals for government-supervised strike votes and for giving the green light to state anti-labor legislation. Defeat the Butler and Goldwater Rhodes Bills which would McCarranize the labor movement. Repeal the Taft-Hartley law and re-enact the Wagner Act.

(2) Increase the minimum wage to $1.25 per hour with overtime after 30 hours in any work week.

(3) Enact Federal standards increasing unemployment compensation to $50 a week, with additional dependency allowances.

(B) Protect the Income of Farmers.

Full protection to the farmer requires a rounded program of the character first proposed by the Progressive Party in 1948 and later incorporated in the so-called Brannan Plan. While continuing to urge adoption of that program, we propose the following immediate measures:

(1) Defeat the Eisenhower proposal for so-called "flexible" price supports which is a betrayal of his campaign promise to the farmers. Guarantee the farmer 100% of parity for his produce.

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(2) Defeat the "give-away take-away" program which is robbing the people of federal power projects and federal grazing and timber lands for the benefit of the power and lumber trusts and the corporate farms.

(3) Stop the dispossession and exploitation of small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers and agricultural workers by renewing the Farm Security Administration.

(4) Restore and expand the services of the Rural Electrification Administration and the Soil Conservation Service.

(C) Provide Jobs and Markets Through Foreign Trade.

While unemployment mounts and farm income declines, the senseless cold war embargo has shut off foreign trade with the one-third of the world that has an unlimited demand for the products of American factories and farms and the ability to pay for what it buys with gold or goods. We call for the immediate removal of these barriers and the development of trade with the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe which can quickly provide jobs for American workers and a market for our farm surpluses.

(D) Provide Tax Relief to the Needy.

(1) Increase the income tax exemption to $4,000 for families of four and to $2,000 for individuals.

(2) Close the notorious tax loopholes for high bracket incomes and large corporations. Defeat the proposal to reduce taxes on corporate dividends. Reenact the excess profits tax.

(3) Repeal the excise tax on necessities of life and defeat all proposals for a federal sales tax.

(E) Protect the Security of All Americans.

Revise the inadequate Eisenhower proposal by raising old age benefits

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immediately to $200 a month for a couple, with additional dependency allowances, and extend benefits to those not now covered.

(2) Establish a system of national health insurance providing adequate medical, dental and hospital care to all the people.

(F) Provide for Needed Public Works.

(1) Launch a national housing program to provide 2.5 million low rent homes a year without discrimination or segregation.

(2) Appropriate two billion dollars a year for the next ten years for the construction of urgently needed new schools and to provide adequate salaries to an increased number of teachers.

(3) Build more TVAs, flood control and irrigation projects and conserve the nation's basic resources from Big Business.

(4) Provide a planned program for roads, hospitals, parks, recreation centers and other public works to be built as the public need and the national economy require.

III. FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

The assault on American freedom, launched under the pretext of saving the country from communism has now enveloped every phase of our national life and struck at individuals and groups of all shades of political opinion to the left of extreme reaction, including the Democratic Party leaders under whom the assault was initiated. The spread of McCarthyism which disfigures our reputation abroad and mocks our claim to moral leadership of the "free world" has aroused the concern and alarm of millions of Americans. They recognize that McCarthyism -- in the words of a CIO Vice President -- is "creeping fascism," and are prepared to fight back in defense of their liberty.

In his message to Congress, President Eisenhower does not even take note

of those inroads upon American democracy. Instead, he completed his Administration's adoption of McCarthyism by making the most drastic and unconstitutional proposal ever advanced by an American President against a minority political group -- the deprivation of citizenship. In addition, he gave presidential blessing to the Brownell proposals to weaken the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination and to legalize the FBI's police-state practice of wire tapping.

The fight to restore the Bill of Rights as the fundamental law of the land requires the exposure of what former President Truman called the "technique of the big lie" on which McCarthyism is based -- the lie that our freedom is threatened by "internal aggression" from Communists. It requires the repeal of the Smith Act, the Internal Security (McCarran) Act and the Federal Loyalty Program, which are the embodiment of that lie. In addition, we call for the following immediate action to stem the advance of McCarthyism and save the nation from the menace of fascism:

(1) Defeat the proposals to undermine the privilege against self-incrimination, legalize wire tapping and cancel the citizenship of Smith Act victims.

(2) Deny appropriations to the McCarthy Committee on Government Operations for the conduct of illegal inquisitions and smear campaigns. Abolish the witchhunting Senate Committee on Internal Security and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

(3) Repeal the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act.

IV. FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS.

In the face of the economic recession which is bringing increasing hardship and insecurity to Negro and other minority workers, the Administration

has abandoned the program for civil rights legislation. There is not even a mention of it in Eisenhower's message, and the Senate has postponed hearings on FEPC until late February in an obvious effort to bury it for the session. Moreover, the President has failed to make good on his campaign promises to end segregation in the District of Columbia and to give the Negro people representation in policy making positions. While we support the President's request to extend voting rights to 18-year olds and residents of the District of Columbia, we urge that an even more important field for Federal action is the elimination of the poll tax and other voting restrictions to guarantee the right to vote to the millions of Negroes and whites now disenfranchised in the south.

We urge united action by the Negro people, labor and all progressives on the following immediate program:

(1) Hearings on and enactment of a Federal FEPC.

(2) Enactment of an anti-poll tax and an anti-lynch law.

(3) Executive action to abolish discrimination in the District of Columbia.

(4) Appointment of a Negro to the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the inclusion of Negroes among appointees to fill vacancies in the Federal Courts.

(5) The removal of racist Governor Byrnes as a United States Delegate to the United Nations.

In conclusion, we propose that the Progressive Party this year exert maximum effort on the national legislative front, (a) to force Congress to pass legislation crucial to the American people's welfare, and (b) prevent the passage of legislation proposed by the President and other members of his Administration which would strip the American people of the remaining

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gains won during the New Deal, and usher in a police state of further repressions at home and increased international tensions abroad.

To achieve these objectives, it is necessary that we assume as a main responsibility this year the stimulation of large sections of the American people to participate in movements to win decisive legislative victories. This responsibility for legislative action should be carried out as effectively as possible, at the state and municipal levels as well as nationally. In line with a policy of concentration on those aspects of program which most demand our immediate attention, we propose the following actions:

(1) In industrial states and cities, Progressive Party organizations should help plan conferences on jobs. Where possible to involve farm groups, farmer-labor conferences should also be supported. Meeting the economic crisis facing workers and farmers will mean inclusion of such questions such as increasing foreign trade, unemployment benefits, protecting unions, and discrimination against Negroes and other minorities.

(2) Progressive Party organizations are urged to call anti-McCarthy meetings. We should seek to translate the widespread popular revulsion against McCarthyism into specific meaningful actions such as letter-writing campaigns and delegations to congressmen against congressional witchhunts, etc.; support for victims of McCarthyism.

(3) We suggest a national legislative mobilization in Washington, probably in April when the main legislative picture will be clear.

(4) A national legislative service, including a regular legislative bulletin.

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The first year of the Eisenhower Administration has brought about many changed and changing relationships and attitudes. It is both possible and necessary for Progressive Party organizations in most areas to work in support of major legislative issues in cooperation with other important sections of the population. While taking the necessary initiative on issues, it is imperative that we continually rate our performance on the basis of the degree to which others are moving, either with us or on parallel lines towards our common goals.

While working to win significant gains for the people from the present Congress, our activities must also be geared to our fullest participation in the 1954 elections. We must do everything possible in the next six months to expose the character of the present Congress to the people. This means, among other things, bringing the people into direct contact with their congressmen and senators and interpreting by means of legislative bulletins, meetings, etc. how their congressmen have represented them. Such a program will help underscore the need to give support to those who have performed in the people's interest and make clear those members of congress who should be replaced. Let us seek through our legislative program in 1954, to revive the basic American concept of government by the true representatives of the people in the interest of the majority of the people.

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Progressive Party
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1954

In his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower declared that it is the purpose of his Administration "to advance the security, prosperity and well-being of the American people."

However, the program which the President has offered to Congress and the nation, when stripped of its demagogic generalities, ignores the pressing needs of the people and proposes, instead, to strip them of most of the remaining gains won under the New Deal, impose further police state restrictions on their freedom, and increase international tensions and the danger of war.

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-- A minor concession to the people's demand for security by an inadequate increase in old age benefit payments.

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The Progressive Party declares that there is an alternative program which if fought for, can be won. It is a program of jobs and security for American workers and farmers in a world at peace. We call for immediate action on the following measures:

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(4) Restore and expand the services of the Rural Electrification Administration and the Soil Conservation Service.

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(3) Repeal the excise tax on necessities of life and defeat all proposals for a federal sales tax.

(E) Protect The Security Of All Americans.

Revise the inadequate Eisenhower proposal by raising old age benefits immediately to $200 a month for a couple, with additional dependency allowances, and extend benefits to those not now covered.

Establish a system of national health insurance providing adequate medical, dental and hospital care to all the people.

(F) Provide For Needed Public Works.

(1) Launch a national housing program to provide 2.5 million low rent homes a year without discrimination or segregation.

(2) Appropriate two billion dollars a year for the next ten years for the construction of urgently needed new schools and to provide adequate salaries to an increased number of teachers.

(3) Build more TVAs, flood control and irrigation projects and conserve the nation's basic resources from Big Business.

(4) Provide emergency public works projects to create immediate jobs for victims of the developing recession.

(5) Provide a planned program for roads, hospitals, parks, recreation centers and other public works to be built as the public need and the national economy require.

II. FOR PEACE BY NEGOTIATION.

27-7-38

The President's message to Congress ignores the hopes the whole world shares that the major issues causing world tension will be resolved by negotiation at the forthcoming foreign ministers meeting in Berlin, the Korean peace conference, and the four-power talks on atomic energy. Instead, Secretary Dulles has announced that American foreign policy is based on the decision "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our choosing." In amplifying this statement, President Eisenhower added that the more destructive weapons become, "the more value you placed on surprise in war." Thus, on the eve of crucial negotiations on which the peace of the world may depend, the Administration declares that its basic policy is that of a surprise atomic attack to be launched in violation of the Constitution empowering the Congress alone to declare war.

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MORE - - - - -

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(E) United Nations. We call upon the Administration, through the United States Delegation to the United Nations, to end support to colonial regimes, and we urge genuine aid through the U.N. to help countries gain political and economic independence.

III. FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

The assault on American freedom, launched under the pretext of saving the country from communism has now enveloped every phase of our national life and struck at individuals and groups of all shades of political opinion to the left of extreme reaction, including the Democratic Party leaders under whom the assault was initiated. The spread of McCarthyism which disfigures our reputation abroad and mocks our claim to moral leadership of the "free world" has aroused the concern and alarm of millions of Americans. They recognize that McCarthyism -- in the words of a CIO Vice President -- is "creeping fascism", and are prepared to fight back in defense of their liberty.

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(3) Repeal the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act.

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IV. FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE & OTHER MINORITY GROUPS

In the face of the economic recession which is bringing increasing hardship and insecurity to Negro and other minority workers, the Administration has abandoned the program for civil rights legislation. There is not even a mention of it in Eisenhower's message, and the Senate has postponed hearings on FEPC until late February in an obvious effort to bury it for the session. Moreover, the President has failed to make good on his campaign promises to end segregation in the District of Columbia and to give the Negro people representation in policy making positions. While we support the President's request to extend voting rights to 18-year olds and residents of the District of Columbia, we urge that an even more important field for Federal action is the elimination of the poll tax and other voting restrictions to guarantee the right to vote to the millions of Negroes and whites now disenfranchised in the south.

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(4) Appointment of a Negro to the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the inclusion of Negroes among appointees to fill vacancies in the Federal Courts.

(5) The removal of fascist Governor Byrnes as a United States Delegate to the United Nations.

* * * * * * * * * *

In conclusion, we propose that the Progressive Party this year exert maximum effort on the national legislative front, (a) to force Congress to pass legislation crucial to the American people's welfare, and (b) prevent the passage of legislation proposed by the President and other members of his Administration which would strip the American people of the remaining gains won during the New Deal, and usher in a police state of further repressions at home and increased international tensions abroad.

To achieve these objectives, it is necessary that we assume as a main responsibility this year the stimulation of large sections of the American people to participate in movements to win decisive legislative victories. This responsibility for legislative action should be carried out as effectively as possible, at the state and municipal levels as well as nationally. In line with a policy of concentration on those aspects of program which most demand our immediate attention, we propose the following actions:

(1) In industrial states and cities, Progressive Party organizations should help plan conferences on jobs. In farming areas, we should encourage and stimulate the holding of farmer-labor conferences. Meeting the economic crisis facing workers and farmers will mean inclusion of such questions as increasing foreign trade, unemployment benefits, protecting unions, and discrimination against Negroes and other minorities.

(2) Progressive Party organizations are urged to call anti-McCarthy meetings. We should seek to translate the widespread popular revulsion against McCarthyism into specific meaningful actions such as letter-writing campaigns and delegations to congressmen against congressional witchhunts, etc. and support for victims of McCarthyism.

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(3) We suggest a national legislative mobilization in Washington, probably in April when the main legislative picture will be clear.

(4) A national legislative service, including a regular legislative bulletin.

The first year of the Eisenhower Administration has brought about many changed and changing relationships and attitudes. It is both possible and necessary for Progressive Party organizations in most areas to work in support of major legislative issues in cooperation with other important sections of the population. While taking the necessary initiative on issues, it is imperative that we continually rate our performance on the basis of the degree to which others are moving, either with us or on parallel lines towards our common goals.

While working to win significant gains for the people from the present Congress, our activities must also be geared to our fullest participation in the 1954 elections. We must do everything possible in the next six months to expose the character of the present Congress to the people. This means, among other things, bringing the people into direct contact with their congressmen and senators and interpreting by means of legislative bulletins, meetings, etc. how their congressmen have represented them. Such a program will help underscore the need to give support to those who have performed in the people's interest and make clear those members of congress who should be replaced. Let us seek through our legislative program in 1954, to revive the basic American concept of government by the true representatives of the people in the interest of the majority of the people.

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27-7-33

Progressive Party
NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Cornish Arms Hotel
New York City
January 16-17, 1954

REPORT BY C. B. BALDWIN, National Secretary

The Progressive Party this year will celebrate its 6th anniversary, and, as a matter of fact, for most of its members and leaders, it will mark the 10th anniversary of the fight for independent political action, which out of necessity led to the organization of our party.

It was apparent to most of us that the 1944 election marked the beginning of the end of the Roosevelt coalition. We who had espoused and fought for the New Deal recognized then, that as important and significant as it was, the powers of reaction in our country had all but eliminated its dynamic and progressive qualities, if not its objectives. It had become in its later years a coalition to win the war against fascism, rather than a coalition to bring economic security and full equality to all our people. The Big Business elements in the Roosevelt coalition recognized this and were able under the stress of war, when because their cooperation was essential, to increase their power and, therefore, their control over our economy and the Democratic Party.

All of this was recognized by Roosevelt. He talked with Tugwell and a number of others about the necessity for a real political realignment -- in fact, a new political party. But unfortunately for both this country and the world, he did not live to make the fight that would have contributed to this result. His death could not have occurred at a more unfortunate time. Within weeks, many whom he had trusted had engineered a complete change in our foreign policy. This began at the San Francisco Conference to organize the United Nations, where Averell Harriman and Senator Vandenberg started the anti-Soviet crusade.

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During this period, Elmer Benson and I visited President Truman at the White House. It was only six weeks after he had been sworn in. We expressed our grave concern over the change which we saw taking place in foreign policy and the developments in San Francisco, but to no avail. This man, overawed by his new responsibilities because of his lack of experience, and overcome by reactionary Big Business and cheap machine politicians, said to us, "We have no choice but to get tough with the Soviet Union." Truman, of course, was speaking as the captive of the forces who had fought Roosevelt during his entire period of office. This change did not affect foreign policy alone but resulted in the beginning of the redirection of our entire government. The shift, of course, did not come about abruptly. It was marked in its first stages by the leading Roosevelt associates leaving Washington one by one, and being replaced by machine politicians and other reactionary Democrats. During this period, Morgenthau left, followed by Ickes, and later by Wallace and Madam Perkins. Actually, there were hundreds of other casualties -- people less known but who had made magnificent contributions to both the New Deal and the winning of the war.

These sinister developments led to the formation of the Progressive Party and the memorable campaign of 1948, which in my opinion will be appraised in the future by many as the most significant political contribution made in our time. And this in spite of the fact, which we acknowledge, that our vote in 1948 was not impressive. The fact remains, however, that because of the Progressive Party, Truman and the Democratic Party had to make a fighting campaign on domestic issues, and finally, in order to obtain the support of the followers of Wallace and the Progressive Party, were forced to make bold gestures to peace. Such a contribution as made by the 1948 campaign is not a mere passing thing. It resulted in positive gains for the people, and perhaps more importantly, possibly saved us from involvement in World War III, and contributed in a large measure to the protection of the social gains of the New Deal.

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I know that there will be many who will discount and minimize this kind of achievement. People are accustomed to discounting campaign commitments and promises because so many of them are broken. To them I say that unless such promises are demanded from candidates, we will never attain our progressive goals. Even when broken, they provide the ammunition for political change, and arrest the drive of reaction against the people. Without continued independent political action, without the challenge of bold new programs, without third parties, we we would never have attained the social, economic and cultural gains which this country has seen.

The victory of Eisenhower and the election of a Republican Congress, even though by a small margin, was the inevitable result of the failure of the Truman Administration and the Democratic Party to continue the New Deal foreign and domestic policies of Roosevelt. I think it was best analyzed by Samuel Lubell, author of THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, who made nationwide doorbell-ringing surveys before and after the election. Lubell interpreted the election as a vote of impatience with the frustrating state of neither war nor peace. Next to Korea and the draft, he said, "the heaviest Democratic defections came over inflation -- higher prices, mounting taxes and too much spending." Irritation over inflation was strongest in low income areas which again "helps explain why Eisenhower cut across the lines of New Deal voting." Lubell also stated his belief that the repudiation of the Democrats did not constitute a repudiation of the New Deal. He further indicated that the sense of economic solidarity among New Deal elements was blurred by the Korean War and by the Democratic Party's failure to offer anything in word or deed remotely resembling a New Deal program.

Lubell's conclusion was that Eisenhower won "because he served as a substitute for a reshuffling of both major parties." That is, he won by default since the Democrats offered nothing on the domestic front and only continued war preparations in lieu of a foreign policy. Eisenhower at least promised to end the Korean War.

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Despite the limitations of the 1952 Progressive Party campaign, our role was significant and essential. In spite of the fear and hysteria engendered by both the old parties and the fact that we were largely ignored by the press, we were able, through the valiant campaigning of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, as well as congressional candidates, to reach millions of people with our whole program, and particularly our demand for peace in Korea, who would otherwise have no knowledge that there was organized political opposition to the cold war program of the two old parties.

As I indicated in my report to you after the 1952 elections, we can take real pride in the fact that we correctly grasped the fact that the main issue in the campaign was peace in Korea. As I also said then, the fight the Progressive Party made before and during the campaign did much to stop this futile and horrible war. At that same National Committee meeting, we also said the victory of Eisenhower was a victory for reaction and a setback for the American people, and accurately prophesied the Big Business character of the new Administration and what its holding office would mean to labor, the farmers and the Negro people, and the losses all would sustain by Big Business raids on our natural resources. However, we said then that the Eisenhower Administration would not be able to put over its program against the living standards of American people without a fight, and it is apparent that that fight has begun. The Republican defeats of November 1953 confirm the growing opposition of our people to a program of unabashed reaction.

The Eisenhower Administration and its leaders, both publicly and by their actions, have admitted their political plight. Their answer, not unexpected, has been to step up repressive measures at home by further embracing McCarthyism on the one hand, and on the other through demagogic generalities, appearing to give support to some parts of the New Deal, while, as in the President's farm and labor messages, making specific proposals which turn New Deal measures into their opposite.

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Eisenhower's State of the Union speech is clear evidence of this approach. He starts this message with the stated intention "to advance the security, prosperity and well-being of the American people" and then says that our nation "has good reason for bold hope, where effort is rewarded, where freedom expands, and peace is secure." The rest of the President's message belies these fine sentiments in almost every instance where his proposals are specific or his meaning is clear.

On foreign affairs, the President's program calls for a continuation of the cold war. He ignores the hopes the whole world shares for the forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin. He offers further strengthening of our armed might, minimizes the growing possibilities of peaceful negotiation and world disarmament, and proposes reliance on atomic warfare as the ultimate answer to the crisis of foreign policy into which the cold war has led us.

On civil liberties, the President does not even take note of the deterioration of American democracy which every thoughtful observer has noted with concern and apprehension. Instead, he outdoes McCarthy with the most drastic and unconstitutional proposal ever advanced by an American President against a minority political group -- the withdrawal of citizenship -- a proposal characterized by the LONDON TIMES as "going back to the 18th century" and by the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN as "a throw-back to archaic standards." In addition, he gives presidential blessing to the Brownell proposals to nullify the privilege against self-incrimination and legalize the police state practice of wire tapping.

On agriculture, the President has now submitted to the Congress the Administration's recommendations. This program, designed by big farmers, big processors and big bankers, would mean scarcity rather than abundance. It would mean a lower income to farmers, continued high profits to the distributors, and less food and fiber for consumers. Not only did the President ignore his campaign commitments of full parity for farmers, but he also failed to offer any proposals for assistance to the largest and most disadvantaged groups in our farm population -- the small farmer, the tenant farmer, the sharecropper, and the agricultural worker.

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For labor, the President offers no specific proposals to counter the effect of the growing recession or the repressive legislation which has weakened the rights of our trade union movement. In a separate message to Congress, long awaited by labor as promising relief from Taft-Hartley, the President, rather than asking for any real modifications favorable to workers, recommends even more repressive measures in proposing government supervised elections of plants that are struck and increased power to state governments to break strikes. He also clearly invites passage of the Butler or Goldwater-Rhodes Bill to McCarranize the trade unions.

For the first time in years, in an obvious bid for the continuance of Dixiecrat support, the Presidential Message on the State of the Union contains no recommendations for civil rights legislation -- in spite of the President's own campaign commitments and the platform of his party. This omission becomes even more significant in a period of growing unemployment where Negro and other minority workers are the first to lose their jobs.

On all other phases relating to the welfare of the people, the President either postpones any proposals to better our standards of living or indulges in vague, ambiguous generalities. His State of the Union Message and his messages on labor and agriculture offer no hope for Administration leadership in the solution of any of these problems.

I think we could accurately diagnose the Eisenhower State of the Union message as indicating increased repression of civil liberties, no civil rights for the Negro people and other minority groups, a continued shift of the cost of armaments and other government expenditures to the backs of the moderate and low income

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groups, a continuation of the program to give away our natural resources, no adequate measures to combat the growing recession, and an attempt to continue our present foreign policy.

It has become more and more apparent, first in other parts of the world, and now in the United States, that our cold war foreign policy has been a colossal failure. Since the end of World War II, our government has spent or the Congress has appropriated between 350 and 400 billion dollars to carry on the cold war. When it is considered that this amounts to almost $8,000 for every family in the country, one can better comprehend the extent of its failure and its cost to the average family. Were it not for the enormous profits reaped by American Big Business, its agents of distortion and untruths, the American press, radio and television, we would now be in an era of peace built solidly on the foundation of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and communist worlds.

The last year has been marked by a lessening of international tensions throughout the world. We have not only had the Churchill proposals for a big power meeting, but with the exceptions of Adenauer, Chiang Kai-Shek, Rhee and Franco, and to our shame, our own State Department, the entire world has welcomed every move toward peace and has opposed every step toward war that has been proposed. The growth of the peace sentiment has become so strong that even Eisenhower and Dulles have been forced to make concessions. The first and most dramatic of these was the end of the Korean war; second, the agreement on a Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin; and third, Eisenhower's feeble and inadequate proposals on the pooling of atomic energy.

(Parenthetically, I would like to add that to me it was extremely significant to hear Howard K. Smith, Chief of Columbia Broadcasting System's European Division, say in analyzing President Eisenhower's message that the people of Europe were less interested in what he had to say about foreign policy than in the sections of the speech which dealt with the growing economic crisis. This to me indicates clearly that Europe is determined to have peace and is determined to use its resources and energies for the welfare of its peoples rather than for the building of armaments.)

While recognizing that these steps are not sufficient to assure peace, I think we must recognize that they all mark steps toward international negotiations and understanding, without which peace cannot be brought about.

In making this statement, I would ask you to think back over the developments on Korea and the steps that finally brought about the cessation of hostilities there. First, there was the reluctance of India and the Asiatic countries to participate in this conflict. Then came growing opposition throughout the western world while the peace forces, in and out of the Progressive Party, as small as we seem to be, continued an uncompromising fight here. The combined power of all these forces finally forced an unwilling Eisenhower Administration to agree to end the fighting. However, had peace in Korea not been injected into the political campaign in 1952, we would have had no peace. I want to give particular emphasis to this statement because the belief persists among many people, in fact, many progressives, that the peace forces throughout the world are so strong that peace can be brought about through their efforts without a strong peace movement reinforced by independent political action in this country.

I want now to deal briefly with certain developments in the Democratic Party. I have already said that the Democratic Party's failure to win the 1952 election was due to the lack of a peace policy and to the fact that they did not use their most effective asset, the New Deal, to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. Unfortunately, they do not seem to have learned their lesson. The Democratic

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Party in the last session of Congress did not present a militant and progressive program to the people. In fact, on foreign policy, they at times appeared to be more of a war party than the Republicans by their fight to increase military appropriations. There are indications that this policy may be continued in the next session of Congress. Nothing could be more fatal for the country and for the Democratic Party than for this to happen.

It is also significant that when Truman spoke forthrightly against Brownell in connection with the Harry White case and accused the Eisenhower Administration of fully embracing McCarthyism, not one leader of his party spoke up vigorously in his defense or indicated real support for his position. Similarly, the Democratic leadership, in and out of Congress, has been strangely silent on Eisenhower's State of the Union message and his subsequent messages to Congress on labor and agriculture. Actually, the sharpest criticism has come from the Republicans. Apparently, the Democratic strategy is to let the Eisenhower Administration hang itself, not recognizing that by its failure to offer militant opposition and a real program, it will be caught in the same noose.

We have a strange phenomenon in American party politics today. Eisenhower, his legislative leaders, and the Democratic Party leadership under Stevenson, aided by Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson, for different reasons, are adjusting their party's positions to gain the support of the Dixiecrats, who represent only a small minority of the American people. This coalition must be broken, and it can be for the simple reason that it is the way to defeat rather than to victory for the Democratic Party. Once the Democratic leaders of the north and the better Democratic leaders of the south recognize this fact, this coalition can be broken. Regardless of any political or tactical differences among liberals and progressives, the necessity for breaking the hold of the Dixiecrats and other reactionaries of the Democratic Party must be a prime consideration between now and the coming November elections. This means that we must both through our own activities and work with other groups use our full influence to see that the issues incorporated in our minimum program are fully presented and debated in Congress.

27-7-2C

This brings me to the role of the Progressive Party and to many other progressives who are not within our ranks but who are in basic agreement with us. You may feel that I have dwelt too long on an over-all analysis of political events and have had too much to say about the Republican and Democratic Parties rather than our own Progressive Party. This I have done quite deliberately because the reasons for the existence of minority parties must be distinguished from that of the party which is in power or can attain power within a reasonable period. Although I know that there were those among us who felt that when we organized we could become the dominant political party, I doubt that many now harbor such illusions. This in my judgment does not minimize our importance. In fact, in a period of great crisis, such as we have been in and are now passing through, the time and energy of individual progressives or their organizations becomes exceedingly precious. The way in which we and others with similar convictions use our energy, our talents and our influence, will most likely make the difference between whether this country lives up to its great traditions or becomes a citadel of everything we hate.

In the years since our organization, we have suffered serious losses and we have not been able to attract sufficient additional people to our ranks to offset those who have left. I think it would be a fatal mistake for us in our deliberations here either to minimize our losses or to rationalize the reasons why they have occurred. I think myself that many of them were inevitable, perhaps most of them. We have been living in a situation of great international and domestic tension, which has resulted in both fear and repressions, perhaps greater than any of us have ever witnessed in our lifetimes. However, these facts make it all the more incumbent on us to examine our methods of work, our limitations and resources,

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our choice of the programs on which to fight, and of course our electoral policy as a legitimate political party. The proper answers to these questions resolve upon you as the National Committee representing a democratic organization. It is you who must find the answers with the help of your officers, both local and national. It will then be our responsibility to see that they are carried out according to your wishes. In making this latter statement, however, I would feel remiss in my responsibility as the Secretary of the Progressive Party and as one who by virtue of the opportunity of his office has perhaps had the opportunity to be in closer touch with the Progressive Party organizations throughout the country, to make some appropriate comments on the matter of electoral policy, which many, I know, feel to be the most important business of this meeting.

I want to open these particular remarks by saying that it is my conviction that this question should not dominate the discussion in the next two days. I make this statement for these reasons. We have been committed in the Progressive Party, if not since its inception, at least since 1951, to a policy of working toward a new political realignment in this country. From this position I have heard no real dissent. We have also agreed that the Progressive Party would not be the dominant instrument of this realignment, although it is an essential element. If we do not start with the basic premise I have just stated, if we think that the Progressive Party alone will bring about the political realignment, then our policy must be changed. If, however, we accept an important but not dominant role in working toward political realignment and a new political party, we must face the fact that in this particular period of our national life we will lessen rather than increase our total contribution if we insist, regardless of the given political situation and the consequences, in running our own candidates.

In saying this, I am not implying that the Progressive Party should not run candidates, but that each candidacy must be determined with regard to the local situation, to the stand taken by other candidates, to the attitude of labor and other forces on whom we must depend for work and support, and how we can make the most effective contribution to changing the political atmosphere.

27-7-27

For years, I have heard from many of my progressive friends, "Is the Progressive Party a political party or a pressure group?" To me it is obviously both. I do not think the Progressive Party can be built without being a pressure group, nor do I think we can exclude the running of our own candidates.

There is before you a revised copy of a statement which deals with our electoral policy. Although it is my feeling from my discussions with many Progressive Party people throughout the country that it represents the correct approach, I do not think that it is fully adequate to meet our needs and I am sure that you will not be reluctant to make such changes as will make this document fully representative of our needs for this year's all important elections.

I have not attempted in my report to deal with the specific issues and an action program on which we must build our support and base our campaigns on this year. Separate documents are being prepared on each of the important issues and we have asked several of our most competent and skillful professional colleagues to discuss some of them in detail. I am sure you will not want to stop with only a discussion and simple explanation of the issues, with which in many cases you will be familiar. For this reason, I hope that in our thinking and discussion we will devote our energies chiefly to the methods and action programs through which the Progressive Party can play its most effective role.

In closing my report, I want to express on behalf of the officers and national staff of the Progressive Party our gratitude for your unswerving and courageous support given the Progressive Party during the last year.

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[Progressive Party]

May 3, 1954

Dear Baldwin:

I had to leave home at 11:3[illegible] aturday so that I missed sed your message. These are my conclusions:

Shirley cannot go: her book committments will not allow it. I can go on certain conditions: I will prepare three different lectures: Africa, Peace and a Third Party. I will deliver these these in four places during two weeks sojourn in California My charge will be five hundred dollars, in addition to board and lodging for the two weeks, preferably in a hotel: and first class plane fare going and coming. I would prefer to be in California from June 6 to 19, since I havetwo appointments June 1 to 4. However if imperative I could cancel these and be in the West June 1 to 15.

I shall understand perfectly if the PPP does not feel able to meet these terms, but after thought they are the best I can offer.

Sincerely yours,

27-5-33

[Progressive Party]

NEWS RELEASE

From: Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.
CHELSEA 2-9146

For release SUNDAY, Jan. 24, 1954

The following letter was sent to Senator Herbert Lehman by C. B. Baldwin, national secretary of the Progressive Party, urging him to use his influence to bring about the rejection of the nomination of Robert E. Lee to the Federal Communications Commission:

Dear Senator Lehman:

Along with many other organizations and individuals who are gravely concerned with the attacks on our basic liberties, we have noted with deep appreciation your courageous opposition to Senator McCarthy.

We want to urge that you use your great influence in the Senate to bring about the rejection by the Senate of the nomination of Robert E. Lee to the Federal Communications Commission. His sponsorship by Senator McCarthy and his activities on behalf of some of the most reactionary elements in our country make him completely unqualified to hold public office. His confirmation would be a serious threat to the right of free speech and a travesty on the Bill of Rights.

We have noted that the NEW YORK TIMES of January 21 took sharp issue with the appointment of Mr. Lee, and that Marquis Childs in the NEW YORK POST on January 21 indicated not only that "Mr. Lee has no visible qualifications in experience and background for the position", but that he "is associated with those who lead and finance the extreme reactionary isolationist right."

President Eisenhower's appointment of Mr. Lee is further shocking evidence of the subservience of the Executive Branch of the government to Senator McCarthy. I am confident that the great majority of the American people would applaud his rejection by the Senate.

Sincerely yours,

C.B.Baldwin, Secretary,
Progressive Party

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27-7-18

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Katharine A. Van Orden

• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 12, 1954

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Howard K. Smith Broadcast

I am enclosing a radio broadcast by Howard K. Smith, Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff, which was made from Geneva on Sunday, May 2.

This broadcast should be very helpful to you in preparing material, leaflets, radio broadcasts, etc. in connection with the Indo-China situation and the efforts being made to secure a cease fire or armistice in Indo-China.

Mr. Smith broadcasts regularly on the CBS network every Sunday at 12:30 PM, EDT. He is one of the best informed and objective commentators now on the air. It is suggested that you make an effort to listen to his broadcasts, particularly during the Geneva Conference.

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27-7-14

CBS RADIO DIVISION

HOWARD K. SMITH

SUNDAY, MAY 2, 1954
12:30 - 12:45 PM

ANNOUNCER: CBS Radio News presents Howard K. Smith and another in the series of news analyses by the Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff. By recording we switch to Geneva and Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Today completes one of the most eventful weeks in the nine years chronicle of postwar diplomacy. Secretary of State Dulles' foreign policy has been put to its first serious test and has collapsed under the strain. The western alliance has fallen, as a consequence, into the most serious dissension it has ever suffered. For the first time since President Truman grasped the leadership of the west, in the case of Greece in 1947, that leadership has been surrendered. Eden, of Britain, appears to have taken over for Mr. Dulles and with the collaboration of M. Bidault, of France, is doing the negotiating with Molotov and Chou En-Lai here. For the first time since the war at one of these big international conferences the western coalition is in disarray and for the first time the whip hand is clearly Molotov's and he has given signs that he intends to apply it. These tremendous consequences all flow from the battle at Dienbienphu, in Indo-China. It became clear toward the end of last week that that beleaguered strongpoint was near to collapse under the blows of the Indo-Chinese Communist rebel armies. It seemed to the Government of France that the consequences of that defeat would be catastrophic. Eleven thousand of France's elite troops would be lost, a whole army of rebel Indo-Chinese would be released to turn their force against the vital Red River delta where French resistance is already weakening. It would also be a bad blow to the not-too-high morale of the pro-French Indo-Chinese Armies, not to mention the not-too-high morale of the people of France itself. Among the lesser consequences would be certainly the fall of the present French Cabinet.

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At that point Dulles and Eden arrived in Paris last week on their way to this conference in Geneva. Exactly what transpired between the three men has not yet been told officially, but here is the story as pieced together from several usually well-informed people. Bidault is said to have asked Dulles for American warplanes manned by American fliers to come in to the aid of Dienbienphu. Dulles is said to have answered that that would be an act of belligerency and the reaction of Congress and the American public, when such an idea was hinted at lately, had indicated that he could not get Congress' agreement. However, Dulles is said to have told Eden if Britain would agree to intervene actively he, Dulles, might be able to use that fact as an argument to get Congress to agree to American intervention, too. Eden was doubtful about it.

Britain's often stated policy was to take no belligerent step until it had been tried at the Geneva conference here to reach a settlement in Indo-China by ndgotiation. However, Eden flew back from Paris to London last weekend to see what he could see. Prime Minister Churchill called two Cabinet meetings with chiefs of Britain's armed forces present and they discussed the matter. The meetings confirmed the decision to try for a peaceful settlement in Geneva first. Admiral Radford, the head of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, flew over from Paris to London to try to get Churchill to change his mind, but apparently got nowhere. The British Prime Minister was cheered to Parliament's rafters when he announced on Tuesday that he would not agree to armed intervention before the Geneva conference had had a chance to reach some results.

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Mr. Dulles, meanwhile, had come on from Paris to Geneva an obviously dispirited man. His recent bold talk of a new look in foreign policy, his promise that there would be no more piecemeal wars against the Commmunists such as in Korea and that instead there would be a massive retaliation at places of our own choosing, all echoed very hollow across the months. At its first test the policy had collapsed. Indeed, far from the new look of massive retaliation Congress' reaction to Vice President Nixon's speech a fortnight ago indicated it would not even allow him to fight the old-fashioned, old look way of piecemeal intervention, nor could Mr. Dulles negotiate a way out in Indo-China. The Right-wing of his party in Congress, dominated by Senator Knowland on foreign affairs, has successfully identified the making of any concessions with appeasement. Since you can't negotiate without offering some kind of concessions, you can't negotiate at all. Moreover, United States official policy, unlike that of most nations, considers diplomatic recognition of a country to be equal to moral approval of a country's social system, therefore, we can't recognize Red China. Far from negotiating, thus, Mr. Dulles could not even make contact with the opponent. Unable, thus, to fight or to negotiate, completely paralyzed for purposes of diplomacy, the American Secretary of State has spent here at the conference a rather useless and frustrating week. Eden and Bidault, of necessity, have taken over the job of conferring at the conference. Mr. Dulles tomorrow will do just about the only thing left for him to do -- leave the conference and return to Washington.

This unhappy situation has given rise to some ill feeling and mutual recrimination within our alliance, as said earlier. French diplomats express pretty openly irritation at the fact that Dulles' forceful talk of recent weeks gave them every reason to expect they could get help from him when they needed it badly.

When in their extremity they applied to him for it he had no comfort to offer. British diplomats here are rather more irritated at the way the State Department is said to have allowed the crisis to be presented to the American public. The impression was given apparently that the United States was prepared to act, but that Britain dragged her heels and held us back. In fact, the British say Mr. Dulles did not offer to take action. He asked Britain to do so without any assurance that America would follow, which is asking a mouthful. Unlike the Secretary of State, British sources say, Eden has never been equivocal about the possibility of becoming a belligerent in Indo-China. From the start the Foreign Office has made it clear that its policy is not to intervene but to give the Geneva conference every chance of achieving a negotiated settlement.

The French are irritated with both their big Allies for offering a great deal of advice but no soldiers when they were needed. The two English-speaking Allies are irritated with the French for making the crisis hinge on so foolish a suggestion as our sending warplanes to Dienbienphu. That act would be an act of belligerence, by us. That would be a justification for China to move her troops in, and there are millions; before the Western powers could then summon ground troops Indo-China would certainly have been conquered by the Chinese. In other words, Bidault's proposal would almost surely have hastened, rather than prevented, France's defeat. This, unfortunately, does not end the list of frictions with our Allies. Perhaps the chief one that may affect the rest of the conference from now on is the fact that Britain, with French acquiescence, is now striving to negotiate a truce in Indo-China on the basis of a partition

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of that country between the Reds and non-Reds. The Americans here are tending to distance themselves from the idea and to say rather unpleasant words about it like "appeasement" and "another Munich." Our two Allies consider such remarks to be unkind cuts. If the American Administration won't fight and won't negotiate, France is going to suffer a very bad defeat in Indo-China before long. It, therefore, becomes the part of wisdom...indeed, it becomes a necessity... for somebody to try to save something, which Britain and France are now striving to do. Far from appeasing the Communists, it is argued, partition of Indo-China would give the Allies a line on which to halt the Communist tide. At present the Indo-China war is all over the State of Viet Nam, uncontrollable as wildfire. If the country could be split at its wasp waist the Allies would at last have a place to build and to guarantee a line of defense on. Drawing such a line would present one danger. That's the danger that one side would be guaranteed by white Western powers entirely and the other by the Asiatics. To avoid an Asia-versus-west split, Eden is trying to get the free nations of southern Asia, - India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia, to guarantee the line along with the Western powers. He has kept in constant communication with India from here with that in view. The U.S. delegates, on the other hand, have, due to our anger at Nehru, expressed opposition to having those nations here and have made it clear we will oppose their presence. This, the British feel is not merely bad diplomacy, it's bad propaganda. Molotov in a speech here the other day expressed the wish to have those nations present and in every way seem to be striving to appear to be the champion of free Asia while the U.S. resists and opposes them. The British believe that their plan, opposed by us, would steal some of Molotov's thunder and they can't understand why we oppose it.

President Eisenhower, in his news conference on Thursday, did something to set the record right, it's felt here. He denied reports that the United States was kept from taking action in Indo-China by Britain's refusal to join in. He said that the U.S. decision not to become a belligerent in Indo-China was taken on other grounds and was in no way influenced by Britain. The President also said that he favored the creation here of some kind of modus vivendi in Indo-China between the Communists and non-Communists, which is pretty close to the British line of policy.

27-7-17

These presidential statements have eased the irritation of our Allies, as said, but they have added to the confusion about what American policy is for they conflict with the impressions that high American diplomats had been giving, the main impression, that is, that Mr. Dulles is opposed to negotiation of a modus vivendi. Reporters' repeated requests to American officials here for clarification of these issues have simply been answered "no comment" and the impression has been created that there are unresolved differences even within the United States Administration as to what our policy should be at this important juncture. It's an unhappy generalization to make, but after being present at almost all the big diplomatic conferences since World War II ended I'm forced to say that never in that nine years period has United States policy defaulted so badly as it has here or indicated such chaos and confusion among the makers of that policy. The situation permits Mr. Molotov to realize Russia's dearest postwar dream. He finds the Western alliance thrown into confusion and serious dissension for the first time.

MORE - - - - -

If blame for this weak situation has to be allotted, the original sin, no doubt, has to be imputed to France. At the end of World War II it was clear to all with eyes to see that colonialism in Asia was dead. Britain, and, a good deal later, Holland granted independence to a host of possessions in southern Asia and thereby prevent national uprisings and wars that the Reds might have been able to exploit. Had France done that in Indo-China there would have been no war there. If at any time in the first six years of that war France had granted Indo-China that degree of independence she is willing to give under duress today the war might have been halted. For that, the leaders of France cannot shed their blame. But the way U.S. Policy collapsed in the face of the emergency this week remains our own responsibility. It's time to face the fact that the American public's thinking on Asia since the war has been nourished on a series of myths. There's the myth that a half-a-dozen men in the State Department caused the Chinese Communist revolution. Diplomats are, therefore, not men to be trusted. There's the myth that areas of Europe were given to the Communists at the Yalta conference, therefore, negotiation at a conference equals appeasement and should not be indulged in.

There's the myth that empty figures like Chiang Kai-shek are great popular leaders in Asia and should be allied with us while we must shun genuinely popular Asian leaders like Nehru because he won't do what we tell him to. These myths are made the stuff of U.S. policy while intimidating, purging, and dishonoring State Department Officials who might have uttered an independent or questioning thought. One of our political parties created these myths to discredit the other. It now finds itself in power and the victim of its own unrealities, thus, Mr. Dulles, who is really as brilliant and able a man as ever directed the State Department, is not permitted to come here to conference and negotiate nor is he trusted to create any other realistic policy so he has to make up for it by creating one of words and bluff. When any theory created out of the stuff that dreams are made of clashes with reality it collapses. That is what happened to Mr. Dulles' policy here this week.

The Secretary of State among his other qualities is a great maker of phrases. One of his phrases in particular rings apt at this juncture -- the time is certainly ripe for an agonizing reappraisal of the foundations of our foreign policy.

I return you now to CBS Radio in New York.

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to the Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff in a recorded broadcast from Geneva. Howard K. Smith is heard each week at this time.

This is the CBS RADIO NETWORK.

Ed. Trans. - A.A. Cardiff

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27-7-17

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

Honorary Chairmen
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Chairman
Elmer A. Benson

Co-Chairmen
Hugh Bryson
Paul Robeson

Vice-Chairmen
Hugh DeLacy
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Senora B. Lawson
Alice F. Liveright

Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 27, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Ct.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have just been able to get from Senator Johnson of Colorado the excerpts from the memorable speech he made in the Senate on April 26, and am enclosing a copy. I am sure you will be interested.

The plans for your meeting in Los Angeles are well advanced and they're expecting to have a terrific meeting for you. We have your plane ticket, and as I indicated on the phone, your reservation is for Tuesday, June 1, American Airlines flight No. 3, leaving Idlewild at 5:00 PM. Our travel agency is still working to try to get you on the 1:00 PM flight. Both of these are nonstop flights. I will call you if there is any change in the transportation arrangements.

Sincerely,

C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

27-5-30

June 8, 1954

Mr. C.B. Baldwin
Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Baldwin:

I want to report on my California trip. It was very pleasant indeed. First of all, the one-stop flight was perfectly miraculous and very enjoyable.

In Los Angeles I found things both encouraging and discouraging. Discouraging because the public is more frightened than ever and afraid to take a stand. On the other hand the encouraging thing is that the knot of stalwarts who are standing by their guns and becoming more clear and courageous in expression is a source of great hope for the future. I think the turn of the tide is not far off.

I had two meetings. The first was in the well-known Embassy Hall. The crowd was not as large as when I was here in '51 but the orchestra and first balcony was filled and it was an excellent audience, very responsive and even enthusiastic.

The second meeting was small, in a private house, but there again the number of people and the kind of people whom I met were such as gave great hope. I was splendidly entertained, housed in the Biltmore Hotel with a bedroom, living room and bath, and a beautiful outlook upon the park. Also of course, I had several rides and dinners outside. It was a very fine experience. I

I expressed to Jack Berman my fear that the expense was too high for the results, but he seemed to think that it was all worthwhile.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

Honorary Chairmen
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Chairman
Elmer A. Benson

Co-Chairmen
Hugh Bryson
Paul Robeson

Vice-Chairmen
Hugh DeLacy
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Senora B. Lawson
Alice F. Liveright

Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

October 1, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

On Saturday, October 9, the Progressive Party of Minnesota is giving a dinner to honor Elmer Benson in Minneapolis. Elmer, as you know, has not been well for several years; in fact, his condition has been such that his doctor has severely limited his activities. This has made it doubly hard for him since we all know that in a period like this, with everything he has stood for threatened, he would be giving every minute of his time to leading the battle against the reactionaries of both the old parties. In spite of his physical condition, he is doing much more than he realizes from his home in Appleton.

Elmer's friends in Minnesota feel that this meeting will demonstrate to him the great love and respect people throughout the country hold for him, and likewise will make a real contribution in the fight for peace and equal opportunity to which Elmer has devoted his life. We know that a message from you to be read at the dinner would contribute to its success and would be greatly appreciated by Elmer.

Since the time is short, I hope you will be able to send such a message immediately. It should be addressed to Mr. Jim Robertson, 1315 Keston Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Sincerely,

C.B. Baldwin
Secretary

27-7-38

[Progressive Party]

October 8, 1954

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Beanie,

I wrote the enclosed letter to Governor Benson.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

one copy letter to Benson

27-6-22

[Progressive Party - CALIF.]

June 8, 1954

Mr. Jack Berman
Progressive Party
2206 South Vermont Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Berman:

I arrived in New York safely after a perfect trip. We were about five minutes early in landing and I found Shirley in excellent shape.

I want to thank you and your committee very much for the very pleasant time which I had in Los Angeles. The hotel accommodations were perfect and I enjoyed the audiences.

I still feel a little twinge of conscience at the expense which you incurred. I do hope that in the end it will prove to be a good investment.

My best regards to the friends whom I met and who were so kind. Shirley joins me in love.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Progressive Party - D.C.]

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

January 7,1954

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of December 31 relative to lecturing for us during the month of February, Negro History Month.

The terms you made are acceptable to us. We feel greatly honored that will come here to speak for us. However in all justice to you we feel that we should tell you that we probably will not be able to secure a hall that will be suitable to a person of your stature. For sometime our meetings have been held in Odd Fellows Hall - - the one place that is available to us.

We are certain that there will be a minium audience of 150 and will make every effort to secure a larger audience.

If you feel that you are still willing to come under these conditions we will do all in our power to make your lecture a success from the point of view of attendance. We know that you will be a great inspiration to all of us hearing you then as you have in the past.

Kindly let us hear from you as soon as convenient in order that we may complete any necessary arrangements.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. DuBois,

Sincerely,

Gertrude Evans

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

27-5-59

January 11, 1954

Mrs. Gertrude Evans, Exec. Secy.
Progressive Party
930 F Street N.W.
Room 519
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Evans:

The meeting place of my lecture is not at all important so far as I am concerned. If the place suits you and the audience it will suit me.

I have engagements for February 12th and February 17th. I can speak anytime during the week of the 14th except the 17th.

I would like to have the date settled as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-2

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

January 12,1954

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your letter of January 11th. We are delighted that you will lecture for us and are looking forward to a rare threat.

As soon as the hall is secured will let you know. We hope to be able to have a place during the week of Februrary 14 (Except the 17 th) very shortly and will then write you.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. DuBois,

Sincerely,

Gertrude Evans

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

27-5-58

January 14, 1954

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Progressive Party
930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519
Washington , D.C.

Dear Mrs. Evans:

My February engagements to date are as follows:

February 12 - New York
February 16 - New York
February 17 - Brooklyn

I shall keep you informed if other engagements come up before you have settled on your date.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-61

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N. W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

January 19,1954

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
N ew York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This will confirm our telephone conversation that we have secured the Champlain Baptist Church for your lecture on February 19th.

We are very happy about being able/to have this church as we feel that it is mofe appropriate than a hall and that we will be able to reach people that we might not otherwise reach.

Please let me know if you want me to make hotel reservations for you- the time and lenght of time. I presume that the Statler Hotel will be the best for you.

We are looking forward with great pleasure to the opportunity of having you with us.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. DuBois,

Sincerely,

Gertrude Evans

Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

27-5-157

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

of the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

75

930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519

Washington, D. C.
ME. 8-2477

February 11,1954

Dr. W.E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I am writing to ask you to please let us know when you will arrive for the meeting on the 19th so that we may meet you.

Also if it would be agreeable to you to have dinner with the officers of the D.C. and Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties Progressive Party who are sponsoring the meeting with us. We hope that you will be able to do so- - it will be a small affair.

Sincerely,

Gertrude Evans

Mrs. Gertrude Evans
Executive Secretary

27-5-56

February 25, 1954

Mrs. Gertrude Evans, Exec. Secy.
Progressive Party
930 F Street, N.W.
Room 519
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Evans:

I want to thank you very much for your hospitality while I was in Washington.

It was a good audience and the response was pleasant.

My best regards to Mr. Rorer (? was that the name?) and our other dinner companion.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-5-55

Progressive Party of Maryland

2301 EUTAW PLACE • BALTIMORE 17, MARYLAND

February 7, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

This note will confirm the arrangements for your speaking engagement in Baltimore two weeks from tonight, Sunday, February 21st. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Progressive Party of Maryland, and will be held at 1800 Eutaw Place, the Me-de-so- Club, which is the home of the Negro doctors' association in Baltimore.

I am sorry that this confirmation was delayed, however I hope and expect that you were informed earlier by Miss Dale whom I called this past Wednesday. Our state committee will meet tomorrow night to make plans which will guarantee a successful meeting. Pre-meeting notices and ads will feature the theme of your remarks as relating to Negro History Month. If it is your intention to deal with a specific phase of the subject, I would appreciate your dropping me a note to that effect so that we may utilize it in our press releases.

I express the feelings of our organization in saying that we are honored by your speaking from our platform.

Sincerely,

Milton Bates
Executive Sec'y

home
4210 Clarkdale Road
Baltimore

February 9, 1954

Mr. Milton Bates, Exec. Secy.
Progressive Party of Maryland
2301 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Bates:

I have your note of February 7th.

I shall be glad to speak for you February 21st. I presume you understand that my fee is $50 and expenses of board and travel.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:LH

February 25, 1954

Mr. Milton Bates, Exec. Secy.
Progressive Party of Maryland
2301 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 17, Maryland

Dear Mr. Bates:

May I thank you very much for the chance which you gave me to speak to the interesting audience.

It was an encouraging occasion.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Progressive Party of Minn.]

You are cordially invited

to attend

A TESTIMONIAL DINNER

for the

Honorable ELMER A. BENSON

Saturday, October 9, 1954

Andrews Hotel — Brunswick Room

Dinner at 6:30 p.m.

$2.50 per plate

Guest Speaker: FRED STOVER
President, Iowa Farmers' Union

Minnesota Progressive Party

Reservations requested by Thursday, October 7
For reservation card, see back page

TESTIMONIAL DINNER
for the
Honorable ELMER A. BENSON
Andrews Hotel — Brunswick Room
Saturday, October 9, 1954
Dinner at 6:30 p.m.
Progressive Party of Minn.

8 $2.50 per plate

TESTIMONIAL DINNER
for the
Honorable ELMER A. BENSON
Andrews Hotel — Brunswick Room
Saturday, October 9, 1954
Dinner at 6:30 p.m.
Progressive Party of Minn.

8 $2.50 per plate

To: VIOLA GIOVANNINI
Room 102, 724 Fourth Ave. S.
Minneapolis 15, Minn.
Ge. 8695 — Ne. 1079

Enclosed is my check for $_____ to cover _____ reservation(s) at $2.50 per plate.

Signed_____

Address_____

Phone_____

Provisional Committee on Latin-American Affairs

HOTEL ALBERT, Room 332 • 65 UNIVERSITY PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

February 24, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

This letter is in relation to the conversation I had with you the other day. At that time you were kind enough to agree to become a sponsor of the Provisional Committee on Latin-American Affairs. Elmer Bendiner, Acting Chairman of our Committee has asked me to send his personal thanks to you for joining with us.

Having such a distinguished and outstanding authority on the colonial question as yourself sponsoring this committee will be of great help in carrying out the two functions we are concerned with:

1) The holding of a public meeting to tell the truth about Guatemala today.

2) The preperation and presentation to the Inter-American Conference in Caracas of a paper dealing with the violation of civil liberties in the United States and another on U. S. intervention in the internal affairs of various Latin American governments.

Yours Sincerely,

Richard Greenspan

Richard Greenspan
Acting Secretary

27-9-11

27-1-46

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NBA253 50 PD INTL=PRAHA VIA MACKAY RADIO 16 1930=

RP$4.24 DU BOIS ~~CHARLES~~ W.E B

USA 31 GRACE COURT BROOKLYN 2 NY=

WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MAIN THING NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN WORLD PEACE IN 1955? AND WHAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TOWARDS ACHIEVING IT? REPLY BY LETTER TELEGRAM PREPAID UP TO 50 WORDS=

RADIO PRAHA=

RP$4.24 31 2 1955 50=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Ban Abortion weapon for current WW to
Admiral Chiara x UN
Reduce violent crime
Prayer Peace in Church + School + Home

1000
719
281
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27-1-47

RADIO PRAHA Dec. 16, 1954

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

all and

BAR ATOMIC WEAPONS FROM CIVILIZED WARFARE REDUCE NATIONAL ARMAMENTS STOP ADMIT THE CHINESE REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS STOP PREACH PEACE IN CHURCH SCHOOL AND HOME

W.E.B. Du BOIS

(31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.)

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REPEAL THE MC CARREN AND SMITH ACTS

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
Kozhikode 2 (Malabar District)
(I N D I A)

15th January 1954.

My Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Your kind letter dated 24th November 1953 had been duly received. I have now got the autographed copy of your book "The Souls of the Black Folk". I am very thankful to you for your kindness.

I have read "The Souls of the Black Folk" with deep interest and shall circulate it amongst my friends.

I am also happy that you have written to my friend, Mr. Narayanan about the other book, "In Battle for Peace".

Hope you and your family are in good health.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

L.N. Rao

(L.N. Rao)

27-3-12

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.,
(U. S. A.).

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.,
(U. S. A.).

Code - 86

First fold here

Third fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address :—

L.N. Rao,
Servants of India Society
Kozhikode 2(Malabar Dt.)
(I N D I A).

To open cut here

June 25, 1954

Dr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reddick:

I wonder if you could not get a bit of information for me.

Just before the First World War there was a destructive fire in Atlanta, but from my papers I cannot find the exact date. Was it in 1916 or 1917? And if possible I should like the date and the month. See if you can find this for me and drop me a note.

How are you and how is the world treating you? If you come north this summer Shirley and I would be so glad to have you come over to the house.

We are both well and as happy as living in this world will allow us to be.

With best wishes,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-1

KRAUS

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 6, 1954

Dear DuBois:

Please forgive me for not being able to get an answer back to you sooner. I have just come from the lakes of Minnesota and the correspondence piled up during my vacationing.

I believe that you are refering to the big Atlanta fire of Monday, May 21, 1917. According to the Atlanta Constitution of the following morning the damage was three million dollars. The fire started at 27 Fort Street, it is thought from a wooden shingle roof there. If you wish to follow up any other details no doubt the New York Public Library has the Constitution and the Journal for May 22 and 23.

Many thanks for the invitation. The chances are I will make New York during the last two weeks of August. Will be sure to look you up.

Tell Shirley that she was right: the Saturday Review of Literature would not print my review of your SOULS OF BLACK FOLKS. Their excuse was that the book was a reprint.

Sincerely yours,

L. D. Reddick
Chief

LDR/m

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

1/29/109

WM. C. REMPFER, PRESIDENT
MELVIN WUDEL, ASST. CASHIER

No. 7662

IRENE W. REMPFER, CASHIER
C. J. KOLLMANN, ASST. CASHIER

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK
CAPITAL & SURPLUS, $ 150.000.00
PARKSTON, SOUTH DAKOTA

15 Feb., 1954.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Our son, Dr. Robert W. Rempfer, who is teaching at Fisk University, recently sent us your book " The Souls of Black Folk." We are gald to have read it even tho some of it, as "Of the Black Belt" is heart-breaking. We knew that conditions were bad but hadn't realized how serious until we read your book.

You give the reasons for the conditions and facts and figures and also how the individual human being feels and suffers.

The lecture and the message are couched in beautiful language and it has been a treat to read it. We shall pass the book on to some of our friends who, we are sure, will receive it and enjoy it as we have.

Sincerely,

Mr. & Mrs. Wm C Rempfer

February 25, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Wm. C. Rempfer
The First National Bank
Parkston
South Dakota

My dear Friends:

I appreciate your kind words concerning

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

September 25,1954

Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2,
New York
Dear Sir:

I should like to apply for a personal interview or appointment for a luncheon date. At which time I would like to discuss and clarify a very important international problem, which I am quite sure you are well qualfied to advise me.

Considering the fact that you are an extremely busy person, I will appreciate this appointment at whatever time you deem convient, regardless of time and place.

Sincerely,

Raymond Richardson

Raymond E. Richardson
24 Leigh Ave.
Princeton,
New Jersey

27-7-8

September 29, 1954

Mr. Raymond E. Richardson
24 Leigh Avenue
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I have your letter of September 25th.

I cannot discuss a "very important international problem" until I know what it is.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

October 13, 1954

William Edward Burghardt DuBois
23 West 26th. Street
New York City 10, New York

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of September 29, in which you stated the request to know the nature of the international problem which I wish to discuss with you.

I am concerned with the problem in and around Africa Kenya, both international and local problems concerning natives and other races, which might be involved in the current uprising of Kenya. There are certain points that must be discussed in person in order to obtain a clear picture of necessary and vital information. I will not need more than twenty or thirty minutes of your time in order to discuss the problems which I consider of importance. The information and advise which you can give me will be of utmost importance as I expect to be a visitor to this colony in the near future.

I trust you will take this problem into consideration.

27-7-6

Yours truly,

Raymond R. Richardson

Raymond R. Richardson
24 Leigh Ave.
Princeton,
New Jersey

RER:edh

October 15, 1954

Mr. Raymond E. Richardson
24 Leigh Avenue
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Mr. Richardson:

The person with whom you ought to get in contact with is Dr. Alpheus Hunton, Council on African Affairs, 139 West 125 Street, Room 6, Third Floor.

Dr. Hunton is in continuous correspondence with Africans and has a great deal of data. I have no direct or recent information concerning Kenya.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 14, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

27-7-10

[Robeson]

FACT SHEET ON THE PAUL ROBESON PASSPORT CASE

(1) On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

(2) On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Mr. Robeson's passport and had informed all United States border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Nice, France, and to make a singing and speaking tour of Scandinavia, and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his theatre and concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal, or the issuance of a new passport to him.

(3) In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950, that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

(4) Attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the United States District Court at Washington, D.C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of the Government.

The suit contended that:

(a) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(b) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

(5) The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of the government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echoes views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech are severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on the cancellation of scheduled concert appearances because of the State Department's action. This constitutes a denial of Mr. Robeson's right to earn his living by practicing his profession.

27-7-11

(6) On April 20, 1951, the United States District Court refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

(7) Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

(8) On January 31, 1952, Mr. Robeson was arbitratily prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada, even though no passport is necessary for crossing the United States-Canadian border.

(9) The United States Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

> ".....Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that HE HAS BEEN FOR YEARS EXTREMELY ACTIVE POLITICALLY IN BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF AFRICA (supra, p. 2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable ....."

77-7-13

(10) In August, 1952, the Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground that since Mr. Robeson's passport had expired the case was "moot."

(11) On January 30, 1953, Paul Robeson applied for a passport. Passport denied.

On July 29, 1953, Paul Robeson again applied for a passport in response to an invitation from the Leslie Linder Productions in London to play the starring role of "Othello." Mr. Linder had requested a Work Permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Association, through its General Secretary Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearance in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

(12) On July 2, 1954, Mr. Robeson applied for a passport to fulfill concert and stage appearances in Great Britain, Scandinavia, France and Israel. On July 27, 1954, this passport application was denied.

(13) In November 1954 Mr. Robeson invited to attend the Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow starting December 9, 1954. On November 18, the Passport Office of the State Department again refused permission to travel to Moscow.

Expressions of protest and deep concern over Mr. Robeson's virtual imprisonment in the United States keep pouring in, by cable and letters, to our office. The general sense of this correspondence is that denial of Mr. Robeson's right to travel and to work at his profession is also a denial of the right of millions of people all over the world to see and hear him express his universally acclaimed art. Mr. Robeson's travel abroad would be in the interest of cultural exchange and friendly peaceful international relations.

Discussion and action on this case would make it possible for many other artists, scientists and educators who are now similarly restrained, to also travel abroad.

Mr. Robeson is challenging the right of the Secretary to wield such arbitrary power. He is bringing a suit in federal court to compel the Department to issue him a passport on the ground that refusal to do so deprives him of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought and assembly, and the freedom to earn a living guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

* * *

27-7-13

[ROGERS]

United Asia

Movement for Colonial Freedom,
318, Regents Park Road,
London, N.3,

9th December, 1954.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26 Street,
New York 10,
U.S.A.

42-19-17.

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

The magazine, United Asia, which is published in India, is proposing to run a special issue on Africa, and asked George Padmore to assist in obtaining suitable articles.

George has in turn asked me to help out, and one of his suggestions was, that you might be prevailed upon to contribute an article on Pan-Africanism. This must be regarded as a labour of love and an opportunity of getting the African case better known in Asia.

It may be that you have something about which would be suitable, or some previously published article which could be used again, but it would be a great pity if such a magazine appeared without a word from you.

May I send you my kindest greetings; I have always enjoyed reading anything which you have written.

Yours sincerely,

Douglas G. Rogers.

DOUGLAS G. ROGERS.
General Secretary.

DR/MS.

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

HURCHEND
5PM
DEC
1954

POSTAGE POSTAGE
E R
6d SIX PENCE 6d

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois,
23 West 26 Street,
New York 10,
U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address: Douglas G. Rogers, Esq.,
318, Regents Park Ro
London, N.3, Engl

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open cut here

April 5, 1954

Mrs. Irwin S. Rosenfels
217 Linden Avenue
Oak Park, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Rosenfels:

We have received the package of cheese and I have sampled it. It is very nice and we both thank you for your thought.

We trust you have received the books forwarded a few days ago.

Shirley is working like a steam engine and I am helping by washing the breakfast dishes.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

4/6/54

MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS

217 LINDEN AVENUE, OAK PARK, ILLINOIS

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

The books, one by Shirley "Your Most Humble Servant" which I hope to read almost immediately and the one by you, which I am more than happy to have because it tells of your life [illegible] at a later period. I shall read this very soon.

27-7-4

Father Cellarer of the abbey of Gethsemani wrote me that the cheese had been sent some time ago. It is slow in getting out to you at times but I am always glad to know when a package

has been received - I hope that you will really like the cheese.

It is wonderful that you know how to do dishes - I hope that Shirley's back will soon be finished and that it will be all that she hopes for.

The day was dull after you left.

From Kentucky in the train such a rough trip but we arrived ahead of time and within half an hour were in my home in Oak Park. I hope that your return trip was pleasant.

Worked in the garden this morning. Weather has been cold.

With best wishes, Yours, Raymond

WILLIAM SLOANE HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY'S Y.M.C.A. FOR
TRANSIENT YOUNG MEN AND MEN OF THE ARMED FORCES

356 WEST 34th STREET
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

Guest Correspondence

Room 1009
April 6, 1954

My Dear Dr. DuBois:

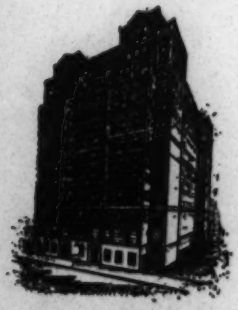
In connection with the dissertation on your role as a leader, I came across the following papers at Yale in Van Vechten Collection.

"Proposed Answer to Boston" fragments 1 page
"New Negro Church" typescript 4 pp.
"Dusk of Dawn Manuscript"
Misc typescript 2 pp.

Would you be kind enough to send me written permission to read them, as for some reason, Yale has "restricted" them and will not permit me access to them until you have granted the permission.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Elliott M. Rudwick
Room 1009



1492 ROOMS — REASONABLE RATES
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PROGRAMS OF EDUCATION, RECREATION, ENTERTAINMENT
COUNSELING AND PLACEMENT SERVICE
RECREATION-INFORMATION : SIGHTSEEING TOURS
RESTAURANT : GYMNASIUM : BILLIARDS

April 12, 1954

Mr. Elliott M. Rudwick
Room 1009
William Sloane House
356 West 34 Street
New York 1, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Rudwick:

I would not like to interfere with the rules of the Yale University Library.

There is nothing in the manuscripts which you mentioned which you will not find printed in my published works.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May 4, 1954

Mr. Elliott M. Rudwick
6919 Oakland St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Rudwick:

I have written the enclosed letter to Yale University.

I trust it will help you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B.Du Bois

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

May 13, 1954

Mr. Harry Sacher
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sacher:

Enclosed is a statement of colleges where I have lectured and taught. Also some documents outlining my course at Jefferson School.

Kindly return the documents after you use them.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-6-12

[Enc.]

May 12, 1954

To Harry Sacher

MEMO ON MY TEACHING AT THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL

During the last twenty-five years I have lectured and taught in nearly all the chief universities in the United States, except Southern white institutions. I have lectured at Harvard and Yale; Wellesley and Smith; Vassar and Bryn Mawr; Princeton University; Columbia and New York City College; Syracuse, Rochester and Cornell; Ohio State; the universities of Illinois and Indiana; Chicago University; Universities of Wisconsin and Michigan, the universities of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri; universities of Colorado and New Mexico; the University of California and University of Southern California; universities of Oregon and Washington.

In the South I have lectured at a few white colleges like the University of North Carolina, Emory University, Atlanta, and the Louisiana State University. I have also lectured at the University of London, the University of Tokyo, Havana University, the University of Hawaii and the University of Liberia and the higher schools of Haiti. I have spoken repeatedly at practically every Negro college in the United States.

I have taught classes at Yale University, New York University, the New School of Social Research.

The lectures on Africa and the Seminar on Africa which I conducted at the Jefferson School differed in no respect from similar lectures and courses which I have given all over the nation in the last quarter century, except naturally, as I followed changes in time and conditions. The authorities at the Jefferson School never in any way dictated the content or orientation of my teaching. They of course knew, or if asked I would have told them of my interest in the philosophy of Karl Marx; of the fact that I am

45-9-39

a Socialist in my theoretical teaching; that I have visited the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and China and followed their development with the greatest sympathy and interest.

W.E.B. Du Bois

45-9-40

November 16, 1954

Martha Schlamme
166 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Martha Schlamme:

Shirley and I want to thank you for the beautiful evening Saturday. We enjoyed it thoroughly and not the least the mere opportunity of seeing you.

I am so glad the concert was the great success that it was.

We want to see you soon again, and Shirley is going to telephone you.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

W. E. B. Du Bois
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

December 21, 1954

5th telephone 2+113

MEMO TO MR. DONALD SCHOOLMAN

According to my records I figure that I owe you about $5 for phone calls* since I have been connected with your switchboard. If you have a better record, let me know.

Enclosed is a check.

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

* at 10¢ a message

27-8-24

1214 Willard
Ann Arbor, Michigan
April 22, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois,
23 W. 26th Street,
New York City 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am writing to you in respect to a subpoena which I received to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 10, in Lansing, Michigan. I am a graduate student in economics at the University of Michigan, and at present, Chairman of the Ann Arbor Labor Youth League, an organization which is fundamentally educational in nature, and of a Marxist outlook.

Since the number of students who have been subpoenaed by Congressional investigating committees in recent years is small, the outcome in this case is important in helping to establish a precedent. If public opinion can be brought to bear in favor of protecting the traditional rights of students to pursue or identify themselves with theories in the various fields of knowledge - which may happen to be unacceptable to Representatives Velde and Clardy - without fear of reprisals by governmental committees or university authorities, I think this would be an important step in the endeavor to preserve academic freedom.

A statement by you, which I could make public through the Michigan Daily, campus student newspaper, would be of the greatest value in helping to counter the corrosive influence which Congressional investigations are having on the educational process itself.

In advance, I wish to thank you for your courteous attention.

Yours very truly,

Mike Sharpe

Mike Sharpe

27-4-40

copy sent to Corliss Lamont
by WEBD

[Enc.]

AN OPEN LETTER TO REPRESENTATIVES VELDE AND CLARDY

Representatives, Harold Velde and Kit Clardy
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

I am writing you in regard to the subpoena which I have received from your Committee. I wonder what its purpose is. Do you want information concerning my views and ideas? As you well know, you can read about them in the paper, (Michigan Daily) where they have been frequently expressed.

Do you believe that I have broken any laws? If so, you can take steps to bring me before a court of law.

Do you believe that my thoughts and arguments are wrong? In that case, you can offer refutations, you can meet ideas with other ideas.

The above courses are open to you. But you do not take them. One is forced to conclude that you have something in mind which can be accomplished only by the subpoena.

27-4-41

You are said to be investigating subversive activities. As a student, I have listened to ideas, discussed ideas, exchanged ideas, advocated ideas, and published ideas. Is that what you call "subversive activities"?

Perhaps you know that a number of articles have been appearing in national magazines with such titles as "Are the 'Thought Police' Taking Over Our Colleges" (Redbook, April, 1954) and "G-Men on the Campus" (The Nation, Jan. 30, 1954). These articles discuss the deterioration of academic freedom. Tell us, Messrs. Velde and Clardy, where do you stand on this subject? Do you think that the brandishing of subpoenas before the campus will restore academic freedom? Do you think that universities will prosper if ideas are judged by how safe they are, instead of how true they are?

I for one believe that every student will suffer from this trend which you are fostering, which goes under the name of McCarthyism. The main victim will not be any particular individual or organization which you choose to attack. It will be the educational system itself. For actually, by entering into the university community, and using subpoenas instead of arguments, you in effect have decided that a student whose opinion differs from yours has no right to pursue truth and to act on it as he understands it. But this decision is not one for you to make. It is one which the American people have made already.

If you believe there are subversive activities taking place at the University of Michigan which should be exposed to the public eye, then I think that you will not object to arranging a public debate, so that the students, teachers and citizens of Michigan can decide for themselves, after hearing both sides. Certainly you must agree that the truth will prevail in an open and free encounter, where both sides can speak as equals, which is not the case in the chambers of the Un-American Activities Committee.

I hope that we shall receive a speedy reply.

Yours truly,

Mike Sharpe, Chairman
Ann Arbor Labor Youth League
P. O. Box #715
Detroit 6, Michigan

April 27, 1954

Mr. Mike Sharpe
1214 Willard
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Sharpe:

I have your very interesting letter of April 22.

I am not a lawyer and of course you ought to have the best legal advice, but you are at liberty to say that in my opinion no Congressional committee has any right to inquire into your personal opinions and belief. Such inquiry is bad enough in the case of ordinary citizens. It is outrageous in the case of students, whose business it is to learn and know.

My advice, therefore, would be that you tell the committee that you refuse to testify as to your opinions and that you base your refusal on your general Constitutional rights and the common law; that you do not take refuge in the Fifth Amendment.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Corliss Lamont and asking him to write you, as he has made a similar defense.

I should be very glad to hear of any further developments in this case, which I agree with you is very important.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:LH
copy to Corliss Lamont

27-4-22

1214 Willard
Ann Arbor, Mich.
May 24, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I wish that I may some day shake your hand personally in thanks for your kind letter of support. As a result of the widespread expression on behalf of fair play, particularly on our campus, the University did not bring charges against myself and the other student subpoenaed by the Un-American Activities Committee.

I am sorry to have to add that there is also a very alarming part of the story - three faculty members were suspended. But if the resentment of the faculty and students means anything, I am sure the reinstatement of the teachers is possible in the not too distant future.

Yours very truly,

Mike Sharpe

Mike Sharpe

27-3-13

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends andin the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Asia to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Shelvankar

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Mr. Sheluankar, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

[Sheraton Plaza]

January 19, 1954

Manager,
Copley Plaza (Sheraton Hotel)
Boston, Massachusetts

My dear Sir:

Will you please reserve for me a single room with bath for Saturday night, January 30th.

I may stay until Monday.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

411 DUBOIS, W E B 1/8.85 1/31
31 GRACE ST BROOKLYN N Y
1/30 JS/IP C 95467

SHERATON PLAZA
BOSTON

No. C96567

Memo		Date	Explanation	Charges	Credits	Bal Due
	1	JAN30-54	REST'R	* 6.15		* 6.15
	2	JAN30-54	L'DIST	* 0.69		* 6.84
	3	JAN30-54	ROOM	* 8.85		
	4	JAN30-54	PHONE	* 0.17		* 15.86
	5	JAN31-54	REST'R	* 1.63		* 17.49
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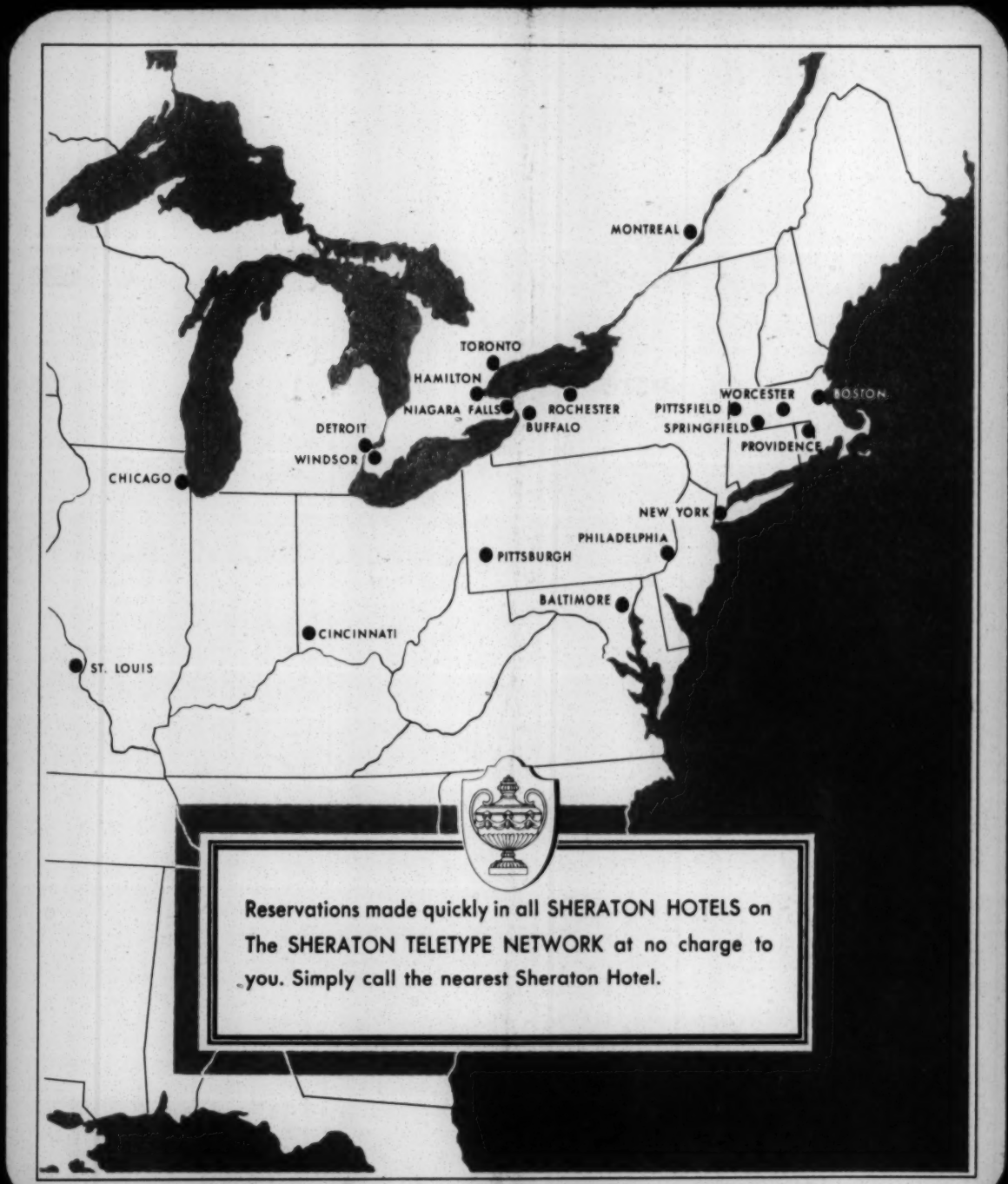
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Reservations made quickly in all SHERATON HOTELS on The SHERATON TELETYPE NETWORK at no charge to you. Simply call the nearest Sheraton Hotel.

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Asia to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Mr. Shostakovich

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D., Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

V

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Dmitri Shostakovich, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

July 23, 1954

Mr. Abbott Simon
750 Riverside Drive
New York City

Dear Abbott:

I understand that you wanted a copy of the enclosed so here it is.

With best regards to the family,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

(one Alain Locke)

Mrs. Morton Sobell
506 West 135th St.
New York 31, N.Y.

December 1, 1954.

I am the wife of Morton Sobell who is now in Alcatraz facing the sentence of 30 years of living death there. My husband has committed no crime. I know that is true. He has maintained his integrity, he has refused to bear false witness against himself or anyone else, and for this reason he has been subjected to the torment of Alcatraz.

The recent focusing of attention upon one of the prosecutors in this case, Roy M. Cohn, the debacle at Fort Monmouth, the attack upon Dr. Oppenheimer, and now most recently the bills introduced by Brownell and passed by Congress, have caused many Americans to want to re-examine the path into which fear and hysteria are leading us. Such respected citizens as Dr. Harold C. Urey, Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, Dr.Bernard Loomer, Prof. George Sarton, Dr. Linus Pauling and many others have felt that a miscarriage of justice has occured in my husband's case. I am thankful that the truth has led these courageous leaders to speak out. I know that when the whole truth is known, my husband will be free to return to his home and his children.

I know now after having just seen my husband that my first effort must be to secure his transfer from Alcatraz to a regular federal prison. The four years he has spent in prison, more than two of them at Alcatraz, are beginning to leave their mark. Alcatraz is designated as a maximum security, minimum privilege prison. It is not a fit place for any human being, certainly not for my young, sensitive, innocent husband. The establishment of my husband's innocence must not find him destroyed by Alcatraz.

Will you write to Director James V. Bennett, 101 Indiana Ave., Washington, D.C. and ask him to transfer my husband to a regular prison where he may at least see his children, read a newspaper, buy a candy bar at a commissary, and find some minimum of relief. This seems such a small thing to ask, but to us it would have so much meaning.

If you would send a copy of your letter to me, it would be most helpful. Such a letter would be kept confidential and used only for administrative or judicial action if you so request. With your permission I would use such a letter to encourage others to take this same step.

I would be glad to answer any questions you may have about my beloved husband. I would appreciate any suggestions you might care to make. I need your help.

Sincerely,

Helen Sobell

Helen Sobell

27-3-8

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

Removed

March 30, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Our firm is a new organization interested in the publication of important new scholarly material in the social sciences, as well as the reprinting of older works which have become unavailable. Our first project, the initial volume of which we hope to have ready in three months, is a series of documentaries on socio-economic conditions in Latin-America.

27-7a-1

However, we are most anxious to reissue several important monographs that have been long out-of-print. The first in this series will be Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Maryland and Virginia, which Prof. A.O. Craven has kindly agreed to let us have. We are most interested in following it (or indeed, preceding it, if conditions permit) with your Surpression of the African Slave Trade to the United States, which, as far as I know, has been unavailable since its first printing.

If you are interested in the project I am sure that the volume can be republished at this time. Needless to say, it could hardly be more timely. There will be many problems to work out of course. First, the problem of the rights to the volume must settled. Secondly, the matter of financing it will have to be dealt with. In the case of Prof. Craven's book, it was agreed that we would finance the venture in its entirety, while the author indicated he expected no profits. In this case, however, it might be possible to make the volume quite profitable, if certain means of distribution are tapped. If this is the case, I am sure that we will have no trouble in settling matters; if not, we are ready to take the whole risk, if need be.

In addition there is another matter which we should like to call to your attention. In about a year or so we hope to bring out a special volume, tentatively entitled Toward a Conception of Democracy, which will embrace a number of original essays by leading figures in the social and natural sciences, as well as politics. The purpose is to bring together in one volume the opinions of men representing the best in our intellectual life, regardless of political affiliation, with the clear implication that these viewpoints must all be understood if we are to have a lasting peace.

The contibutors - rather, those who will be invited to contribute - are H.S.Commager, R.H. Tawney, Maurice Dobb, Joan Robinson, Talcott Parsons, W.E.B. Du Bois, Maurice Cornforth, Bertrand Russell, Josue de Castro, Robert Brittain, Albert Einstein, J.B.S. Haldane, Julian Huxley, Adlai Stevenson, Aneurin Bevan, and Winston Churchill.

We anticipate difficulty as you may imagine! Yet we are convinced that the volume could be a marvellous contribution to the cause of peace, and we are intent upon making the attempt. Since we have to begin somewhere, we naturally decided to begin where we felt sure of the best reception. If we can write to the people named and indicate that at least several have already accepted, we are sure that our chances are far better. Would you, without much hope of financial remuneration of course, be willing to participate in the project? Further, would you be willing to give us your views of the nature of the project itself?

Since our organization has not yet published, and since you do not know the undersigned personally, may I take the liberty of mentioning several individuals who might serve as references: Dr. Henry F. Mins, of the editorial board of Science and Society, Dr. Charles Lawrence of the Sociology Department of Brooklyn College, my brother-in-law, Mark Lane, until recently the State Director of the National Lawyers Guild, and his wife, Miss Martha Schlamme.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-79-2

April 2, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese, Publisher
Room 606
51 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Mr. Genovese:

In answering your letter of March 30, may I say that I should be very glad indeed to have the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States" re-published. On its publication in 1896 it was copyrighted by the president and fellows of Harvard University. I presume that by this time the copyright has reverted to me, but I do not know exactly the law on the subject.

If you re-publish it you would have to take the risks, and while I would not demand any remuneration, at the same time I would like any return that you could afford.

In case you do undertake it I think that a Preface, "Sixty Years After" might be needed. I should be glad to write one of two or three pages.

With regard to the proposed book, "Toward a conception of Democracy", I should, of course, like to have such a work published and be glad to contribute toward it. You are at liberty to use my name in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

27-7a-3

Both

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

April 11, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your cooperation in the reprinting of your work on the slave-trade, and for your willingness to contribute to our projected collection of essays on the question of democracy.

My attorney is currently searching the copyright for the book. He is of the opinion that the rights have reverted to you, but points out that Harvard might have been renewing the rights every seventeen years without republishing the volume. His investigation will take awhile; as soon as we know the full situation, I shall advise you of it, and we can discuss the problems of a new edition in full.

27-74-4

In general may I say that your suggestion as to a new preface is most welcome. I am hopeful that we can interest a book club in the volume. With your permission I shall offer a proposition to the Book Find Club. I frankly doubt that they will touch it, the political situation being what it is. At the same time, if they can be interested in it we should make a handsome profit, in which you will of course share. On the other hand, on other than a business basis I should prefer dealing with the Liberty Book Club for reasons which I am sure you share. But, I am not sure how large an organization it is, and consequently, if it would be feasible. If you could advise me on this matter it would be most appreciated. I feel that the Liberty Book Club will surely take it if the Book Find Club will not; but I also feel that if the former is a sufficiently substantial organization, it might be better to make them the initial offer even at a much smaller return. Naturally, however, I cannot afford to risk a loss on the volume, and hence cannot entirely ignore the purely business side of the picture.

Our plans call for four books in our first year of operation: your book, Dr. Craven's Soil Exhaustion, a documentary account of the land reform in Guatemala, and another documentary on Trujillo's land and labor policies. The Guatemala volume will be our first because of the immediate implications. We hope that your book will follow it.

In any case I shall advise you of the further details on our plans as soon as the copyright situation is cleared up. May I say that we are happy and proud to be able to bring out a new edition of your work. It is truly a great work and we are honored to have the opportunity. Please advise me of your thoughts on the book club situation and anything else on distribution which you feel may help guarantee the financial success of the venture.

You will probably find our series on Latin-America of interest, so perhaps a word on our project might be of value. Our first volume on Guatemala will include the Ley de Reforma Agraria and a good many other pertinent documents. The exact contents will be worked out this week in consultation with the representatives of the Guatemalan government; the volume will be in English translation. The series will be edited without political comment. We feel that the material speaks for itself. In the same way I am happy to be able to make the Dominican Republic a second choice. The pertinent legislation will tell the careful reader all he had to know about Trujillo's island paradise; a political dissertation will hardly be necessary.

Once again, our sincerest thanks for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-7a-5

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

April 28, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

You will be interested to know that my attorney has reported to me that your Surpression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States is now public domain. Therefore, we shall proceed with our plans to publish a new edition.

As I indicated to you in my letter of April 5 our schedule calls for bringing out a documentary account of the Agrarian Revolution in Guatemala in September, and publishing your book shortly thereafter. I hope that this meets with your approval.

Under the circumstances I trust that you will prepare the new preface within the next three months. In addition I am most anxious to have your views on my suggestion to approach a book club, preferably the Liberty Book Club. I shall take care of the necessary negotiations, but I hesitate to do so without your opinion and approval.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-7a-6

May 4, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese, Publisher
Social Science Press
51 East 42 Street, Room 606
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Genovese:

Answering your letter of April 28th, I beg to say I shall be glad to prepare a preface or possibly a postcript for my "Suppression of the African Slave Trade".

I shall have it ready by August 1st.

I think of course you ought to approach a book club but I have no preference or advice as I know very little about these organizations.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-74-7

May 21, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese, Publisher
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Genovese:

I wrote directly to Harvard University asking about the copyright of my "Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America."

After some delay I have had an answer, a copy of which I am enclosing.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-74-8

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

May 27, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for your letter of May 21 concerning the rights to your book on the slave-trade. At this time we are thinking in terms of completely re-setting the book. The reasons for this hinge primarily on the somewhat old-fashioned format of the earlier edition, plus the fact that our printer's estimates are quite reasonable, and all things being equal a more attractive edition should be good business.

However, we have not altogether ruled out offsetting the older edition and adding your new preface to it. We are in the process of estimating the costs to determine whether the cost differential is worth the inferior format. If we should decide upon this course we shall probably need a brief note from you in order to get Harvard's permission. Fortunately for the scholars with whom they do business they are particular about giving away such rights without knowing the publisher. However, I shall keep you advised of developments.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-74-9

June 25, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Genovese:

With regard to my book, "Suppression of the Slave Trade," I should be glad to have you reprint it in any way you can, and if the photo offset method seemsebest you have my permission to use that, so far as I am able to grant such permission.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-7a-10

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

August 24, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

After what I hope will be a final delay we are ready to proceed with your book on the slave-trade. If you would be good enough to forward me the promised new preface, we shall photo-offset the work as soon as permission from Harvard, which is expected momentarily, is forthcoming.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-79-12

August 25, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 St.
New York 17, NY

My Dear Mr. Genovese:

I will prepare the new preface, or as I will prefer, to have it, "postlude" to my SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE. That is, I want it at the end of the book instead of at the beginning, and to be a short explanation of the omissions in that book.

You may have some trouble with Harvard, but I hope not.

I will get my manuscript in your hands on or before October 1st. If that is too late, let me know.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Book

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

September 21, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Apropos of our conversation of yesterday may I make the following proposal as regards your share in the new edition of The Surpression of the African Slave-Trade: that you will receive 20% of the profit on the volume.

Our first run will be 1,000 copies. I would estimate your return at about $550.00, with an additional $50.00 per 500 over the 1,000 copies mark. Naturally, I cannot quote exact figures because of the possibility of last minute fluctuation in cost. However, I doubt that the figures will be off by much, and there is as much likelihood of their being too low as too high.

I trust you will find the arrangement satisfactory.

On the matter of the mailing list which you said you would make upo with the aid of your wife, may I suggest some haste since my printer has reassured me as to a 3-4 week period, and we shall need 2-3 weeks for a pre-publication mailing.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese
Publisher

EDG:gf

27-79-11

October 1, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Genovese:

I have your letter of September 21st, and will say that the arrangements outlined therein are satisfactory to me.

I will try to get a list of possible buyers of the book in your hands soon. I am sending a ~~few~~ list of ~~preliminary~~ addresses. Please return

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-19-14

SOCIAL SCIENCE press

ROOM 606 51 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-5089

October 15, 1954

Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Thank you for the list of names of possible purchasers. I am returning the list as you requested. If I understood your letter correctly there will be another list forthcoming. I am therefore expecting such a list; correct me if I am wrong.

Very truly yours,

Eugene D. Genovese

Eugene D. Genovese

PS A slight miscalculation on the part of my printer has forced a slight revision in our date of publication. It is now Nov. 20.

filed L+

27-9-20

October 27, 1954

Mr. Eugene Genovese
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Genovese:

I have no other names of prospective purchasers to send you.

I made as complete a collection as I could when I wrote you last.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-9-21

December 2, 1954

Mr. Eugene D. Genovese
Social Science Press
Room 606
51 East 42 St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Genovese:

I have received copies of the "Suppression of the African Slave Trade", and want to thank you very much for the excellent piece of work which you have done.

Will you please send me five more copies and charge to my account.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May I then beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular, will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Dr. & Mrs. Soni

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the World Council of Peace, 1953)

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PRECEDING,

DuBois to Dr and Mrs Soni c, March 4, 1954.

SEE THE FOLLOWING:

DuBois to J. D. Bernal, March 4. 1954. For complete form letter.

May 19, 1954

Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3 Street
Los Angeles, 13, California

My dear Mr. Hyun:

I have arranged with the Progressive Party of California to be in Los Angeles June 2nd through June 5th. During that time I am going to make two public speeches for them.

Originally the plan was that I should also make two speeches in San Francisco, but that has apparently fallen through because of the illness of the Progressive leader there.

I am therefore writing you to say that if there was any demand I could make two or three other speeches between June 6th and 15th, either on "The Third Party" or "Revolt in Africa" or "Peace."

I do not want you to give yourself any trouble, but should you know of any opening, let me hear from you. The charge for myself would be $100 a lecture, plus travel and board.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Hyun and the children.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

P.S. You might keep in touch with Progressive leaders as to the time they have no other plans.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

ROOM 310 • 326 WEST 3RD STREET • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

MUTUAL 1293

May 27, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

We were all very happy to hear from you and elated at the phance of seeing you again soon. I have delayed this reply working frantically to see if we could arrange some special affair with you while you are here.

However, I have been stymied by two obstacles; insufficient time to arrange for a successful affair, and conflict with two affairs we had already acheduled. And I would refuse to waste your time with some hit or miss proposition.

In lieu of any formal meeting, my wife and I wish to extend our invitation on Sunday evening June 6th to share with some of our close friends a genuine Korean dinner. Of course, we would not want you to extend your visit here just for this purpose. But if your schedule and other arrangements with the Progressive party here permit this free time, we would be indeed honored to have you spend an evening of relaxation with us. Please let us know by wire if possible.

Please convey our love and regards to Mrs. Du Bois. We are sorry to hear that she will not be accompanying you on this trip.

With sincere ragards,

Peter Hyun

27-5-34

June 8, 1954

Mr. Peter Hyun
Southern California Peace Crusade
Room 310
326 West 3 St.
Los Angeles, 13, California

My dear Mr. Hyun:

It was too bad that we could not get together in your home. I had a very pleasant stay in Los Angeles and arrived here last night after a perfect trip.

Shirley and I join in best love to you and Mrs. Hyun and in the continued hope that some time we are going to have that Korean dinner.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

327-5-35

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PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT

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January, 1954

Dear Friend:

In the December Patriot there is a photograph of some beautiful children, white and colored, entitled "The Facts of Childhood Defy the Hoary Hair-Splitters".

Studying and playing together, these children are building today for a better tomorrow.

In 1954 the opportunities are greater than ever before for all those seeking to build a world where all kids can grow and develop free from the blight of segregation in an atmosphere of love instead of hate and suspicion.

We hope you will want to make a contribution now to enable us to continue and perhaps expand our work

Your dollar will help make
1954 the year of the child.

Sincerely,

Alva W. Taylor

Alva W. Taylor
Secretary-Treasurer

July 13, 1954

Miss Mary [illegible]. Spence
926 -- 17 [illegible]venue, N
Nashville [illegible], Tenn.

Dear Mary,

Mrs. Du Bois tells me that you have ordered a copy of my reprinted "Souls of Black Folk". Thank you for your interest.

I am glad to learn that you are still carrying on, and want to send my love and esteem.

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

February 16, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed please find a check for $4.50 for two paper-bound and one hard cover copies of "Battle for Peace" which I have sold here. If it meets with your approval, I would like to hold the remaining books until April, selling what I can, and bringing the rest East to you by car when I travel to New York at that time.

Please accept my best wishes and kindest regards.

Very sincerely,

Jeremiah Stamler

Jeremiah Stamler, M. D.

JS:RL

27-5-10

P.S. As I wrote you previously, if texts of the talks you gave here are available, I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to study them, by temporary - or, if possible, permanent - access to the manuscripts. Thank you.

March 1, 1954

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler
5414 Ingleside
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Stamler:

I beg to acknowledge the check for $4.50, and shall be glad to have any of the remaining books returned in April.

With best regards to you and Mrs. Stamler,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

5414 Ingleside
Chicago 15, Illinois
December 1, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

Enclosed please find a check for $10.00 for additional books which I have disposed of here. Please forgive the long delay in writing. On the three occasions that I have been East in the last year, I flew in and was therefore unable to carry much with me. Further, these were all very short, very busy professional trips and I had to forego the pleasure of communicating with you.

Please accept my best wishes and kindest regards.

Very sincerely yours,

Jeremiah Stamler

Jeremiah Stamler, M. D.

JS:MC

December 10, 1954

Dr. Jeremiah Stamler
5414 Ingleside
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Dr. Stamler:

Thank you very much for your remittance and for your continued interest in my books.

My best regards to you and Mrs. Stamler.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

February 4, 1954

Statler Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Will you please reserve a single room with bath for me for February 19th, and oblige,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

1700 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee
October 9, 1954

Mr. W. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn 2, New York

Dear Mr. Du Bois:

I am a young man of nineteen, recently graduated from high school and now a freshman at Fisk University. I am writing you for two major reasons.

First, I am writing you because I have heard much about and read many of your books, all of which impressed me very much. I am very much determined to become a writer. To date, I have published more than fifty poems in two national magazines and local newspapers, such as the Decatur Daily and the Birmingham News. Though poetry has and will always remain a great passion with me, I am very much interested in prose, especially such forms as the short story and novel. My reading has covered a wide and varied range and the lives of great writers have always been an unfailing source of inspiration to me. I have read much of your life and the splendid work which has adorned it. It has served as a source of inspiration, I am sure, and it certainly has given me an even nobler outlook on life. Let me then, express my sincere gratitude to you for many hours of enjoyable reading as well as for the inspiring example you have set for myself and countless other youths.

Secondly, I am writing you for the fulfilment of a more personal desire on my part. I have started a collection of letters from outstanding Americans and a response from you would be of immense pleasure and encouragement to me. Among the people I received letters from for my collection are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Frank Yerby. Needless to say, they are among my most prized possessions. A letter from you, no matter how brief, would mean very much to me. I hope that you will find the available time to reply.

I am enclosing several poems which I have written and which have been published in newspapers in my native Alabama.

At present, I am living at the home of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University. I have heard him speak often of you and many of your works are on his library shelves.

I shall look forward to your reply with great enthusiasm.

Very truly yours,

Herschel Stegar

[Enc.]

DREAMING

by Herschel Stegar

I'm dreaming, dreaming in the purple night;
  I'm dreaming deeply of so many things,
Of happy, happy days now lost from sight
  And countless joys that only dreaming brings.

I see a tall tomorrow shining brightly
  As notes of golden hope arise and fall—
I touch the stars, but only touch them lightly
And then I drift and dream, forgetting all.

It's best I dream: my dreams can last forever,
  Can mingle with the wind and rippling rain,
Can shoot across the universe and sever
  The burning stars and then return again.
I'm dreaming, dreaming through a chain of days,
I'm waiting, waiting for the morning's blaze.

[Enc.]

BROKEN IDOLS
by Herschel Stegar

A storm has swept across my town of dreams
And shattered many hopes and many schemes.
Where tender passion walked and sorrow sighed,
Where sagely knowledge planned and genius tried,
Where wisdom journeyed bravely through the night—
There're only wasted wrecks to meet the sight.
What do the philosophic dreamers say
To those from whom good fortune turns away?
I wonder if they'd pause and prophesy,
Or if they would be wise and never try.

BOOKS by Herschel Stegar

They are a world
Within themselves;
A thousand joys
Upon my shelves.

October 15, 1954

Mr. Herschel Stegar
1700 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Stegar:

Thank you for your letter of October 9th.

I am glad that you have enjoyed my books.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

May 6, 1954

Mr. Charles Stewart
Hotel Albert
65 University Place
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Shirley and I have been meaning for some time to write you and ask about your wife. I hope that she has recovered and is at home.

At any rate, drop us a line or telephone:

Maine 4--2929.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

June 8, 1954

Mr. Charles Stewart
118 East 28 Street
New York 16, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Stewart:

I am so glad to know that you and your wife are reasonably well, although I join you both in your attitude toward unnecessary accidents.

I have just been to Los Angeles, taking the non-stop flight both ways, which was positively miraculous. In eight hours or less I made the trip between New York and California.

In California I spoke twice, on "Peace" and "Colonialism" and was very pleasantly entertained.

We would be so glad to have you come in any time you can. Shirley will call you up and see if we can make arrangements.

With best regards to you both from both of us,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

277-5-8

R. M. Stewart
St. Luke's Hosp. Minton 5.
W. 113th St & Amsterdam Ave.
N. Y. C.

27-3-2

NEW YORK, N.Y.
SEP 30
9:30 PM
1954

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

UNITED STATES
BRONX
STATION
2 CENTS
POSTAL CARD

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
B'klyn, New York.

Mrs. Charles I. Stewart
(Rodney)
Regrets to Inform You
that
She Is Again Stopping
at
St. Luke's Hospital
at
W. 113th St. & Amsterdam Ave.
and
(about next week she guesses)
Would Be Pleased
to
Recieve Visitors
(hrs. according to St. L.)
(This, really, is not a hint.
I just hope you'll admire
my "announcement."
Best regards, Rodney Stewart)

October 5, 1954

Mrs. Charles Stewart
St. Luke's Hospital, Minton 5
West 113 Street & Amsterdam Av.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Stewart:

It seems natural for me to write to this address, for once, thirty-six years ago, I was a guest there and, save for some interruptions, enjoyed the stay, and I hope you will.

I am writing for Shirley who is in such a jam just now that she is afraid she is not going to get a chance to visit you as she would like to do. One of the great publishing houses of the nation has just broken a contract with her, which has upset her very much; and at the same time she is finishing a book on the life of Booker Washington for teen agers, which should be in the hands of the publishers October 15 but will not be, inspite of the fact that she begins work daily at 5:30 in the morning!

If, of course, by any miracle she found time to steal away and make you a visit she will, but she wants me to express her sympathy with you and her hope that you will soon be at home again.

Yours with love,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

November 12, 1954

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I was pleased to see a few days ago your tribute to our mutual friend the late Alain Locke. It was well deserved. It reminded me of you and of the days when we worked together on the Negro Encyclopedia, the Committee on the Negro in Defense Industries, and other projects. I remember those days mostly twenty or so years ago with great pleasure. I know little of what you have been doing lately, but I am sure your interest in the improvement of the Negro's condition and his attaining first-class citizenship in every respect is still a dominent one with you.

I could not help think when I read the fine and unanimous decision of the Supreme Court on Segregation that you had done much to lay the foundations for this progressive and appropriate Court action.

I have not always agreed with you, but I have always known how loyal you were to the best interests of your group and what you believe to be the best interests of the country.

I have passed my 80th birthday, but I know you are a few years ahead of me.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS/F.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

27-1752-28

November 16, 1954

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes
Lenox, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Stokes:

I was very glad to receive your letter this morning. I have thought about you often and been wondering whether you were still in circulation. It is rather queer to have you younger men talk of your age. I shall be 87 in February.

I was looking over the preliminary volume of the Negro Encyclopedia the other day and regretting again that we could not have gone ahead with that. It would have been valuable today.

My wife died in 1950 and the next year I married Shirley Graham, a writer, who had long had a youthful ambition to help me die. We moved from Harlem to Brooklyn Heights, a half block from the water, where we have the right to pay interest and taxes on a rather pleasant home with a beautiful, lofty living room and a fireplace that works, and at the back a little garden where the crimson sage is still blooming. If you ever come to New York we would be very glad to have you call.

I have been quite busy since I saw you. First, keeping out of jail, the story of which I am sending you in case you haven't read it. The United States Government and the publishing business have tried to keep this book from being known so far as possible. Still, many people have read it and it is being translated into Czech.

I have done some other writing and am just finishing an historical novel covering the history of the American Negro from 1876 to this year. It is long and heavy and there is much doubt if any American publisher will take it. Nevertheless I have written it and it is being copied, and that's that.

I have lectured a good deal in the east, middle west and west, at Princeton, Chicago University and other schools. I am lecturing once a week now at the Jefferson School of Marxism, on "Reconstruction."

My best regards to you and your wife. I have read of the promotion of your son.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

November 30, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I am very much obliged to you for sending me your book, IN BATTLE OVER PEACE. I see, as always, your courage and devotion to the best interests of the people. I see, as often, many things with which I can agree and some things with which I cannot agree. You have certainly been a courageous fighter for your ideals and many of your efforts have been to the great interest of the Negro all over the world and in this country.

I feel that with your acute mind and experiences you should realize more fully than you do the dangers of the totalitarian type of Government that they have in Russia today.

I have the little booklet that you published on your 70th anniversary, giving your experiences by decades, and enjoy reading it, so am glad to have your new book to put along side of it.

I hope that the plan we talked over at one time for your preserving your correspondence for the value of students in the future generations has been carried through. It is, I believe, very important.

Always sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

APS/F.

27-3-1

Hallock, N. Dak.
4-20-1954

W. E. B. Du Bois, 31 Grace Court, Brooklyn 2, N.Y.

Dear Friend: I appreciate highly your favor sending the announcement leaflet "Strenght for Struggle" also your own comment. It's all helpful I certainly appreciate the efforts of zealous souls who are so faithfully, patiently and persistently working for that brotherhood world and that abundant life that Christ Himself laid the foundation for and which most of the custodians of His doctrine try to pervert and ignore. But victory will eventually be ours. I would like if you would send me some

27-3-3

more of these announcement pamphlets to help advertise the book. You may also include your own recommendation. It all helps to open the eyes of the blind.

Sincerely and Faithfully
V. Earl Svenson

P.S. If there is any charges for these pamphlets I'll repay you.

27-3-6

May 3, 1954

Mr. J. Carl Swanson
Halliday
North Dakota

Dear Mr. Swanson:

I appreciate your kind letter of April 20, and thank you for your good words.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-3-7

WHEN HITLER began to put Communists into concentration camps, I DID NOT PROTEST; I had no use for Communists. When he began to persecute the Jews, I regretted it but I DID NOT INTERFERE; after all, I am not a Jew. When Hitler closed the Catholic churches, I began to get uneasy, but I DID NOTHING ABOUT IT; for these were not my churches. And, when Hitler finally got around to Protestants, IT FAS TOO LATE for me to do anything about it; I was in a concentration camp hyself.

—Pastor Martin Neimoller

Lyons, Nebr.May,21,-54

Dear Dr. DuBois;

Please read the enclosures. Many papers and editors are urging the people to stop the inhuman slaughter of people all over the world,---but they don't tell us HOW we can do it.

We have written millions of letters of protest to the traitors in Washington, but we have the feeling ### that we are merely talking to dead elephants. We know both old political parties are rotten to the core.

Read this;

"Hershey (Lewis B.) is telling us that he can reach down into any American home and snatch out a citizen by the scruff of the neck and hand him over to the army. The Constitution says no.

Hershey is telling us that the army can take these impounded victims and ship them off anywhere according to the whim of some State Department intriguer. The Constitution says Hershey is a liar."

condensed from THE GREEN MOUNTAIN RIFLEMAN, Bethel, Vt.

* * *

Dr. DuBois, there is only ONE way to stop the slaughter and that is to stop the illegal and unconstitutional kidnapping racket called "conscription".

mis

And HOW can we do that when the courts and judges will not uphold the Constitution, which they are sworn to uphold?

Mrs. Harvey Sydow
Lyons, Nebr.

CONGRESSMEN ARE TRAITORS TO U. S. A.

Comments

April 1, Gen. Robert M. Woodward, state civil defense director's attempt to frighten Chicago with his planned evacuation, during nationwide air raid exercises June 14 and 15, was stopped cold by Mayor Kennelly's simple question: "Where would they go? Where would they eat?"

We, the people are not as Dumb as Hopkins thought, and we do know that if a bomb is dropped, it will be from our own stock pile, not from Russia. In fact we know that the only enemy we have is in Washington and New York.

DEMAND ARRESTS OF ALL TRAITORS TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!
CLEAN HOUSE OF ALL TRAITORS BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE TO ACT!

February 11, 1954.

Miss Muriel I. Symington
310 Windsor Pl.
Brooklyn 18, New York

Dear Miss Symington:

Thank you very much for the clippings which you sent me a few days ago.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
February 21, 1954

Dr. and Mrs. Dubois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

Well, I have done my modest best for Wesley Robert Wells. As for the letters mentioned in paragraphs 1 to 5 of my memo to Pat -- they are identical, save for the lead paragraph "speaking to the condition" of the person addressed, so I only enclose the copy of one sent to the president of Hadassah.

As for my appeal to the Governor, sent to the Negro Press -- you received a copy -- this was re- mimeographed without reference to CRC lest it might prejudice people to whom I sent it.

If you can think of any other VIP's to whom it might be useful to send such a letter as the one sent to Hadassah and will give me leads I will be happy to write them.

Warmest greetings to you both

Muriel

Muriel I. Symington

March 1, 1954

Miss Muriel I. Symington
310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn 18, N.Y.

Dear Miss Symington:

Thank you for the clippings and copies which you sent us.

We have read them with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

February 10, 1954

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

The Teachers Union will hold its Annual Educational Conference on Saturday, March 20, 1954, at the Hotel Commodore. This will be the eighteenth in our series of conferences where each year about two thousand teachers have gathered to turn the spotlight on significant school problems and to discuss means of solving them.

As usual, there will be four morning panels, followed by a plenary luncheon session in the Grand Ballroom at which the annual Teachers Union Award for Outstanding Service in the cause of Freedom in Education will be presented.

We should like you to be our guest at the conference. It would give us great pleasure to introduce you to the vast assemblage in the ballroom. We know that your presence would hearten our members and guests and spur them on to even greater efforts in the fight for democratic schools.

It would help us to make our seating arrangements in good time if you would be good enough to return the enclosed reply card quickly.

Cordially yours,

Abraham Lederman

Abraham Lederman, President

ftul/1283

nd - On vacation

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

115

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

March 10, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

"TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN EDUCATION -- Conformity or Freedom -- Teachers Must Choose."

This is the theme of the Eighteenth Annual Educational Conference of the Teachers Union, to be held March 20 at the Hotel Commodore, New York City. The program consists of four panel discussions of current professional problems, followed by a plenary luncheon session in the Grand Ballroom.

Each year the climax of the conference, which is generally attended by some 2,000 teachers, is the presentation of an Award for distinguished service in the cause of education. We have been honored by having as recipients of our Award men who are among the foremost scholars and scientists in America. The last five, going backward from 1953, have been Alexander Meiklejohn, W.E.B. DuBois, Thomas I. Emerson, Albert Einstein, Harlow Shapley.

You will agree that this high tradition is continued in the selection of Robert M. Hutchins for our 1954 Citation. We are honored to pay tribute to him for his valiant and unswerving defense of intellectual freedom.

In connection with our conference ceremonies we plan to present to Dr. Hutchins a bound album of greetings from other renowned educators and public figures who honor him, as we do, for his immense contribution in the struggle of our time for the preservation of culture and liberty. It will give us great pleasure to include a message from you. May I hear from you as soon as possible?

Yours very sincerely,

Rose V. Russell

Rose V. Russell

March 16, 1954

Miss Rose V. Russell
Teachers Union
206 West 15 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Miss Russell:

Dr. Du Bois is away on vacation and will not return until the end of March.

I am sure he would have been very happy to send you his greetings for your conference on March 20th.

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

115

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

October 27, 1954

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois:

On Sunday afternoon, November 21, public officials and other notables - distinguished educators, clergymen, civic and trade union leaders - will join with some 2,000 teachers, parents and just plain citizens, in honoring Rose Russell at a Reception to be held at the Hotel New Yorker. This occasion marks the completion of ten years of her exceptional service in the fight for better schools for all the children and for a better America.

Rose Russell's brilliant and untiring efforts have won the respect, admiration and affection of countless people. Perhaps you know her personally and have worked with her. Perhaps you have seen her in action in Albany or at City Hall or the Board of Education, or in one or another of the numerous professional, civic, inter-racial, labor, or parent-teacher organizations with which she has cooperated. Or you may know her through some of her incisive analyses and eloquent pleas at public hearings, conferences, conventions, and meetings, large and small. Or perhaps you have read her pamphlets, briefs or other writings, or read about her in the press, or heard her on the radio or television.

Whatever the circumstances of your acquaintance with Rose Russell's work, and even if you disagree with her point of view, we feel certain you will agree that she well deserves the tribute we now pay her. We would be honored, and we know it would make her proud and happy, to have you join with us in saluting her. Whether or not you can attend in person, we would like to include a message from you in an album of greetings that will help to make this a memorable occasion for her.

We should like to have your message as soon as possible, and also to know whether we may expect to have you with us on the twenty-first. Won't you please return the enclosed card soon? We hope your answer will be "Yes."

Sincerely yours,

Abraham Lederman

Abraham Lederman
President

AL:jb
ftul/1283

Enc.

October 29, 1954

Mr. Abraham Lederman
Teachers Union
206 West 15 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

Dr. and Mrs. W.E.B. Du Bois wish to extend to Rose Russell their heartiest congratulations on her ten years of self-sacrificing work.

We know how difficult her career has been, how full of disappointments as well as triumphs, and yet we are sure of the fine satisfaction which [redacted] her friends must feel to have a woman of this sort in our midst.

D:BLH

W.E.B. Du Bois

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

115

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

November 16, 1954

Dear Friends

Enclosed ~~is~~ are your tickets for the Rose Russell Reception on Sunday afternoon, November 21st, at the Hotel New Yorker.

We are happy that you are joining us for the tribute to Mrs. Russell.

Sincerely yours,

Leona Abrams

Leona Abrams
Chairman, Arrangements Committee

RVR:jb
ftul/1283

Enc.

Reception

to honor

ROSE RUSSELL

Legislative Representative

Teachers Union of the City of New York

Grand Ballroom • Hotel New Yorker • 34th St. & 8th Ave.

SUNDAY • NOVEMBER 21, 1954 • 1:30 P.M.

115 $2.75

№ 1505

TABLE No. DAIS

Tea sandwiches, dessert and beverage will be served promptly at 2 p. m.

December 2, 1954

Mr. Abraham Lederman
Teachers Union
206 W. 15 St.
New York 11, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Lederman:

On October 27th you wrote me telling of the reception for Rose Russell to be held at the Hotel Astor November 21. You asked for a tribute, which I sent you October 29.

On November 16th I received a letter from Lecna Abrams, sending me two tickets and thanking me for "joining us in the tribute to Mrs. Russell".

On November 21st, while I was in Croton, I received a telephone call expressing rather impatient regret that I was not present at the reception.

I had never said that I was coming to the reception because I had another engagement, and when I do make engagements I do not break them.

I am writing therefore to protest against the unfounded accusation of not keeping my word on this occasion.

I have the greatest respect and affection for Rose Russell and am sorry that I could not be at her reception, but what I wanted to emphasize is that I never promised to be there, but I did send a note of tribute.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

115

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

December 7, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I have received your letter of December 2 regarding the recent reception honoring Rose Russell.

Naturally, I regret that you feel you have reason to protest certain actions which you attribute to us in connection with the affair. However, I believe your letter is based upon an unfortunate misunderstanding which I hope will be cleared up by the following facts:

1) Mrs. Leona Abrams, in charge of the arrangements, sent you two tickets and a letter thanking you for "joining us in the tribute to Mrs. Russell" on the basis of a card you had returned to us informing us that you would attend. Perhaps you did so inadvertently, but you did check the space on our form card which reads: "I shall accept your invitation to the Reception for Rose Russell on November 21." It is obvious now that you had intended to check the space on the form card indicating that you would not come, but we had no way of knowing that.

2) Quite accidentally Mrs. Abrams learned that you planned to be visiting in Croton on the 21st. Naturally, she then realized there might be a conflict in dates. Since she had to know for certain whether you were coming, in order to make final seating arrangements for the dais, on which you and Mrs. DuBois were to be seated, she put in a call to a friend in Croton, in the hope of getting the necessary information.

3) Presumably, it was Mrs. Abrams' friend who telephoned you in Croton on November 21st. We did not authorize her to call you in our behalf, and, of course, we do not condone any expression of "impatience" which she may have displayed.

The Teachers Union and its members have only the highest respect for you personally and for your contributions to the many causes in which both you and our own members believe.

I regret and am chagrined by the unpleasant situation which has arisen around this question. I hope that you will agree, on the basis of the facts I have presented, that we were not guilty of any unethical or boorish conduct in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Abraham Lederman

Abraham Lederman, President

AL:jw
ftul/1283

Teachers Union
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
EST. 1916

206 WEST 15th STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
TEL: WATKINS 4-5524

118

President Abraham Lederman • Vice-President Harry Starfield • Legislative Representative Rose V. Russell • Secretary Lucile Spence • Treasurer Mildred K. Garvin

December 10, 1954

Dr. & Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Dr. Du Bois and Shirley:

More than two weeks have passed since November 21, when the Union held a party in celebration of my tenth anniversary on the job, and I must apologize for waiting so long to write to the many, many people whose greetings added to the glowing warmth of that joyous day. For a rare and joyous day it was.

How can I convey in words the peculiar incandescence of that occasion? It was at once grave and gay, with a truly remarkable blend of wit and wisdom, poetry and laughter. The high-hearted courage of the sixteen hundred who were there was expressed, in part, in light-hearted song, while those who spoke let humor steer a happy course between head and heart. The effect was neither solemn nor sentimental, but inspired, in a way that is indescribable and unforgettable.

One of the highlights was the moment when our Union president, Abraham Lederman, handed me a bound, leather-covered volume of greetings, with a frontispiece of parchment bearing an exquisitely illuminated inscription. Your generous words are among the scores of messages from all over the country and all over the world, which will be forever precious as a witness to the part played in these turbulent times by the undaunted, self-sacrificing teachers -- whom it is truly an honor to represent -- in our unremitting struggle for freedom and enlightenment, for peace and human brotherhood.

Thank you again for helping to make this a memorable occasion for the Union and for me, by renewing our sense of kinship with the noblest people on earth -- which is, after all, the mainspring of our hope and faith in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Rose Russell

Rose Russell

RR:jw
ftul/1283

74 Edwards Place
Valley Stream, N.Y.
March 21, 1954

My dear Dr. Dubois,

In The World and Africa, you mention that Frobenius' Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine has not been translated. Is this still true?

I am a Translator and very interested in the subject of the book, having been led to it via a biography of Phillis Wheatley I am currently writing. If the book hasn't been translated, do you think a translation of it would serve a purpose?

I know how busy you are and so would doubly appreciate an answer from you.

Very truly yours,
Virginia R. Morris

April 2, 1954

Miss Virginia R. Terris
74 Edwards Place
Valley Stream, New York

My dear Miss Terris:

I do not think that Frobenius' "Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine" has yet been translated into English. I do not suppose that at this late date and under the peculiar circumstances in Africa, any publisher would be willing to undertake a new book. "The Voice of Africa" by Frobenius was published in London by Hutchinson and Company, Paternoster Row, in 1913. If that firm is still in existence it might be willing to hear from you.

In your writing of the book on Phillis Wheatley you will probably be glad to read a book on the same subject by my wife, Shirley Graham. It was published by Julian Messner, 8 West 40 Street, N.Y. in 1949.

Very sincerely yours,

DB:lh

W.E.B. Du Bois

May 14, 1954

Mr. Julius A. Thomas
National Urban League
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Thomas:

In your conversation yesterday you seem to have received a rather curious reason for my resignation from the Sigma Pi Phi.

In order to put you right on facts I am sending you a copy of my book, "In Battle for Peace", with two pages marked.

Every effort has been made to suppress this book and keep it from the knowledge of the public. I wish, whenever you have the opportunity, you would see that people buy and read it. It costs only 69¢ and can be had at this office.

It was pleasant to meet you.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

May 28, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 W. 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois

Dr. Everett Hughes of the University of Chicago and I are assembling a book of readings in race relations to be published by the Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

I am writing to ask your permission to use pages 1-3 of the Souls of the Black Folk. As you know, this has been reprinted many times since it was originally published in 1903, but it is still great writing. I would deeply appreciate your permission to use it.

An early reply will be appreciated.

With personal regards, I am

Cordially

Edgar T. Thompson

Edgar Thompson

ET:ch

27-2-41

June 1, 1954

Mr. Edgar Thompson
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Dr. Du Bois is in California on a three-week lecture tour. When he returns I will call to his attention your request for permission to use pages 1-3 of his book, "The Souls of Black Folk".

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian Hyman
Secretary to Dr. Du Bois

June 8, 1954

Mr. Edgar T. Thompson
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Answering your letter of May 28th, may I say that I shall be glad to have you reprint, with proper credit, pages 1-3 of my "Souls of Black Folk."

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

27-2-43

518 West 161 Street
May 7,1954
New York City

Dr,.W. B. DuBois.
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York City

Dear Sir:

I am enrolled in a Negro Culture Course, instructed by Dr. Margurite Cartwright at Hunter College. We frequently study the lives and works of famous Negro personalities.

As a class assignment I was asked to try to arrange a personal interview with you. If you are not too busy I would like an appointment with you sometime in the near future.

Respectfully,

Gladys Tillman

Phone WA7-4498

May 24, 1954

Miss Gladys Tillman
518 West 161 Street
New York City

Dear Miss Tillman:

Answering your letter of May 7th, I regret to say that I am preparing lectures for California where I go June 1st, and it is impossible for me to find time to interview students.

I am sorry.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[Tribune, Sydney, Aus.]

TRIBUNE

TELEPHONE:
MANAGEMENT BX 5667
EDITORIAL BX 6213

40 MARKET STREET,
SYDNEY

29th.June 1954

Mr. W. E. B. DuBois,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Dear Friend,

You were kind enough to send greetings to our newspaper TRIBUNE, last year, on the occassion of its second annual festival. Your greetings, which were published in TRIBUNE, were a contribution to the success of the festival, of the greater importance, underlining for Australians the international nature, the broad scope, the great strength and the continuing growth of the movement for peace and friendship between the nations of the world.

Naturally, we were proud to have the illustrious names of leaders of world repute associated with our festival and we venture to hope that we shall not impose too much on your kindness in our present request for a further message of greetings on the occassion of our third festival to be held in the last week of November of this year.

We take this opportunity ot thanking you in anticipation of your response.

Yours most sinserely,

TRIBUNE
MANAGER.

42-119-15

Luka F. Palamarchuk

Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Chairman of the Delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the 9th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

requests the pleasure of the company of

Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois

at a reception
on Tuesday, October 12th, 1954
from 6:30 to 8:30 P.M.
680 Park Avenue, New York

R.S.V.P.
REgent 7-8301

Informal

October 8, 1954

Mr. Luka F. Palamarchuk, Chairman
Delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist
Republic to the United Nations
680 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y.

42-19-16

Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois regret exceedingly their inability to accept the invitation of Mr. Luka Palamarchuk to attend the reception on Tuesday, October 12th.

They deeply appreciate the invitation.

UNITED ASIA
120 Wodehouse Road
Bombay 5 India

13 April 1954

W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

42-IA-19

Dear Dr Du Bois:

In November of last year you had very kindly written to me to say that you have sent me an article for use in UNITED ASIA.

Strangely, the article has not come to me so far. I wonder if it has been lost in transit.

Although I am loth to trouble you again, do you think you could let me have a copy of it as soon as you get this letter?

I hope you are all right.

Regards.

Sincerely

T K Mahadevan
Editor

PS. Mr Cedric Dover, who was mainly responsible for planning the special issue on THE AMERICAN NEGRO, has at last found it possible to take up work on our projected special number on AFRICA. I hope we manage to get it ready soon enough -- events in Africa are still as tantalizing as ever.

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

हवाई पत्र

AEROGRAMME

NO ENCLOSURES ALLOWED

Dr W E B Du Bois
23 West 26 Street
New York 10 NY
USA

Cover - 88

First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address

UNITED ASIA
130 Waddhan Road
BOMBAY 5 (India)

[UNITED ASIA]

Dear Dr Du Bois

Been looking for your promised article all along.

How's your new book?

Regards

Dec 1954

greetings

for the new year

from

United Asia

1955

our seventh year

TWELVE RAMPART ROW
BOMBAY 1 (PHONE 21658)

41-19E-21

October 12, 1954

42/1A/8

The United Nations Educational,
Scientific & Cultural Organization
United Nations Building
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me, with bill, a copy of the Special Number of the UNESCO COURIER which is devoted to the American Negro.

I would be glad to pay any cost.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

[U.S. - IRS]

U.S. INCOME TAX RETURN, 195[illegible]

W.E.B. Du Bois

SCHEDULE [illegible]

I have received the following net income from lectures delivered, after subtracting expenses for travel and hotels.....$ 496.
Payment for articles published in periodicals..... 215.
Services to the American Peace Crusade..... 300.
Income from books..... 226.12

Total: $1237.12

Subtract from this the following expenses:
Rent of office, 23 West 26 Street, N.Y., N.Y.....$600.....
Stenographical help.....$800.
Office expenses and supplies.....$200.

Total: $1400. $1400.
-[illegible].12

Total:-$ 162.88

SCHEDULE E

I have received from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People during the year 1954.....$1200
I have received from Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia during the year 1954.....$1200

I have contributed nothing toward these sums which I regard as gifts rather than pensions since there is no contractual obligation which insures their continued payment. Nevertheless on reading the instructions for 1954 I am inserting this total amount as income under Schedule E.

Total:$2400

AUTOMATIC
COPYABLE
BOND
USA
PERMEL

[U.S. Post Office, Postmaster, Brooklyn N.Y.]

August 25, 1954

Postmaster
271 Washington
Brooklyn, New York

Sir:

I am enclosing a letter which I received yesterday, and making a complaint.

This letter was mailed from the Gold Coast, West Africa and has stamps amounting to one shilling and three pence, which I believe would fully pay for airmail from the Gold Coast to the United States.

However, the letter is re-marked either there or here and came by ordinary mail, which is only eight cents. Nevertheless the carrier yesterday demanded 32¢ unpaid postage, and someone has marked on the letter that the total cost should be 96¢, which is to my mind ridiculous.

The letter came opened, and I am enclosing it to you, and asking that the 32¢ be returned to me. I should also be glad if you would return the letter and envelope.

I do not know whether your post office or Atlanta post office made this charge, but I do know that your office received the 32¢.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

Inc letter from Benjamin

New-York - 16 th. october. 1947.

Dr. W. Du Bois.
Brooklyn.

42-11-24

Dear Dr. Du Bois,

Do you remember a delegate of Haiti to UNO whom you met in the Pennsylvania Hotel during the session of 1947 and with whom so many questions about the Negro improvement in the world were discussed?

So did I, in that time, with Dr. Allan Locke recently dead and certainly was I more impressed by your own position and ideas than those he and and others expressed them.

It is for this reason that I write to you as anew I am a member of our delegation, and should be extremely happy to have the opportunity to talk with you about our common problems.

Very truly yours

Antonio Viaux

Antonio Viaux
Button Hall
Broadway - W. 86 th. Street
N.-Y.

October 27, 1954

Mr. Antonio Vieux
Bretton Hall
Broadway & 86 Street
New York, N.Y.

42-119-25

Dear Mr. Vieux:

I have your letter of October 16th, and shall be very glad indeed to see you at any time.

You can reach me by telephone before noon at: Maine 4--2929; and between 2 - 4 p.m. at Murray Hill 3 -3855, Ext. 10.

If you will call we will make an appointment.

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

TELEPHONE SUSQUEHANNA 7-7000 CABLE ADDRESS "BRETONAL"

HOTEL BRETTON HALL
BROADWAY 85TH TO 86TH STREETS
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

1er Decembre 1954

Mr le Dr H.S.B Du Bois
N. York

Cher Docteur Du Bois,

Je ne peux vous dire combien vif est - et restera - le souvenir de la soirée passée chez vous et au cours de laquelle nous avons discuté de tant de choses qui nous tiennent si profondément à coeur....

Au sujet de votre voyage en Haïti, j'ai pensé que l'idée devait en être encouragée - et c'est pourquoi je vous envoie avec la présente, quelques petites brochures de publicité qui, en vous donnant une idée d'une terre qui est aussi la vôtre, vous inciteront peut être davantage à aller là revoir.

Je pense aussi que ce voyage pourrait être préparé - ou facilité - si vous craignez des difficultés que je ne vois pas pour ma part - par un petit mot de condoléances que vous adresseriez au Président à l'occasion du dernier cyclone - ou de félicitations, à l'occasion de son prochain voyage aux Etats Unis ?

Est ce que vous ne croyez pas que cela pourrait être utile ?

Quoi qu'il en soit et en vous priant - tant en mon nom personnel qu'en celui de mon jeune neveu, Ernst Viereck, de présenter à Madame Shirley Graham et à Madame votre fille, l'expression de nos sincères remerciements pour l'amiable accueil dont nous avons été l'objet,

41-8-E-1

Je vous demande d'agréer, mon cher Docteur, l'expression de mes admiration et de ma vive sympathie.

Antonio Vieux

April 14, 1954

42-1A-26

Mr. Andrei Vishinsky
680 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Vishinsky:

I could not give your secretary yesterday any very clear answer because I did not know myself just what the reception to Mr. Fast was going to be.

I have learned since that it is to be a small gathering in a private room of the Hotel McAlpin, Broadway and 34th Street.

There are only two speakers in addition to Mr. Fast. I am going to present the Stalin Peace Prize in a short statement, and Dr. John Howard Melish will speak briefly. That will be the total program.

Of course we will be only too glad if you will find it possible to be present.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh

23 West 26th Street
New York, New York
March 4, 1954

Dr. Freiherr Von E ickstedt, Forschungsinstitut fur Menschenkunde
Universitat Mainz
Mainz, Germany

Dear Dr. Von Eickstedt:

You doubtless know that we have in the United States an Act of Congress called the Smith Act, passed in 1940, which is the cause of widespread and increasing injustice to American citizens. This Act punishes persons for advocating the overthrow of our government "by force and violence", and then has been so interpreted as to declare almost any criticism of our present government and policies as involving such advocacy.

Because of this interpretation fifteen men and women are now in prison, most of them with five-year terms. Fifty-one others have been convicted, five are now on trial, and others are awaiting trial, making one hundred nine victims in all. They are not accused of any illegal acts nor of present intent to commit such acts. They are merely suspected of being possibly willing to commit such acts in the future since they believe in the doctrines of Karl Marx. Some of these American citizens of the highest respectability and never before accused of crime, are temporarily free on bail but liable at any moment to be imprisoned. The charge against one is the publication of a pamplet entitled, "Let Us Grasp the Weapon of Culture".

You will realize what a threat this situation is to freedom of thought not only in the United States but in the whole world where this nation today plays so fatal a part. Many of us as Americans are starting a campaign to secure amnesty from President Eisenhower in the case of those already imprisoned and those threatened with imprisonment. At the same time we are working for the repeal of the Smith Act.

I am writing to ask your sympathy and cooperation in our effort. We know the natural reluctance of foreigners to interfere in the national affairs, but I think you will agree that this situation is of far more than American concern. It is a matter of international ethics touching modern justice and decency.

May I beg your interest: either in the shape of a letter to me or to President Eisenhower, or to prominent Americans whom you may know. Also in particular will you spread knowledge of this situation in your own country, among your friends and in the public press so as to secure as wide cooperation as possible, and start organized effort in Europe to free the victims of the Smith Act.

I am, dear Dr. Von Eickstedt

Your obedient servant

W.E.B.DuBois

(Ph.D.,Harvard University, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Prizewinner of the W orld Council of Peace 1953)